UNIVERSITY
OF PITTSBURGH

Dar. Rm.
DA531
1802
C654
v. 8

LIBRARIES

COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII.

FROM JULY TO DECEMBER,

1805.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY COX AND BAYLIS, GREAT QUEEN STREET;

PUBLISHED BY RICHARD BAGSHAW, BOW STREET, COVENT GARDEN;

AND SOLD ALSO BY J. BUDD, PALL MALL; W. AND J. RICHARDSON, ROYAL EXCHANGE; BLACKS AND PARRY, LEADENHALL STREET; J. MERCER, DUBLIN; J. MORGAN, PHILADELPHIA; AND E. SARJEANT, NEW YORK.

1805.

Dar.
DA 531
1892
C654
v.5
copy 1

PREFACE.

In closing this volume, I think it proper, considering the great interest which we must all, at this time, necessarily feel as to the transactions between nation and nation, to point out the utility of this work, as a Register of those transactions. One of the principal objects of the undertaking, was, to insure to my readers the possession of *all* the authentic documents, which should, during the continuance of the work, appear in print, relative to transactions between nation and nation; and, so unremitted has been my attention thereunto, that, I think I may safely assert, that no document of that description has been omitted; an assertion, which, I am persuaded, cannot, with truth, be made in favour of any other work extant. In every other work, professing to be a Register of the times, the compilers have, for some reason or other, contented themselves with a *selection* of documents. For most present purposes this may be sufficient; but, every selection must depend upon the taste, or the opinion, of the person selecting; and, from one cause or another, it must produce a representation, which, in a greater or less degree, is deficient in point of impartiality, though, perhaps, contrary to the wishes of the compiler. The great source of error as to transactions of past times is the want of a collection of *all* the documents relating to them. This must have been perceived by every reader of history. For the want of such a collection, what great and mischievous errors have descended to the present day! To what acrimonious and disgraceful disputes; to what doubts, what distrust, what unsettled notions, and to what inconsistency of action has this deficiency of record given rise! To prevent those evils, as far as may relate to the times of which this work will be a Register, has been an object of which I have never lost sight. In the opinions and the statements of my own, I am not inclined to deny that prejudice and passion have frequently had their influence; but, in giving *all* the authentic documents, I have done my best to guard future times, at least (if my work should happen to outlive its author) against the effect of such influence.—The same motive has been my guide in collecting and recording the documents relating to the internal concerns of foreign nations, as well as those relating to the internal concerns of our own country; and, I fear not to re-

peat, that, under the three heads; First, of PUBLIC PAPERS; Second, of FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS; and, Third, of DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS, the Political Register contains a collection such as is to be found in no other work. The total number of these documents, contained in the Eight Volumes, must astonish any one not accustomed to much observation upon the subject, there being of the first class 764; of the second, 825; and of the third, 680; making, in the whole 2269, all arranged in the chronological order of their first appearance in England, that being the order of all others best calculated to further every object of research, especially as each volume is furnished with Indexes as well as with Tables of Contents made out under an experimental conviction of their utility.——It may be useful to observe, that, since the commencement of the PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, as a separate work, the documents, of whatever description, *officially laid before Parliament*, have been recorded there; and, as to the Debates themselves, which must be considered as amongst the first of materials for history, I risk no contradiction in saying, that they are, (to say nothing of the MINUTES, which connect them with one another and which must always render the whole perfectly intelligible at the first glance) recorded with a degree of copiousness and of accuracy, hitherto unknown in similar compilations.——Indulging, as I long have, and as I yet do, the hope of being, for a few years, at least, now and then remembered as one of those, whom the spirit-stirring circumstances of these awful times have drawn forth from their native obscurity, I have never ceased anxiously to desire, that the events, amidst which I have lived, and in which I have taken so deep an interest, may be handed down to posterity undisfigured by falsehood. Actuated by this desire I have bent my mind to the securing of a faithful record of those events; and, if popular delusion and popular baseness, fed by the corruptions of the commercial system, should continue to triumph till the very names of liberty and of honour shall be expunged from the English language, and till every man shall be brought to lend his hand to the muzzling of his neighbour, I shall still have the satisfaction to reflect, that, on my part, no effort has been wanting to prevent this consummation of national infamy.

The number of sheets in the present volume is *thirty-three*. Each of the three preceding volumes contain the same number; and, this is, indeed, the fixed bulk of the volumes, the *annual* cost being, of course, £2 15s

Botley, 28th Dec. 1805. WM. COBBETT.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

	Page
Note transmitted by the Baron de Hardenburgh to the Baron de Brinckmann, Chargé d'Affaires to his Majesty, Dec. 24, 1804	47
Proclamation of their High Mightinesses relative to the Trade between Holland and Great Britain; May 31, 1805	94, 127
Letter addressed to the Executive Committee of Hanover, July 3, 1805	127
Notice issued by the British Consul for the Middle and Southern States of America, relative to the Prohibition of the Intercourse between the U. States and Jamaica	133
Note delivered by M. Giusti, the Austrian Envoy at Genoa, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, relative to the Union of the Ligurian Republic with France	134
Note from Baron Novosiltzoff to Baron Hardenburg, June 10, 1805	183
Observations on the Dispute between Russia and France, from the Moniteur	214
Observations on a Continental Coalition, from the Moniteur, August 13, 1805	
Letter of the King of Prussia acknowledging Napoleon as Emperor of the French.	302
Louis XVIII. Letter from the King of Sweden to the Governor of Calmar	302
Papers relative to the Capture and Detention of Captain Wright	399
Note transmitted by Baron de Hardenberg to the French Minister, M. Laforet.	
Letter from the Consuls of Neutral States resident at Cadiz to Adm. Collingwood	432
Note presented to the Diet by M. Bacher, the French Chargé d'Affaires at Ratisbon	496
Rescript delivered by the Austrian Minister to the Imperial and Royal Legations at Ratisbon, September 9, 1805	500
Two Declarations in the Form of Notes, delivered by M. de Talleyrand to Count Philip Cobentzel at Paris; August, 1805	502
Note from the French Government, in reply to the Note of M. Novosiltzoff, addressed to the Court of Berlin; September 11, 1805	509
Declaration, delivered at Vienna by the Russian Ambassador, Count Rasomowsky	530
Second Declaration of the Court of Vienna to the French Court	533
Exposé of the reciprocal Conduct of France and Austria, since the Peace of Luneville	562
Speech of the Emperor Napoleon to the French Senate, September 23, 1805	570
Proclamation issued by the Emperor of Austria to his Hereditary States	592
Note transmitted by the French Chargé d'Affaires to the Directorial Minister at the Diet of Ratisbon; September 25, 1805	593
Letter from the Emperor Napoleon to the Grand Pensioner of Holland	594
Letter from M. Talleyrand to Count Cobentzel, on his sending him a Memorial in answer to his Note of the 3d of September	596
Memorial of the French Government, in answer to the Second Declaration of the Court of Vienna to the French Court	597
Proclamation of the Emperor Napoleon to the French Army, dated Strasburgh,	605
Proclamation transmitted by General Massena to the French Army of Italy	605
Address of the Archduke Charles on taking the Command of his Army	607
Historical Representation of the Events which have directed the Conduct of his Electoral Highness the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, dated Wurtzburgh, Sept. 29	609
Memorial presented on the Part of the French Government to the several Continental States, on the Annexation of Genoa to the French Empire	616
Proclamation published pursuant to the Orders of his Prussian Majesty, by the Magistrates of all the Places in Anspach bordering on Suabia; Sept. 21, 1805	623
Note delivered to the Diet of Ratisbon by M. Bacher, French Chargé d'Affaires	623
Proclamation of Prince Eugene, Viceroy of Italy, to the People of Italy	625
Address communicated to the Bavarian Troops by the Emperor Napoleon	626
Proclamation of Lieutenant-General Deroy to the Bavarian Army	627
First Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Paris, October 13	627
Second Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Paris, October 14	629
Third Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Paris, October 16	636
Fourth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Augsburgh, October 11	677
Fifth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Augsburgh, October 12	678
Message of the Emperor Napoleon to the Conservative Senate of France	716
Sixth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Elchingen, October 16	717
Capitulation of Ulm; dated October 17	720
Seventh Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Elchingen, October 19	721
Eighth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Elchingen, October 20	722
Ninth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Elchingen, October 21	723
Proclamation of the Emperor Napoleon to the Soldiers of the Grand French Army	724

Page
Tenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Augsburgh, October 22 726
Address of the Emperor Napoleon to his Soldiers, before the Surrender of Ulm 727
First Bulletin of the French Army of Italy; dated October 18 - - - 728
Correspondence of Mr. King, the American Minister, with Lord Hawkesbury 729, 754
Austria and Bavaria. A true Statement of the Conduct of the Serene Elector Palatine of Bavaria - - - - - - - - - - 756
Proclamation of the Elector of Bavaria to the Bavarians; dated October 10 758
Note transmitted by Baron de Hardenberg to M. Duroc and M. Laforet - 759
Eleventh Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Munich, October 24 761
Twelfth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Munich, October 26 764
Austria and Bavaria. Copies of the Documents referred to in the "True Statement of the Conduct of the Serene Elector Palatine of Bavaria." - - 769
Abstract of the Diplomatic Correspondence which took place last Summer, relative to the English Minister at the Court of Hesse Cassel - - - 774
Note from Count Wintzingerode to M. Didelot, the French Minister; dated Sept. 30 776
Circular Letter from Prince Czartorisky, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Governors General of all the Provinces of the Russian Empire - 778
Letter from Marshal Massena, General in Chief of the French Army of Italy, to the Marshal Berthier, Minister of War; dated Alpo, October 18 - - 780
Proclamation issued by General Menou before setting out for the Camp of Alexandria; dated Turin, October 23 - - - - - - - - - 781
Proclamation of the Marshal of the Empire to the Inhabitants of the Rhine, 783
Proclamation of the Emperor of Austria; dated Vienna, October 28 - 784
Austrian Official Accounts relative to the Operations of the War - - 786
Thirteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Haag, October 18 792
Fourteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Brannau, October 30 793
Fifteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Brannau, October 31 794
Second Bulletin of the French Army of Italy; dated October 29 - - 796
Third Bulletin of the French Army of Italy; dated Vago, October 30 - 797
Fourth Bulletin of the French Army of Italy; dated Montabello, November 2 797
Translation of the Intercepted Letters referred to in the Twenty first Bulletin of the Grand French Army - - - - - - - - - - 930
French Army in Bavaria; dated November 2 - - - - - - 967
Sixteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Rheid, November 2 887
Seventeenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Lambach, November 3 888
Eighteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Lintz, November 5 889
Nineteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Lintz, November 6 927
Twentieth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Lintz, November 7 890
Narrative of the Events of the Campaign, taken from Moniteur of 18th Nov. 920, 968
Twenty-first Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Moelk, November 10 928
Twenty-second Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated St. Polten, Nov. 13 932
Twenty-third Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Scoenbrunn, Nov. 14 939
Twenty-fourth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Scoenbrunn, Nov. 15 936
Twenty-fifth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Scoenbrunn, Nov. 16 938
Capitulation proposed by the Russian General Wintzingerode; November 15 940
Correspondence between General Pully and Marshal Davoust - - 941
Twenty-sixth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Znaim, November 18 942
Austrian Official Accounts relative to the Operations of the War - - 944
Fifth Bulletin of the French Army of Italy; dated November 5 - - 946
Sixth Bulletin of the French Army of Italy; dated Passeriano, November 13 946
Seventh Bulletin of the French Army of Italy; dated Gorizia, November 17 928
Letter from Marshal Augereau to General Vial; dated Bregentz, November 18 949
Treaty between the Emperor of France and the King of Naples; September 21 949
Declaration of the Emperor of Austria; dated Brunn, November 13 - - 959
Proclamation addressed to the Hanoverians by General Don; November 20 952
Letter from the Grand Pensionary of Holland to the Emperor Napoleon; Nov. 1 953
Twenty seventh Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Pohorlitz, Nov. 19 961
Twenty-eighth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Brunn, November 21 961
Twenty-ninth Bulletin of the Grand French Army; dated Brunn, November 23 962
Eighth Bulletin of the French Army of Italy; dated Gorizia, November 24 962
Letter from General Locchi to the Minister at War; dated Legnano, Nov. 25 963
Letter addressed by General Ney to the Estates of the Tyrol - - - 964

Page
Proclamation addressed by General Ney to the Tyrolese - - - 964
Ninth Bulletin of the French Army of Italy; dated Gorizia, November 27 965
Capitulation of the Austrian Corps under General Jellachich; November 14 966
Proclamation issued by the King of Prussia, relative to Contributions, &c. - 967

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Official Account of the Coronation of the Emperor of the French, as King of Italy 32, 120
Account of the Proceedings of the French and Spanish Fleets in the West Indies 135
Allocution of the Pope, on his Return from France, June 26 - - 139
Proclamation issued by the Governor of Barbadoes proclaiming Martial Law. 220
Edict issued by the President of the Police relative to the Disturbances at Vienna. 308
New Constitution of Hayti - - - - - - 309
Official Report given by Chef d'Escadron Boyer of the Capture of the Diamond Rock 314
Letter from Admiral Gravina to the Prince of Peace, July 28 - - 379
Admiral Verheuil's Report of the Engagement of 17th and 18th July - 381
Speech of the Grand Pensionary, M. Schimmelpennick, September 3 - 414
Letter from Jerome Buonaparté to the Minister of Marine, August 31 - 437
Gregorian Calendar. Decree of the Conservative Senate of France, September 9 538
Speech of the Prefect of the Seine on presenting the Keys of Paris to Napoleon 541
Decree of the Emperor Napoleon relative to the Conscripts - - 542
Exposé of the reciprocal Conduct of France and Austria, since the Peace of Luneville 562
Speech of the Emperor Napoleon to the French Senate, September 23 - 570
Causes of the Decree of the French Senate for raising 80,000 Conscripts - 571
Circular Letter from the Grand Judge to the Imperial Attorneys General - 574
First and Second Circular of the Minister of the Interior to the Prefects - 575
Letter from Rear Admiral Lacrosse to the French Minister of Marine, October 1 607
Report made by M. Perregaux to the Proprietors of Bank Stock, relative to the State of the Bank of Paris; October 17 - - - - 680
Proceedings in the Tribunate of France on the 26th of Sept, relative to the War 683
Proceedings of the Extraordinary Meeting of the Conservative Senate of France 716
Address of the Archduke Palatine, after making the Royal Propositions to the Hungarian Diet; October 30 - - - - - - 799
Notice issued at Vienna by Count Saura, Court Commissary of the Emperor 800
Proclamation addressed to the Inhabitants of the Electorate of Hanover, by Gen. Don 952
Letter from the Grand Pensionary of Holland to the Emperor Napoleon, congratulating him on his Successes; dated November 1 - - - 953
Spanish Official Account of the Battle of Trafalgar, November 5 - - 953
Decrees of the Black General Dessalines - - - - 970
Proclamation of the King of England published at Hanover, December 2 - 973

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Petition against Lord Melville, from the County of Kent - - 91
Order of Council relative to Neutral Ships trading with the Enemy - 92
Proclamation issued at Gibraltar, May 22 - - - - 93
King's Visits. Letter from Lord Hawkesbury to the Mayor of Bristol - 94
Pensions granted by the Crown, between May 1, 1804, and April 1, 1805 105
Articles of Impeachment against Lord Melville - - - 148
Naval Victory. Letter from Sir R. Calder to Admiral Cornwallis, July 23 190
Circular Letter sent by Order of the Commander in Chief to the Custos of Kingston 192
Volunteers. Circular Letter from Lord Hawkesbury; dated August 8 - 320
Naval Victory. Letter from Sir R. Calder to Admiral Cornwallis; dated July 25 320
Papers relative to the Capture and Detention of Captain Wright - 399
Death of the Duke of Gloucester. From the London Gazette - - 416
Proclamation issued by the Lieut. Governor of Jamaica, relative to the Importation of Provisions, &c. from the United States of America; May 20 - 440
Speech of the Lieut. Governor of Jamaica to the House of Assembly, July 2 440
Additional Force Bill. Circular Letter to the Lords Lieutenant of Counties 544
Order read to the different Companies of the Coldstream Regiment of Guards 608
Representation of the House of Assembly of Jamaica to the Lieut. Governor - 632
Naval Victory and Death of Lord Nelson. Letter from Admiral Collingwood 730
Naval Victory. Letter from Sir R. Strachan to Admiral Cornwallis, Nov. 7. 763
Admirals of the Red Flag. From the London Gazette, November 9 - 766
Naval Victory. Letter from Lord Collingwood to the Sec. of the Admiralty 811
Naval Victory. Letter from Lord Collingwood to the Sec. of the Admiralty 833, 891

Page
Address of the City of London to His Majesty on the late Naval Victories - 838
Correspondence between the English and French Gov. relative to Prisoners of War 894
Proclamation of the King of England, published at Hanover, December 2 973

ESSAYS AND LETTERS.

Mr. Pitt's Case. (Concluded from Vol. vii. p. 971) - - - 1
Summary of Politics.—Views of the Roman Catholics—The Continent—Marquis Wellesley—The Combined Fleets—The State of the Army—Case of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone—Admiral Duckworth—Athol Claim - 11
A Churchman, on the Views of the Catholics - - - - 23
Alfred, on Merchants' Parliamentary Privilege - - - - 26
Who is the Irish Minister? - - - - - - 28
X. X. on Impeachment - - - - - - - 33
Verax's Eighth Letter on the Reform of Financial Abuses - - - 42
Vigil, on the Six Irish Ministers - - - - - - 44
Britannicus, on the Conduct of Admiral Duckworth - - - 45
Summary of Politics.—Athol Claim—French and Spanish Fleets—Case of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone—Admiral Duckworth—Prorogation of Parliament—Parties 49
Summary of Politics.—Athol Claim—Finance Resolutions—Sweden and Prussia—The Combined Fleets—Proceedings against Lord Melville—Parties 65
Verax's Ninth Letter on the Reform of Financial Abuses- - - 82
Scytheus's First Letter on the Board of Agriculture - - - 86
Summary of Politics.—The Heaven-born Minister—Pensions - - 97
Note, in the Moniteur of the 7th of July, on His Majesty's Message to Parl. 118
Summary of Politics.—Family Quarrel—The Combined Fleets—Naval Victory 161
Summary of Politics.—Boxing—Sir W. d'Arley—Naval Victory—Postscript 193
Letter from Sir William d'Arley, on the Pension granted to him - - 207
Verax's Tenth Letter on the Reform of Financial Abuses - - - 208
J. W. G., on the Sheriff's Jurisdiction and Power - - - 212
Camillus, on the Fall of the French Monarchy - - - - 225, 257
Summary of Politics.—Continental Coalition—Invasion—Family Quarrels 241
A. B., on the Situation of Troops in the West Indies - - - 270
Summary of Politics.—Combined Fleets—Invasion—War in India—Continental Coalition—Downshire Election - - - - 281
Continental Coalition. From the Moniteur of the 13th of August - 290
Summary of Politics.—Car-Project—Family Quarrel—Continental Coalition 321
A Norfolk Baronet, on the Sinking Fund - - - - 346
Summary of Politics.—Continental Coalition - - - - 353
Doctor Bradsley, on Boxing - - - - - 371, 442, 459
Summary of Politics.—Times of Difficulty—Invasion - - - 385
Summary of Politics.—Boxing—Family Quarrel—The War—Parties 417
A. B.'s Copy of an Answer to a Letter justifying the Conduct of Lord Melville 449
Summary of Politics.—Lord Melville—Continental Coalition—Boxing - 473
Abbé de la Marre - - - - - - - 494
Summary of Politics.—Lord Melville - - - - 513
Summary of Politics.—Lord Melville—Mr. Pitt's Parish Army—Continental War 545
Summary of Politics.—Lord Melville—Continental War—W. India Convoys 577
The British Observer's Third Letter, on the Claims of the Catholics - 635
Summary of Politics.—Parties—Dispute with America—Parish Army—The War 650
A. T., on Convoys - - - - - - - 673
O., on the Statements of the Abbé de la Marre - - - - 676
S. N., on the Sheriff's Office - - - - - - 676
Summary of Politics.—Continental War - - - - 691
Summary of Politics.—Continental War—Choice of Commanders—Lord Nelson 705
Summary of Politics.—Naval Victories - - - - 737
The British Observer's Fourth Letter, on the Claims of the Catholics - 803
Summary of Politics.—Antigua Fleet—Lord Mayor and Mr. Pitt—The War 812
Summary of Politics.—Naval Victory—Addresses to the King—Lloyd's Fund—Boulogne Expedition - - - - - - - 839
Summary of Politics.—Continental War—Party Virulence - - 865
Summary of Politics.—Lloyd's Fund—Naval Victory—"Pious to the last!"—Addresses to the King—French Bank—Continental War - - 897
Summary of Politics.—The Liberty of the Press—Continental War - 974
Summary of Politics.—Lloyd's Fund,—Mr. Hutchinson.—Addresses - 993

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 1.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY, 6, 1805. [PRICE 10D.

" Among the various irregularities and abuses which have been detected and exposed by the Commissioners " of Naval Enquiry, none has created more jealousy and alarm in the breasts of the petitioners, than the " application of monies, appropriated by the legislature for the uses of the Navy, to other purposes, a " practice replete with danger to the constitution and to the liberty of this country; and, the detection " of such malversations, in one department of the state, induces apprehensions that others may not be more " faithfully and honestly administered."—Petition of the TOWN OF SOUTHAMPTON, relative to Lord Melville.

1] [2

MR. PITT'S CASE.

(Continued from Vol. VII. p. 971.)

In the page, here referred to, I was compelled to break off, at the point where I was led to ask: "Will the reader believe, that the *general statement* of Lord Melville to Mr. Pitt, relative to the matter reported upon by Mr. Raikes, *ought* to have satisfied, or did satisfy, Mr. Pitt? Will he believe, that Mr. Pitt was so easily to be deceived, upon such a point, by Lord Melville, or by any body else, especially after *what he himself had been privy to?* For, let it be remembered, that the information of Mr. Raikes came *after*, and only about six months after, Mr. Pitt *knew* that Lord Melville had drawn out of the bank 40,000l. at once for the purpose of its being lent to Boyd and Benfield. This act, too, this violation of the law, he knew (if what he has positively declared before the Select Committee be true) was *first proposed by Lord Melville.* Was not this a circumstance, then, to make him regard some *inquiry* as necessary, upon receiving the information of Mr. Raikes? Indeed, can any one pretend, that, all the circumstances considered, he must not have *suspected* at least, that which was *known* not only to Mr. Raikes but to every great banker or money dealer in London? Mr. Pitt says, that, from what passed between him and Lord Melville upon the subject, he "was led to suppose, "that the Treasurer of the Navy did not *believe*, that any larger sums were drawn "from the bank, than such as were necessary for carrying on the *detail of the service in payments to individuals.*" So, then, he was "satisfied," it seems, not with any assurance of the Treasurer of the Navy, but with his mere *belief*, in opposition to the information of the governor of the Bank? This it was, that "so far satisfied him, that "he made no further inquiry!" He *relied*; but on what did he rely? Not on the word, not on the declaration, as appears to have been understood, but "on the *opinion*, given "him by the Treasurer of the Navy!" What ground is there, therefore, for pretending, that he was *deceived* by Lord Melville? And, indeed, notwithstanding all that has been said and insinuated by those who are so anxious to make a distinction between the case of Lord Melville and that of Mr. Pitt, where is the ground upon which they rest the assertion, that the latter was, in any one instance, *deceived* by the former? Where are, I will not say the proofs, to support such an assertion, but where are the circumstances that render the truth of that assertion probable?——As to Mr. Pitt's idea of the *magnitude of the sums* drawn from the bank and lodged at Mr. Coutts's, he says, that he understood, from the general statement of Lord Melville, that they were only "such as "were necessary for carrying on the *details* "*of the service in payment to individuals*;" a very loose and indeterminate expression; but, if it has any meaning that can operate as an excuse to Mr. Pitt, it must be confined to those *small sums*, of the difficulty of discharging which through the means of drafts directly upon the Bank, so much was said by Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, and, since, by Mr. Canning. But, as was before stated, it seems to be *impossible*, that Mr. Pitt, whatever he might have heard from Lord Melville, and though Lord Melville had made a positive declaration to him instead of giving him a mere opinion; it seems quite impossible, that, after the information received from Mr. Raikes, Mr. Pitt *could have believed*, that the naval money withdrawn from the Bank and lodged at Mr. Coutts's was confined to *small sums*; because, as appears from the evidence, Mr. Raikes informed him, not merely that the Treasurer of the Navy drew sums of naval money from the Bank and lodged it at Mr. Coutts's, but, that "the Treasurer of the Navy now *kept* "*his cash* at Messrs. Coutts and Company's "INSTEAD *of the Bank*, and that NAVY "BILLS *were now paid by drafts upon* "*Messrs. Coutts and Company; instead of* "*drafts upon the Bank.*" This Mr. Raikes positively asserts was the purport of the information, communicated by him to Mr. Pitt. With what decency, therefore, let the reader determine, is it pretended, that Mr. Pitt was, upon the *opinion* of Lord Melville, *satisfied*, that only small sums to answer

mere details of the office, were transferred from the Bank to the shop of Lord Melville's private bankers?——Driven from these paltry excuses, the partisans of Mr. Pitt take refuge behind another that will be found, I think, not to be a whit more tenable. "Well," say they, "allowing that the information of Mr. Raikes must have been "regarded as sufficiently authentic and official; allowing that Mr. Pitt was fully "aware of the gross violation of the law in "transferring the custody of any part of "the naval money from the Bank to Mr. "Coutts's; and, allowing, that he must "have clearly perceived that the amount of "this money was no less than that of the "whole of the supplies for the naval de-"partment of the public service; allowing "all this, still he has declared, that he nei-"ther knew nor suspected, *that private ad-"vantage or emolument* was therefrom de-"rived by any person whatever." Upon this point, however, Lord Melville tells the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, in his evidence (Register, Vol. VII. p. 483), that he had no hesitation in saying, that he believed and understood, that the Paymaster (Mr. Trotter) *did derive advantage or emolument* from withdrawing the naval money from the Bank and lodging it with his private banker, "and," adds he, most significantly, "I be-"lieve, it was *so understood* by OTHERS, at "different times, when the establishment "of the Navy Pay-Office was under consi-"deration." Now, my lord, *who* were those "*others?*" Not the Commissioners of Accounts; not the Commissioners of Enquiry; for, in all the reports by them respectively laid before parliament, relative to the offices of the Treasurer and Paymaster of the Navy, never have they let drop any expression, that can possibly be tortured to mean, that they "*understood*," that the naval money, or any part of it, was to be, or ought to be, employed, in any way whatever, for the private advantage or emolument of the Paymaster of the Navy, or any other person or persons. Nay, is it not, on the contrary, well known, that these commissioners have uniformly set their face against every such practice; and that the Commissioners of Inquiry clearly "understood," from Mr. Trotter's *deposition* (See Register, Vol. VII. p. 466 and 467) that he derived, and was to derive, NO *advantage or emolument* from the use of the money issued for naval services? *Who*, therefore, my Lord, were those "*others*," that understood the matter in so very different a sense? We have no positive proof, that Mr. Pitt was alluded to by his Lordship, amongst those "others;" and, it is *possible*, that Mr. Pitt had no such understanding upon the subject; but, leaving the partisans of that gentleman and Lord Melville to discover, without including Mr. Pitt, the persons to whom it is possible his lordship might allude, we shall, I am of opinion, find reason quite sufficient to convince us, that it is improbable in the extreme, not to say impossible, that Mr. Pitt should not, when he received the information of Mr. Raikes, have suspected, and, indeed, that he should not have *known*, that *private advantage and emolument was derived* from the withdrawing of the naval money from the Bank and lodging it at a private banker's. We now know, that, from the passing of the act, in 1785, to Lord Melville's quitting the Navy Treasurership, in 1800, there were more than a hundred millions sterling of the naval money transferred from the Bank to Mr. Coutts's; we have seen, from the books of those bankers, that, during the whole of the same period, Mr. Trotter, the Paymaster of the Navy, was one of the greatest dealers in the public funds and securities, and one of the greatest discounters of private paper, in London; we have seen him giving his draft for fifty thousand, a hundred, two hundred, three hundred, or four or five hundred thousand pounds sterling, as familiarly as we common mortals talk of shillings or of Mr. Pitt's paper representatives of shillings; and, will any one believe, that, under a system of fiscal eves-dropping, absolutely without a parallel in any age or country, all this was unknown to the Chancellor of the Exchequer? Will any one believe, that Mr. Pitt was unacquainted with the intimacy that existed between Mr. Trotter and Lord Melville, an intimacy so unusual between persons so situated as to relative rank and power? Will any one believe, that Mr. Pitt, who knew from several official reports upon the subject of the Navy Pay Office, that the salary of Mr. Trotter was no more than 500 pounds a year, did not well know that Mr. Trotter was, at the time of Mr. Raikes's information, and long before had been, living in a style that could not possibly be supported under several thousands a year? Will any one believe, that Mr. Pitt was unacquainted with the purchases of Mr. Trotter; and that he did not frequently come athwart him in the money market? It was in, or about, the month of April, 1797, that Mr. Raikes gave his information, and, I ask the reader, if he believes, that *Mr. Coutts Trotter* could have funded Navy, Victualling and Transport bills, in the year 1796, to the amount of 2,137,515*l.* * sterling, without

* See papers laid before the House of Commons, June 11, 1805.

Mr. Pitt's knowing of it? And, if he did know of it, need it be asked, whether he must not have known of *the circumstances* that enabled Mr. Coutts Trotter to exceed, as a bill-holder, far to exceed, any other man, or any other company, the Governor and Company of the Bank of England not excepted? But, this is sporting with the patience of the reader: he must perceive; from the bare enumeration of the circumstances he must perceive, that it was next to impossible for Mr. Pitt not to have possessed a knowledge of the source of this immense, this almost incredible mass of commercial means.——At last, indeed, Mr. Pitt did *begin to suspect*, after he was *out of office*, and upon a suggestion of Lord Harrowby, that profits *might* have been made by withdrawing the naval money from the Bank and keeping it at a private banker's! At last! And upon the suggestion of Lord Harrowby too! This keen, this sharp-sighted, this penetrating, this ever watchful person, stood, in *this one instance*, in need of a flapper! Being asked by the Select Committee, whether, at any time previous to the late inquiry by the Naval Commissioners, he had any knowledge of, or reason to suspect, that private profits had been made by Mr. Trotter, or any other person, of naval monies, or that the business of the office was so conducted as to admit of private profit being made of such monies by any officer of that department, he answers: "I had no know-"ledge, at any time, previous to the inquiry "of the Naval Commissioners, of *any such* "*profits having been made by any person*; "nor had I any suspicion of the business "being so conducted as to admit of it, till "after the communication I have before "adverted to with Lord Harrowby, which "conversation, to the best of my recollec-"tion, took place when I was *out of office*." He adds, in the two succeeding answers, that Lord Harrowby "did not tell him, that he "(Lord Harrowby) *knew* that private profit "had been made, but that he *appeared* to "*suppose* that it might have been." Upon this point Lord Harrowby says, in his evidence (the whole of which see in Register, Vol. VII. p. 879 and the following two), "I had a conversation with Mr. Pitt, in the "autumn of 1802, when we were *both out* "*of office*. The only thing, which I recol-"lect, is, that the name of *Mr. Coutts* "*Trotter* occurred in that conversation," (whereat the reader will not wonder when he thinks of the 2,137,515 l. sterling's worth of government bills funded by the said Mr. Coutts Trotter as mentioned above) and "that I mentioned to Mr. Pitt, that I "thought it not improbable, that, either "the naval money passing, in part, through "the house of Mr. Coutts, to which I found "he belonged, might have led to his intro-"duction into that house, or, that the cir-"cumstance of his being a partner in it, "might have led to the selection of that "house for that purpose; meaning this with "a reference to advantage derived to the "general concerns of a banking house," (say shop: do call it shop, my lord!) "ne-"*cessarily* arising from the nature of their "business, and *not from having any reason* "*to believe*, that the naval money was used "for the benefit of Mr. *Alexander* Trotter." Oh, dear, no! how should such a thought enter his Lordship's mind; especially when he knew, that Mr. Alexander's salary "had "now been augmented to 800 l. a year," a sum, doubtless, regarded by his Lordship as quite sufficient to support the style, in which Mr. Alexander Trotter lived; and, besides, it was, as his Lordship must have perceived, so very natural for the uncle voluntarily to give up, without fee or reward, all the advantage to the nephew, and be himself perfectly content with a salary of 800 l. a year, together with some little income from real and funded property, of which, though his Lordship might not, perhaps, be very well able to account for the acquisition, he must, one would think, know that Mr. Alexander had acquired.—And here, since we have been beguiled into a digression upon the opinions of Lord Harrowby, we may as well make the observations that occur to us upon his conduct, relative to the main subject before us, namely, the conniving at the withdrawing of naval money from the Bank, and depositing it at a private shop, in gross violation of the law. Lord Harrowby, then Mr. Dudley Ryder, succeeded Lord Melville as Treasurer of the Navy, which office he held, at a salary of 4,000 l. a year clear of all deductions, from the 2d of June, 1800, to the 20th of November, 1801. He tells the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, in his evidence, which will be found in the Parliamentary Debates, Vol. III. p. 1202, that, though the practice of withdrawing naval money from the Bank to deposit with a private banker was not authorised by the spirit of the act, and though he had recently quitted an office of a similar nature, (the army pay office), in which the regulations of Mr. Burke's bill had been strictly complied with, without any complaint of inconvenience; these circumstances existed, it was (strange to tell!) some time before his attention was *drawn* to Mr. Trotter's practice of transferring. When it was drawn, however, to work he went; but, about what, think you? Not putting a stop to the practice, but about

making an inquiry into the *expediency* of the practice; and, though one would have thought, that there only required five minutes to open and read the statute-book, his Lordship went to the Bank, and, in process of time "had nearly completed "the inquiry," when he was prevented by a severe illness "from attending further to the business of the office;" and so, he left the matter just where he found it. Precisely *what length of time* elapsed, before his lordship's "attention was drawn to the "subject," or *how long* it was between the drawing of his attention and his falling ill, we are not informed: all that we know is, that he filled the office, or, at least, that he received the salary, for the space of *a year and a half*; that the public paid him *six thousand pounds sterling* for his superintendance and responsibility; and that the practice which he found to exist, and the conniving at which practice has, in the case of his predecessor, been declared by the House of Commons to be a gross violation of the law and a high breach of duty, was continued during the whole of his Treasurership, and left by him to be pursued exactly as it was when he entered the office. But, though we possess not the advantage of knowing the date or duration of his lordship's illness, we have the pleasure to know, that it had a termination, and that, too, as will be well remembered as long as the Spanish war shall last, without producing a disqualification for office, and, as we must, of course, conclude, without totally destroying his powers of recollection. Yet, without supposing the severity of his illness to have greatly impaired his memory, we shall not, I think, find it very easy to account for his not having *communicated to his successor* the result of his long and painful inquiries, which, from the evidence of Mr. Bragge, he does not appear to have done; and, upon this score, our regret is the greater, when we reflect, that those inquiries were nearly completed, and, that, it was, perhaps, from the want of such communication, that the violation of the law was continued, almost a year longer, when Mr. Bragge finally put a stop to it, "in" (to use his own words) "the *course of the* summer of 1802." Upon being asked by the Commissioners of Naval enquiry, "what *reasons* induced "him to direct the practice to be discon-"tinued." Mr. Bragge answered: "I "conceived the practice to be inconsistent "with the spirit of the act for the regula-"tion of the office of the Treasurer of the "Navy, and that the conveniencies which "were suggested to result from it, in facili-"tating the transactions of business, were not "of weight sufficient to justify the con-"tinuance of such an irregularity." This is, unquestionably, a reason quite sufficient for putting a stop to the practice; but, we cannot help regretting, that, as Mr. Bragge is a lawyer, and a gentleman of tolerably sharp faculties, he did not refer, at *a more early period*, to "the act *for regulating* "the office," which he was appointed to fill, and for the filling of which he received from the public 4,000 pounds a year. "In "the *course* of the *summer!*" These gentlemen all appear to have a fondness for indeterminate expressions. Lord Harrowby talked with Mr. Pitt about it "in the *autumn* "of 1802." Where the action, or event, is connected with circumstances of cold and heat, wet and dry, of cloud and sunshine, then it is natural, and may be quite sufficient, to point out the *season* when it has taken place; but, in speaking of the time of putting a stop to the violation of an act of parliament, we look for *months* and *days*. Lord Harrowby's autumn may have begun with the harvest of 1802, that is to say, in the middle of July; and Mr. Bragge's summer may have ended with the middle of August; and thus, though using different denominations, both may have been speaking of exactly the same period. "I am in the "hearing of the public" (as Mr. Pitt sometimes humourously says with regard to the House of Commons), and, I think, that the public will remember something of the popular contest that agitated the nation, and more particularly the metropolis and its county, in the months of July and August, 1802; and, that, amongst the persons implicated in the angry discussion that arose out of that contest, was Mr. Coutts, the banker. The public will, I am pretty sure, recollect, that the ministerial newspapers and the Anti-Jacobin Review, from motives that I am not disposed to censure, made strong representations upon the conduct of Mr. Coutts in supporting the cause of Sir Francis Burdett, and some of them did not refrain from remarking upon what was termed his "*ingratitude* "to the government," hinting, at the same time, that he *no longer ought to be the keeper of the money for the public offices*. The readers of the Register will recollect, that at the time here referred to, I published (see vol. II. p. 164) an article, containing a declaration, on the part of Mr. Coutts, that he had not, in anywise, interfered in the Middlesex Election, and that he had never aided the interest of Sir Francis Burdett, either with his personal influence or with his purse, a declaration which I thought it my duty to publish, it having been com-

municated to me by a gentleman of high situation in life and of most scrupulous integrity. Now, it is not my wish to strain these facts; and I have reminded the public of them for no other purpose than that of bringing his mind back to a fair and full view of the situation of things, at the time when the withdrawing of the naval money from the bank and lodging it at Mr. Coutt's was actually, and for the first time, put a stop to, and when, as it would appear from the evidence of Mr. Pitt, he received the first intimation of *private emolument* being derived from the practice; and, in now returning to the case of Mr. Pitt, we must confess, I think, that there is a singular coincidence in all the circumstances; for, every one must be struck with the statement, that Lord Harrowby, who discovered the existence of Mr. Trotter's practice, and who set on foot an inquiry respecting it, should never have spoken to Mr. Pitt, till *after that gentleman was out of office*, though he continued in office for *nine months* after Lord Harrowby became Treasurer of the Navy. After Mr. Pitt was out of office, his lordship did, it seems, mention it to him; and, again when they were *both out of office*, in the autumn of 1802, his lordship appears to have discovered, and to have suggested to Mr. Pitt, that *private emolument*, to the banking shop, at least, must "necessarily" be derived from the transferring practice. Now, too, for the first time, they talked about Mr. Coutts Trotter, and appear to have found out, that the advantage derived from the temporary possession of the naval money might have led to that gentleman's connexion with the shop of Mr. Coutts. Mr. Pitt was asked by the Select Committee, whether upon these suggestions of Lord Harrowby, *he took any steps to ascertain the facts;* to which he answered in the negative. The reason of this appears to be, that he was then *out of office!* A want of *official authority*, and a scrupulous attachment to *forms*, seem to have every where presented themselves as an insuperable bar to investigation, on the part of Mr. Pitt, with respect to the detection of this gross violation of the law; and this appears the more extraordinary, when we recollect with what "fortitude" he set forms, and even laws, at defiance, when the object was to afford relief to Boyd and Benfield, though it is hardly possible to conceive, that, in the latter case, allowing all the alleged reasons to be good, the bond of public duty could have been thought stronger than in the former. He was out of the office, it is true; but, the office was still in existence, and was filled by a person, with whom he was, as yet (in the autumn of 1802) upon the most friendly and confidential footing, and in whose management of public affairs, he was, moreover, well known not to have abstained from interference; a circumstance of which Lord Harrowby could not, we must suppose, be unacquainted, and hence some persons may conclude, that Lord Harrowby might be induced to omit *communicating his suspicions to Mr. Addington*, an omission not otherwise to be easily accounted for, from any of those honourable motives, by which we must suppose a person like his lordship always to be actuated. Yet, whatever the cause may have been, we know that the effect has been to prolong the duration of the gross violation of the law: we have seen, that Mr. Raikes gave information respecting it in, or about, April 1797; that Lord Harrowby discovered its existence, mentioned it to Mr. Pitt, and was taking steps to put a stop to it in 1800, or 1801; that Mr. Bragge, after nearly a year's treasurership, did finally put a stop to it in the course of the summer of 1802, that Lord Harrowby suggested to Mr. Pitt in the autumn of 1802, that private emolument was necessarily derived to the private banking shop from the transfer of the naval money: all this we know, and we know besides, that, after all this, Mr. Pitt chose Lord Melville as is prime associate in a new ministry, that he placed him in that high and most important office, the head of the Admiralty, where he would necessarily become a great distributor of honours, trusts, and emoluments, and where he would as necessarily have the best opportunity of exerting his powerful influence as to all matters, past as well as future, connected with the office of Treasurer of the Navy; and, accordingly we have seen, that coeval with this his appointment was the re-appointment of Mr. Trotter to the paymastership of the navy, a re-appointment of which Mr. Pitt could not be ignorant, and which proceeded immediately from a person, well known to be, openly and avowedly declared to be, absolutely devoted to Mr. Pitt. It was, too, we must remember, after all these transactions; after Mr. Pitt's acquiring all the lights afforded by Mr. Raikes and Lord Harrowby; after his mind must have received more than enough to satisfy it as to the conduct of Lord Melville in what has now, by the House of Commons, been declared to be "a gross violation of the law "and a high breach of duty;" after all this it was, that he advised his Majesty to grant to the "*right trusty* and well-beloved council-"lor Henry Lord Viscount Melville," the sum of 1,500 l. a year for life, in addition to

the immense sum he already annually received from the public purse. This we cannot but remember, and, remembering it, we are in no danger of forming an unjust judgment as to the conduct, the motives, and the public character of Mr. Pitt.

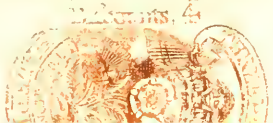
Thus have I, with that brevity, perspicuity, and force I have been able, placed before the reader the facts and the arguments that have occurred to me relative to this case, leaving him, first to divest his mind of all personal and party considerations, next to form his opinion, and then, as a loyal subject, as a lover of his country, and as an honest man, to act upon that opinion.

July 1, 1805. WM. COBBETT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

VIEWS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.—In a subsequent page of the present sheet will be found a letter upon this subject, to which letter I beg leave to request the attention of the reader. It breathes a spirit of moderation, which one must wish to see prevail in all discussions, but particularly in the discussion of a question involving the present tranquillity, and, probably, the permanent safety of the kingdom. The writer of the letter, to which I here refer, seems to think, that the claims, set forth in the petition of the Roman Catholics, would, if granted, only serve as an encouragement to the preferring of further and more important claims; and, that, if we make this one step, we shall never be able to stop, till concession upon concession has destroyed the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland, after which the whole of the establishment would soon follow. If I were of this opinion, I should say, "grant nothing." For, I am thoroughly persuaded, that, if the Church of England establishment fall, the monarchy will not long survive it. But, I am not of the opinion of this writer; for, though I do not say, nor do I think, that the grants to the Roman Catholics could have stopped with the yielding to the claims set forth in the petition, I think that it may easily be shown, and I do flatter myself, that I shall, as opportunity serves, be able to show, that the very means of satisfying the Roman Catholics might be made eminently conducive, not only to the safety of the church, as the church now stands, but to the restoring of it to that degree of influence amongst the people, from which every one must perceive it has fallen. When we talk, however, of dangers to the church, as a church, we must never forget *its share* of any danger that threatens *the state*: and, therefore, were we to conclude, that it would risk some loss of influence, and, consequently incur some degree of danger, from further concessions to the Roman Catholics, we should not determine against concession, till we were convinced, that this danger would be greater than the danger, which, from a refusal to concede, would arise to the church in common with the state. Against the insinuations, and I might say the abuse, as to myself, from the pens of some of the Orangists and their partisans in this country, I may, I think, safely rely for a defence on the observation and judgment of those, who have read what I have written upon subjects connected with the interests and honour of the Church of England. To the recollection of these persons I may safely appeal, whether I have ever, in compliance with the but too much prevailing notions of the times, imputed to the church establishment any portion of those calamities, which the nation has, either recently or at any former period, experienced; and whether I have not, on the contrary, seized every occasion that fairly offered itself, of endeavouring to maintain the establishment, and to resist every attempt at encroachment on any of its rights or privileges. With what degree of success these efforts of mine may have been attended, it is not for me to say; but, I assert, without any fear of contradiction, that I have maintained the ground whereon no other writer has ventured to make a stand; that I have never, in a single instance, flinched a hair's breadth from the cause of the church; and, that I have lived to see the day, when projects for robbing her of the remainder of her patrimony are no longer openly avowed. Those who assent to the truth of these assertions, though they now see me agreeing in the expediency of further concessions to the Roman Catholics, ought, I think, to give me credit for a thorough conviction, that those concessions might be made without any risk to the interests of the church.

THE CONTINENT seems to begin to wear an aspect of war. It appears, that the bold strides of Napoleon, in Italy, have, at last, excited some symptoms of a disposition to resistance on the part of Austria; and, if this disposition has not become visible till, possibly, it be too late, the fault is, in a great measure to be attributed to the ministers of England, whose system of politics, if any thing of theirs can be called a system, could not have been other than it has been, if the intention had been to aid Napoleon in the subjugation of the remainder of Europe. Our quarrel with France, as far as can be fairly inferred from the conduct and even from the declarations of the ministers, is for a selfish object; for *Malta*. Taking them



upon their own grounds, the French have a full right to contend, that Malta was the sole object of the war. There was, as we over and over again complained, at the outset, no other visible, no other professed, object with the men in power in this country; and, therefore, it is, as we said it would be, that the powers of the Continent have eyed us with mistrust, and have, accordingly, been calm, if not indifferent spectators of the contest. They saw, that it was a contest, in the issue of which, as far as related to our professed and apparent object, they had no interest. There was nothing great, nothing liberal in the cause; no wonder, therefore, that we have met with no greatness or liberality in those, to whom we looked for the means of sustaining it. The powers of the Continent have not forgotten the peace, the ignominious peace, of Amiens. Russia and Austria have not forgotten the losses of Sardinia and Portugal; nor have they forgotten our acquisition of the territories of Ceylon and Trinidad, by the giving up of which acquisition, they now know, that a compensation, if not a reinstatement, might have been obtained for the King of Sardinia. * And, those powers well know, though the remaining partisans of Mr. Pitt appear to have forgotten it, that the ministers who began and who concluded that peace are still in place, and have, of course, still the power of acting the same part again, as far, at least, as the French will let them. Mr. Pitt did, indeed, *talk* of "repressing the ambition and chastising the insolence of Buonaparté;" but, the powers of the Continent, like Doctor Primrose, have "heard these words somewhere before." They have found to their cost, that it is not the threats but the promises, of this gentleman, that are to be dreaded; a truth which they might have learnt twenty years ago by listening to Lord North, who, upon one of the debates about India, said that he never absolutely despaired of any cause that Mr. Pitt did not solemnly promise to maintain. The powers of the Continent have learnt from dear bought experience, that Mr. Pitt's words do not kill Frenchmen; and the French have, during the same period, learnt to despise and to laugh at those turgid and verbose harangues, of which, at last, the soft Cymons of England begin to be weary of the repetition.—Nevertheless, so bold, so apparently boundless, are the strides of Napoleon, that it seems to be next to impossible that Austria should not make some sort of effort to arrest his progress. What may be the consequence of such efforts no man can tell. The danger on the side of war as well as on the side of a continuation of peace is so tremendous, that there is, at the present moment, no contemplating either with that steady and tranquil view which is necessary to the forming of a rational conclusion upon the subject.

MARQUIS WELLESLEY.——It is impossible to touch upon the subject of conquests, and the annexation of territory, without having one's mind drawn towards that ill fated peninsula, that great republic of states, which, for many years past, has been groaning under the rod of England; and, though the conquests and annexations of the French conqueror differ as widely from those of Lord Wellesley as the combats of Richard Cœur de Lion differed from those of Don Quixote against the procession of monks, or the flock of sheep, yet, we see that the French fail not to justify themselves by his Lordship's example, and, we may rest assured, that, to all the other great and numerous evils of our India wars and conquests, we have to add no small part of the danger which we now experience from the divided and enfeebled state of the continent of Europe. The subject of Lord Wellesley's wars, respecting which, in imitation, doubtless, of Cæsar, he has favoured the world with some reasonably voluminous commentaries, seems, at last, to have attracted the serious attention of the House of Commons, where MR. PAULL, whom report represents as a gentleman well qualified for the task, has, within these few days, moved for the production of certain official documents, preparatory to an investigation, which he has promised to institute early in the next session of parliament, relative to two particular points in Lord Wellesley's conduct, namely, his aggression on the Vizier of Oude, and his appointment of and great pecuniary allowances to, his brother Mr. Wellesley, as a Lieutenant Governor. These two points are, one would think, very simple; yet, Mr. Paull will do well not to make too frequent a call for *papers*, of which, though he appears to be a very young man, he may be assured, that Lord Castlereagh will furnish him with more than he will be able to read before his locks are as white as silver. This is not the age when men read folios; and our warriors in the East, who seem to be all animated by one soul, as to this matter, scorn to put their hands to any thing short of a folio. With the other good things of the East, they seem, too, to have appropriated to themselves the Eastern manner of writing, by the aid of which they so swell out their relations and confuse their facts, that, a plain country gentleman, after having gone through a dozen or two of pages, not being able to dis-

* Register, Vol. III. p. 744, and p. 1024.

cern what part is to be regarded as history, and what as romance, throws down the folio, with the observation, that "government "must be supported," and slap goes his vote for the minister. With submission, therefore, to Mr. Paull, I retain my opinion, that, to call for papers from the ministers, particularly upon India Affairs, is not the way to come at *truth*, nor to produce effect upon the members of parliament, or upon the public. It is beginning at the wrong end. The facts ought to be well ascertained by the mover, before he opens the subject, who has, then, nothing to do but explicitly to state and perseveringly to urge his charge, leaving the ministers to defend themselves, and, if their defence consist of false assertions, then it is quite time enough to call for papers to disprove those assertions, which papers would necessarily lie in a small compass, or, at least, the parts whereon the parties were at issue would be easily selected, and would, of course, be read, understood, and speedily decided upon. A different course has, however, in compliance with custom, been adopted by Mr. Paull; and, for the present, I have only to say, that I sincerely hope, that he may discover perseverance suitable to the importance of the subject he has undertaken, and that that perseverance may be crowned with success, being clearly of opinion, that, from every thing that has been published relative to the two points in question, the conduct of Lord Wellesley is unjustifiable. And, here, I cannot resist, by way of conclusion, from observing, that the declaration which the debate reporters have imputed to Sir William Boroughs, namely, that *there was nothing contrary to law* in the act of appointing Mr. Wellesley to the situation of Lieutenant Governor with great pecuniary allowances, has stricken me, as I know it has many others, with a degree of astonishment, which even a due consideration of that gentleman's situation and probable views has not been able entirely to remove.

The Combined Fleets our vigilant ministers have found, at last, in the harbour of Martinico. The intelligence comes from St. Lucia, where it had, on the 14th of May, been notified, that an enemy's fleet of 10 sail of the line and 6 frigates had gone, a day or two before, into the harbour of Fort Royal, Martinico. The following is a copy of the note of Lord Hawkesbury, communicating this intelligence to the Mayor of London. "Lord Hawkesbury presents his com- "pliments to the Lord Mayor of London, "and sends him inclosed an entry from the "log-book of the Triton, Capt. Marshall, "dated St. Lucie the 14th of May last, "which Lord Hawkesbury has just received "in a letter from the Mayor of Liverpool, "at which port Capt. Marshall arrived on "the 29th ult.; and Lord Hawkesbury re- "quests the Lord Mayor will be so good as "to communicate the information therein "contained to Lloyd's Coffee-house."—— The entry from the Log Book of the Triton is as follows.—"Information was re- "ceived here (St. Lucie) this day, May 14, "from Captain Morris, commanding at the "Diamond Rock, that a French fleet, con- "sisting of sixteen sail of the line, six fri- "gates, and three brigs, had this morning "passed the Rock, and gone into Fort Roy- "al, Martinique.——On the 21st of May "was boarded by a boat from his Majesty's "ship Goolan, Captain Ayscough, off Cape "Samana and St. Domingo, to whom Cap- "tain Marshall communicated the above "information, and with whom he imme- "diately proceeded to Jamaica. On Mon- "day the 10th of June, Captain Marshall "was spoke by his Majesty's frigate, the "Mercury, Captain ————, in lat. 40. "51. N. and long. 48. W. bound from Ja- "maica for England, and to whom Captain "Marshall made the communication." The combined force is stated to be, of *French*, 11 sail of the line and 7 frigates; of *Spanish*, 5 sail of the line, 1 frigate, and 1 brig.—— The English force, under Admirals Dacres and Cochrane, consists of 9 ships of the line, besides frigates and sloops of war.—— Of Lord Nelson, who has about 10 sail of the line under him, it is said, that he was at Madeira, on his way to Jamaica, on the 17th of May.——The readers of the Register will now call to mind, that, from the moment a war with Spain was talked of, I besought their attention to the dangers, which we should be exposed to in the West Indies; that I have repeatedly dwelt upon the necessity of providing for the defence, both by land and sea, of those valuable possessions; and that I have more than once expressed my apprehension, that, while we were watching over the land of Egypt, in which we had no more interest, than we had in the lands which, as some suppose, make part of the moon, the enemy would capture, or at least, *lay waste* (for that I regarded as his object) those possessions which we have held for so long a time, which are so congenial to the nature of our warlike force, and which have been found so conducive to our national strength and prosperity. The Brazils, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, have all been mentioned as the probable objects of the combined expedition. But, there was great improbability in these conjectures. Napoleon and his councillors make a great deal of

our "Empire in the East," in their *representations* against us; but, they are not such fools as in earnest to envy us the possession of that Empire, though we hear a ministerial writer congratulating the public that the combined fleets have not taken that direction. Napoleon well knows what possessions are most valuable to us, and those he appears resolved to take from us, to destroy, or, at the very least, materially to injure. What, therefore, are we to think of the writers in the ministerial papers, who rejoice, or, who pretend, at least, to rejoice, that the combined fleets are safely moored in the West Indies! That the French intend to employ their troops against the blacks in Saint Domingo is quite improbable. They will, I should think, at once pitch on upon our Leeward Islands, and not go to Jamaica, where, from the inteiligence they will have received they will fear to have to face Lord Nelson, than whom they would rather meet with Satan himself. Indeed, the apparition of Lord Nelson will haunt them, from the moment they hear that he is in pursuit of them; and, except in case of accident to him (which God forbid!), they will find it difficult to stir from under their batteries for more than a fortnight or three weeks after their arrival at Martinico. So that, they may, probably, be able to effect nothing more than a capture of one or two of the Leeward Islands; which, however, they may render not worth our recovering, even if we had troops to spare for the undertaking. Of Antigua they will be likely to make sure on account of its dock-yards, and of the additional means thereby to be acquired of harrassing our trade. When Lord Nelson has arrived, they will probably go and remain quietly under their batteries of Fort Royal; and, in that case, the very least evil arising to us from the expedition, will be, the cost in money and the waste in lives arising from the necessity which we shall be under of keeping, in the West Indies, twenty sail of the line more, during the war, than we should have wanted there, had we not sent a writer of Epigrams to the court of Madrid! How dearly have we paid; and how dearly shall we yet pay, for being ruled by a minister beset with "young friends!"——[Since the above was written, intelligence has been received by government, that the Combined Fleets were still at Martinico on the 22d of May.]

The State of the Army has undergone another examination by Colonel Craufurd, who, on the 28th ultimo, proposed, after a very long and very able speech, a resolution upon the subject. Mr. Pitt, like the Copper Captain, "*seemed* to *stoop* to a defence," from his own lips, at least, and left it, therefore, to flow from those of Lord Castlereagh. There was a day, when conduct like this in Mr. Pitt, might, with some persons, have passed for *dignified*; but that day is passed; for neither silence nor any thing else will ever be attributed to *dignity of mind*, in the man who has sought for a reconciliation with, and who has lived in a state of abject political subjection to, persons, whom, only a few months ago, he characterised by every phrase he could think of descriptive of "*incapacity* and *imbecility*." —— Colonel Craufurd having, during his speech, noticed the ludicrous circumstance, that he himself, might, in consequence of the present system, find himself under the command of a certain pastry-cook in the city of London, to whom he very pointedly and very properly alluded, the hireling part of the press, through the means of which any man may procure the publication of any thing, provided he be willing and able *to pay* for it, has been animadverting very severely upon what they call "the *indelicacy* and *illiberality*" of the allusion; but, all those who heard Colonel Craufurd's speech must at once reject such an accusation; for, he spoke very handsomely of the pastry-cook in question, as a pastry-cook; and, as to the particular charges of *illiberality* and *indelicacy*, nothing can be farther from the truth, for he expressly applauded the pastry of the Volunteer Colonel, dwelt with evident pleasure on the delicacy of it, and, of course, encouraged a liberality of purchase in the eaters thereof. All that he found fault with, was, that the talents, by which the said pastry was produced, were directed from their proper sphere, especially as such diversion might tend to the destruction of the lives of men, to say nothing about the liberties of the country. The objection of Colonel Craufurd was not to the cook in question assuming the rank of Colonel, and exercising the functions thereunto attached over the volunteers, but to his exercising those functions *over the real soldiers*. What would it be to him whether Colonel Pitt took the command of Colonel Pattypan, or Colonel Pattypan of Colonel Pitt? But, when it becomes only possible, that either of them may assume the command over him, it then becomes him, or any real soldier; it then becomes him, as an officer of the army, and as a friend to his country, to make and to urge his objection.

Mr. Cochrane Johnstone.——The occurrences relating to this gentleman, late a Colonel in the army and the Governor of Dominica, having, and not without reason, excited an extraordinary degree of attention

and interest, I regret, that I have not, at present, time to make, upon the subject, those observations, which have presented themselves to my mind, and to which, in my next sheet, I shall have to solicit the attention of the reader. The subject was introduced in the House of Commons on the 28th ultimo, by General Fitzpatrick; and, closely connected as it evidently is with the first interests of the regular army, I should not think myself justifiable in the eyes of my readers, if I lost one moment in laying before them, with as much accuracy as the nature of the case admits of, the sentiments and the words of General Fitzpatrick, whose universally acknowledged judgment and integrity must give a favourable impression with respect to any cause that he espouses. "I rise, Sir," says he, "to mention a subject on which it is my intention hereafter "to submit a motion to the House; and I "wish to take the present opportunity of "doing so, because it relates to that military administration which is to form part "of the business of this day's discussion. "The present advanced state of the sessions "will prevent my being able to bring forward any motion, though I wish it much. "It is, however, a subject of such extreme "importance, that it is necessary for me to "take some notice of it. The House may "be assured I shall state it in form on a "future occasion, and as early as possible. "The subject consists of a very gross and "alarming evil; one which, I apprehend, has but lately crept into the administration of the military law of this "country. I trust, the practice to which "I allude is an innovation of not many "years standing. I am informed it is. It "respects the execution of the duties of the "office of Judge Advocate General of the "Army. I find, that under the present "practice there is in the office of Judge "Advocate the assumption of a power which "I conceive is not consistent with that office, and not warranted by the laws and "constitution of this country. Every gentleman who hears me knows how great "the extent of the royal prerogative is with "respect to the military government. Every "one knows the power of his Majesty to "dismiss, without a court martial, any person who bears a commission in the army. "I should be the last man to call in question the royal prerogative, but I am sure "no man will contradict me when I say, "that a prerogative of such extent ought "to be exercised *under the advice of responsible ministers.* The law of this "country enables his Majesty to appoint "courts martial for military offences.—The "law places in his Majesty the right of "confirming or remitting their sentences, "but I do not believe that the law or the "constitution of this country could ever intend that the officer of the crown, in the "exercise of such a prerogative, should be "the Judge Advocate of the Army. I believe he is at present the sole adviser of "the crown; I believe that this practice "has prevailed only during a part of the "time the Right Honourable Baronet has "been in possession of it. Formerly the "transmission of sentences of courts martial was through the office of the Secretary at War. The Secretary at War of "course became responsible for the advice "he gave. With respect to his decision, I am not sure that I think that "was sufficiently solemn for a decision "on so important a point. *I cannot "conceive why the lives, fortunes, and "characters of his Majesty's military officers should not be entitled to as solemn a "consideration as those of every other subject in the country.* Every one knows "that those important concerns, as they "affect other classes of his Majesty's subjects, are decided by his Majesty in council. I think the same solemnity ought "to be observed with regard to the sentences of courts martial; but that will "be a question for future consideration. "That this practice does prevail, and has "been attended with great hardship to individuals, I shall be enabled to shew in "a case that has lately occurred, and has "spread the greatest alarm throughout the "whole army: I allude to the case of "COLONEL COCHRANE JOHNSTONE, a gentleman who, *after a trial by a court-martial, and an honourable acquittal, has, at the instance of the Judge Advocate, been exposed to the penalties and punishment attendant upon guilt.* This is what "I shall submit to parliament. I am aware "that an appeal from the sentence of any "court-martial to this House is a delicate "question; but in the present case the appeal is in favour of the court-martial, "and seeks redress against the effects of "undue influence. I beg pardon for dwelling so long on the subject. I have risen "to give this notice, and I shall bring forward the motion early next sessions. It "will consist of two branches; one will "be a complaint against the exercise of "the office; the other will refer to the "means of defining the power of the officer, and will suggest some provisions "as to the manner of his conducting himself in future."——In these sentiments every one, who has any regard for justice,

and for the good of the military service, must, I think, heartily agree. As to the particular case of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, I have not, as I said before, now sufficient time before me to enter into its merits; but, I cannot suffer this paper to go from under my hand without declaring, that, after a very attentive perusal of his very able letter to the Duke of York, together with the documents accompanying it, I am firmly convinced, that he has, in consequence of misinformation and bad advice, been treated in a manner, not to be justified upon any of those principles which have long happily distinguished the laws and usages of the British monarchy. There is one circumstance more to notice here, and that is, that this gentleman is a relation of Lord Melville; but, I am certain, that the reader will turn with scorn from the idea of visiting upon one man the imputations against another, however nearly they may be connected by those ties, which should never produce any but the most amiable and beneficent effects.

ADMIRAL DUCKWORTH.——It will be recollected, that, on the 7th ultimo, Colonel Wood made a motion in the House of Commons, for certain papers relative to the proceedings of a court martial, held at Portsmouth some time before, for the trial of Admiral Duckworth, upon charges preferred against him by Captain Wood, late of the Acasta frigate. Mr. W. Dickinson, Captain Bennet, *Sir William Elford*, Mr. Baker, Admiral Markham, Lord Glenbervie, and Capt. Harvey, spoke against the motion; and, to use the words of the Times newspaper (and why I quote that paper I shall presently state), "the *whole House*, with the exception of the honourable Colonel himself, negatived the motion for the production of papers." That this statement is correct I know; and, I must confess that I know it with regret; for, after all that we have seen and heard during the last six months, I could have earnestly wished to see the House of Commons not only grant the papers called for by Colonel Wood, but lend to that gentleman every necessary assistance in the prosecution of the inquiry, which was the object he professed to have in view. In his speech he unequivocally charged Admiral Duckworth with a wilful violation of the 18th article of war, which article positively forbids any captain or other commander of a King's ship from taking on board, or causing to be taken on board, any goods or merchandizes whatsoever, except in cases specified in the article of war, and which exception does not apply to the present case. At this time I shall only observe, that, according to the minutes of the evidence taken before the court-martial, and purporting to be "published by permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty;" according to these minutes, it appears, that one of the King's ships was, by the order of Admiral Duckworth, loaded with a great quantity of goods and merchandizes, in direct violation of the law. The gentlemen, who spoke against the motion of Colonel Wood, did not attempt to deny the charge. They all *spoke to character*. One had known him a long time; one had known him a shorter time; another had had the honour of commanding him; another had had the greater honour of being commanded by him; another had had the pleasure to sail with him in several voyages; another had had the happiness of his society on shore; and all agreeing, with that truth, doubtless, which ought to be expected from them upon such an occasion, that he was a most amiable and disinterested man. But, what had this to do with the loading of the Acasta? What had it to do with the charge preferred? What had it, I would ask Admiral Markham, to do with the violation of the law alleged by Colonel Wood? Admiral Markham's words, as reported in the Times newspaper, which I quote because it is a print which has been most steadily and most laudably engaged in supporting the cause of the country against the partisans of Lord Melville; his words, as here reported, were as follow:——"Admiral Markham stated what he knew of the gallant admiral. He had served under his command; he had known him thirty years; he went out with him to the West Indies in 1789. In 1797 and 1798, he was under him on the coast of Ireland; he went to the Mediterranean in 1798; in the end of 1798, he went, subject to his orders, to Minorca, second in command. Knowing so much of the gallant admiral, he felt it to be incumbent upon him to give his opinion on this occasion to the House, and he could honestly declare, that during the whole period, he never knew him do any thing that was oppressive to the officers under his command. With respect to the *law* opinion, he would just say, that probably, *not an officer in the navy but might be superceded on such an opinion; for, hardly one of them was free from the sin of transgression as to the eighteenth article of war. (A laugh.)* Most captains brought home a pipe, or even more, of wine for himself and friends, when on a wine station; and he himself had, *when at the Admiralty, requested some of his naval friends to bring him some wine.* An hon. gen-

" tleman over against him (Sir Philip Ste-" phens), must remember the practice be-" fore he was born. *(Laugh.)*"——What! And is it true, then, that the law is thus set at defiance? Is it true, that there is scarcely a Captain in the Navy who has not violated the law in a point where there is no possibility of misunderstanding it? If this be so, the Parliament House was, surely, not the place to proclaim the fact aloud, and to " *laugh*" at it; and, I think, it will be agreed, that, of *all men in the world*, with the single exception of Lord St. Vincent, Admiral Markham should have been the *last man* so to proclaim and so to laugh. What! the very gentleman, who, in proportion to his capacity, has been the first amongst the pursuers of the enormities brought to light by the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry! Is it true, that while the House yet rings with his bold assertion, that one *third part* of the naval money might be saved by *putting a stop to abuses;* is it, can it be, true, that this very gentleman has since stood up to " *laugh*" at a violation of the law, a *gross*, a most gross, violation of the law, in all the officers of the Navy; and even to avow, that he, while a Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, requested of some of those officers to do, that which we know the law has positively prohibited!—I shall return to this subject; for, with me, where there is not *perfect impartiality*, there is *no justice*.

Athol Claim.——Upon this subject I have no room for remark; but, I cannot refrain from saying, that, in the course of a week or two, I hope to be able to exhibit the whole transaction to my readers in its true light.

VIEWS OF THE CATHOLICS.

[The following letter was sent to me previous to the discussion of the Catholic Question. Want of room then prevented its insertion; but, the reasoning it contains is applicable to all times, and, as it appears to me to state the *real grounds*, upon which moderate and disinterested men have opposed the claims of the Catholics, I think it worthy of public attention, and a further motive for its insertion at present, is, that it will probably lead to a discussion of this important part of the subject.]

Sir,——I have perused the petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, with that attention which a document of such importance deserves; and if the whole of the case, with all its connexions, under all its bearings, and with all the more or less remote consequences which are expected to flow from it, have been fully and fairly stated; if " emancipation" is to be understood in the limited and strict sense which the gentlemen who have signed the petition appear to give it; if no *further views* are concealed under this expression of their principles and wishes; I should have no hesitation to admit the policy and expediency of acceding to their demands. But, with every sentiment of respect towards many of those who have subscribed this act, I must be permitted to doubt, if it can be considered as containing the *whole* of the concessions which are ultimately expected from the Legislature. The principal Catholics in Ireland may very possibly look to nothing more than what is comprised in their petition; but if the knowledge which I have been able to obtain of the sentiments of the great bulk of his Majesty's Catholic subjects in that country is correct, these latter will be by no means satisfied with the, what would be to them nugatory and useless privileges of sitting in the Houses of Parliament, filling the great offices of state, &c. *Their* views are said to be more substantial; *they* look forward to an exemption from those tithes which they now pay to the Protestant clergy, and nothing short of this will, I am assured, allay *their* discontents. I do not notice other grievances which may exist in Ireland, such as the mode of farming out estates, &c. as they are not immediately connected with the purpose of the present inquiry.——If such are the views of the great body of the Catholics, and there seems to be but little doubt on this point in the minds of those who appear to be best acquainted with the interior of Ireland; it behoves us well to consider, whether the attainment of them will not be very much facilitated by granting that increase of power, which is the avowed object of the present petition? And what effect their final accomplishment would produce on the whole system of internal polity of the British empire?——With respect to the first of these questions, little need be said, as it must be obvious that such an accession of power as the Roman Catholic interest would derive from the acquiescence of the Legislature in the demands specified in the petition, must necessarily add to the means which it may already possess, of furthering the attainment of its future objects. ——And with regard to the second question, that is to say, the effect which may be produced on our internal polity, I am inclined to apprehend, that as the measure to which I allude must be an imperial measure, affecting alike all parts of the British empire, an exemption from tithes must inevitably tend to the total dissolution of our church establishment, not only in Ireland, but in this country, as well as of the various

institutions derived from, or interwoven with it.——If dissenters of the Roman Catholic persuasion are exempted from the burthen of contributing to the support of the ministers of the established church, upon the ground that they ought not in justice to be called upon to maintain ministers whose doctrines they do not profess, and whose ministry they do not require, I cannot see how that exemption can be with-held from dissenters of every other description; and if that exemption should be general, which I contend it must be, if granted at all, a wide door would be thrown open to all those of the established church who might wish to escape the payment of tithes, to secede from that church, or, at least, to all those who may feel less indifference with respect to their worldly concerns than to those of religion.——What may be the numbers of those who may be thus tempted to become seceders, I shall leave to the conjectures and calculations of those who have had opportunities of observing the present influence of the religious principle throughout this country. This influence is visibly and rapidly decreasing; and should the Legislature hereafter deprive the established church of all that pre-eminence, and all those exclusive privileges, with respect to civil rights, which its members now enjoy, whilst at the same time it holds out the certainty of an exemption from pecuniary burthens to those who secede from it, the consequences must be evident.——Some of these seceders may, indeed, have to support the ministers of whatever persuasion they may chuse to embrace; but, upon the same principle that Roman Catholics may claim to be exempted from paying tithes to a Protestant minister, because they are not of that persuasion, other persons, who profess no religion at all may, with equal justice, claim to be exempted from paying to any minister of any persuasion, because they are of none.——These observations, with respect to tithes, will apply with equal force as to rates for the repairs of churches, as well as the several duties and obligations arising out of our establishment; for it would be absurd to grant an exemption from the one, leaving the others to subsist. And if the measure of emancipation should be hereafter pushed to the extent which I have supposed, the confusion will be general; and the least of the evils which will ensue from it will be, that of a disgraceful competition between churches of various persuasions, as to which shall gain over the greatest number of adherents, by calling for the least pecuniary remuneration; or, in other words, by exercising their ministry at the cheapest rate.——None of your correspondents have, as far as I have seen, examined the question of emancipation under this point of view. If any of them regard these opinions as erroneous, and my apprehensions as unfounded, I shall be very glad to be set aright, and they will find me open to conviction.——I feel as strongly as any man the expediency of rendering every class of the King's subjects happy and contented, and thereby of promoting a thorough and cordial union between all the parts of the British empire in this eventful crisis; and I again repeat, that I should be disposed to accede to the prayer of the Catholic petition, if it can be shewn that the Catholics will stop here; and that these concessions will not ultimately lead to a measure which will draw on the disastrous consequences which I have touched upon.——I am well persuaded of the extreme importance of tranquillizing Ireland, as well as of the policy of making all reasonable sacrifices to this effect; and, abstractedly from all political considerations, I am an advocate for a due religious toleration; but I must be understood to mean that degree of toleration which is compatible with the prosperity and existence of our church establishment. And let me here add, that toleration is in no case a *matter of right*, as I have seen it stated to be in one of your late Registers. It is a mere question of policy and expediency: for I contend, that the lawful sovereign power of a country has a most perfect *right*, either to with-hold toleration altogether, or to grant it in whatever degree, and under whatever modifications it may deem consistent with the welfare of the state.——I am, Sir, Your's, &c.——A CHURCHMAN.

5th April, 1805.

MERCHANTS' PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGE.

SIR,——The public are very highly indebted to Mr. Serjeant Best, for having directed the attention of parliament to the defect in the statute of the 4th of his present Majesty, respecting merchants and traders having privilege of parliament.——This very wholesome and beneficial act was intended to relieve the public from the serious inconveniencies which had been felt by the mercantile world, from persons in trade being entitled to the privilege of parliament; and it enacted, that in case a trader having privilege of parliament, did not within two months after an affidavit of debt had been filed in one of the courts at Westminster by the creditor of such trader, either pay, compound, or give such security for the debt to be recovered in the action, as should be approved of by a judge of the court, wherein such affidavit was filed and action brought,

that such trader, notwithstanding his privilege, might be declared bankrupt from the expiration of that period; but the statute, very unfortunately, does not point out in what manner such action can be proceeded in so as to facilitate the recovery of the debt; and, therefore, in those cases wherein bonds are entered into with such sufficient sureties to pay whatever may be recovered in the action with costs, in order to prevent the debtor becoming bankrupt, the creditors are left without any remedy, unless the debtor voluntarily enters an appearance to the process so issued against him; but if he refuses or neglects to do so, the creditor is deprived of all the benefit the legislature intended he should have by virtue of that act.——It appears that the judge before whom the bond is given, according to the act, has no power to make it a condition in such bond, that the debtor shall enter an appearance to the process issued against him, according to this act, within the time prescribed by the courts in ordinary cases; and, therefore, the creditor is left without any remedy whatever, as he cannot enter an appearance to the process he has issued, and the bond given according to this statute to prevent the debtor becoming bankrupt is of no avail, as "the condition "of the bond is only to pay such sums as "may be recovered in the action so brought, "and costs;" and in the event of the death of the debtor, the bond must be deemed void, no judgment having been had in the action so brought from the want of an appearance; and the like inconvenience will also arise in case the debtor ceases to have privilege for the action being brought by summons and original bill, according to the 4th of the present King, and not by common process, it is understood the creditor in that event cannot proceed further in the action brought according to that statute.—— From these circumstances it is presumed the learned serjeant had been induced to bring forward the bill now before parliament, in order to remedy the inconveniencies before stated, and to give effect to the intention of the legislature in passing the before-mentioned act, and as the intended act does not in any manner interfere with the personal privileges of any member, whether in trade or otherwise, it is sincerely to be wished the bill introduced by Mr. Serjeant Best may pass into a law.——If the principle of the bill had been novel, some degree of jealousy might naturally have been expected to have arisen on the occasion; but as it is only intended to remedy a defect in a former act, so as the intention of the legislature in passing that act may not be defeated, it is expected the independence and integrity of parliament will allow the present bill to pass into a law. ——It is understood that the late chief justice of England often expressed his regret that from the defect in this act the public were deprived of the benefit the legislature intended they should have derived from it.—— ALFRED.——*25th June*, 1805.

WHO IS THE IRISH MINISTER?

SIR,——Being a plain man and very little accustomed to public business I take this liberty of writing to you and hope that either you, Mr. Cobbett, or some of your correspondents will assist me with advice on the following case.——By the death of a near relation I lately became entitled to a claim of some value upon the Irish government. I consulted my attorney, who is a very wise man in politics, and has a friend in the treasury, as to the manner in which I ought to proceed to get my claim brought forward. In his opinion no time was to be lost in applying in person to the Irish minister, but there a difficulty occurred, namely, to ascertain who this minister was; but this was happily removed by an application to our treasury friend, who declared it to be beyond a doubt that, since the union, the Secretary of State for the Home Department was the Irish minister. With some pains I succeeded in obtaining an audience of Lord Hawkesbury, but I had no sooner finished my story, than his lordship cut me short, by saying the business in question came within the province of Mr. Vansittart's official duties. To Mr. Vansittart I next applied, but he told me that as it was a money transaction I had better see Mr. Foster. Mr. Foster expressed great readiness to assist me, but recommended me to do nothing without knowing Lord Hardwick's sentiments upon the subject. I then, Sir, made a journey to Dublin, but though Lord Hardwicke was very civil *he* said, that *he could do nothing* till he saw Mr. Marsden. I thought it right then to go to Mr. Marsden, hoping that at last I had fixed upon my man, but how great was my disappointment to find from him that, as my claim was of great importance it was quite necessary that I should see Lord Redesdale. Thus, Mr. Cobbett, I have been baffled in all my attempts and, therefore, I hope you will insert this statement in your Register, that I may have an opportunity of being accurately informed who the Irish minister is.——Your obedient servant.—M. M.—*June* 20, 1805.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

M. Schimmelpenninck's Speech, concluded from p. 925.

I think what I have advanced is sufficient for

the present; but perhaps your High Mightinesses, perhaps the nation, have a right to examine and consider upon the measures I intend to adopt for the redress of their grievances, and the renewing of their prosperity.——It is needless to say a single word respecting my inclination and resolution to sacrifice what is most dear to me, in order to accomplish so desirable an object. This very hall, Paris, Amiens, and London, can testify my love and zeal for my country.——I have no doubt of succeeding in these undertakings. My hopes are founded on Providence, whom I adore, and whose care and protection we have so often experienced. ——On the calm reason and sound judgment of the nation; on that valour which ever distinguished them; on their good faith, honour, and inward conviction, depends this last attempt to re-establish their happiness. ——It likewise depends on the assistance, and concord in opinion, of your High Mightinesses; on the wisdom of your resolutions; on the power of your example; and on the firmness of your courage; objects in which I cannot be disappointed if I have acquired any knowledge of mankind.——Finally, it depends on our love for our country, and the great promises I have of the assistance of the great Napoleon, that extraordinary genius, who is admired both by friends and foes, who, after having caused a change in the affairs of France, which will be a subject of wonder and astonishment to future ages, has obtained the greatest influence over us, as well as over several other nations, of whose friendship I have the greater reason to boast, because it was obtained by never swerving from truth or rectitude in all my words, my actions, or even in my thoughts, which his penetrating eye read in the deepest recesses of my heart.——Notwithstanding these hopes, I am not certain of attaining my end. The book of futurity is shut to yourselves as well as to me. As for myself, I shall never quit my object, till I have used every possible effort in my power to attain it; I shall never quit it dishonourably. May Heaven avert all disappointment, may its blessings crown our labour with success, and re-establish the nation in its former flourishing state and happiness.

Extract from French Official Paper, 5th May, 1805, concluded from p. 996.

Gentlemen of the legislative body,——I have caused a detailed account to be rendered to me of all the parts of the administration. I have introduced into these divers branches the same simplicity that, with the help of the consulta and of the censure, I established in the division of the constitutions of Lyons. Whatever is good, whatever is beautiful, is always the result of a uniform and simple system. I have suppressed the double organization of the departmental administrations, and of the administrations of prefecture, because I have thought that by resting the administration solely upon the prefects, not only a million would be economized in the expenses, but a greater rapidity would be obtained in the course of business. If I have annexed to the prefects a council for litigations, it is to the principle which requires that the administration be the act of one, and that the decision of litigious objects be the act of many.——The statutes which you have just heard read, extend to my people of Italy the benefits of the code, over the drawing up of which I myself presided. I have ordered my council to prepare an organization of the judiciary order which may render to the tribunals the lustre and consideration which it is my intention to give them. I could not approve that a prætor alone should be called to pronounce upon the fortune of the citizens, and that judges hidden from the eyes of the public should decide in secret not only upon their property but upon their lives. In the organization which will be presented to you, my council will study to make my people enjoy all the advantages which result from collective tribunals, from a public procedure, and from a contradictory defence. It is to secure to them a justice more evidently enlightened, that I have established that the circumstances in which Italy now is, permitted me to think of the establishment of juries; but the judges must pronounce like the juries, from their sole conviction, and without deliveirng themselves up to that system of half proofs which much oftener endangers innocence than it serves to discover guilt. The surest rule of a judge who has presided over the trial, is the conviction of his conscience.—— I have myself watched over the establishment of regular and conservative forms in the finances of the state, and I hope that my people will find themselves well, from the order which I have commanded my ministers of finance and of the public treasure to establish in the accounts which will be public. I have consented that the public debt should bear the name of Monte-Napoleon, to give a guarantee the more of fidelity in the engagements which constitute it, and a new vigour to credit.——The public instruction will cease to be departmental, and I have fixed the basis to give it the ensemble, uniformity and direction, which must have so much influence

upon the morals and habits of the rising generation.——I have judged that it was proper, from this year forward, to place more equality in the distribution of the departmental expenses, and to afford succour to those of my departments, such as the Mincio and the Lower Po, which find themselves burthened by the necessity of defending themselves against the ravages of the waters.——The finances are in the most prosperous situation, and all payments are free of arrears. My people of Italy is of all the nations of Europe the least loaded with taxes. No new burthens shall be laid on them; and if there be any change made in any contribution, if the enregistrement is established in the project of budget, according to a moderate tarif, it is for the purpose of diminishing more onerous impositions: the Terrier is full of imperfections, which manifest themselves every day. To remedy them, I shall vanquish the obstacles which are opposed to such operations, much less by the nature of things than by private interest; I, however, do not hope to arrive at results, such as may cause to be avoided the inconvenience of raising a tax until the period it may reach to. ——I have taken measures to order the clergy a proper endowment, which they have been deprived of for these ten years past; and if I have made some unions of converts, I wished to preserve, and it is my intention to protect those who devote themselves to services of public utility, or who, placed in the country parts, are in places and in circumstances wherein they supply the want of secular clergy. I have at the same time provided that the bishops should have the means to be useful to the poor, and I only wait, to occupy myself with the lot of the curates, for the information which I have ordered to be quickly collected upon their real situation: I know that many of them, especially in the mountains, are in a penury which I have the most pressing desire to put an end to.——Independent of the road of Simplon, which will be finished this year, and at which four thousand workmen are working at this moment, in the part alone that crosses the kingdom of Italy, I have ordered that the bridge of Volano should be begun, and that such important works should be undertaken without delay, and pursued with activity.——I have neglected none of the objects upon which my experience in administration could be useful to my people of Italy. Before I return across the mountains, I shall go over a part of the departments to become nearer acquainted with their wants.——I shall leave depositary of my authority this young prince, whom I have brought up from his infancy, and who will be animated with my spirit. I have besides taken measures to direct myself the most important affairs of the state.——Orators of my council will present to you a project of law authorising to my Chancellor Keeper of the Seals, Melzi, to act for four years in the quality of depositary of my authority, as vice-president; a domain which, remaining in his family, may attest to his descendants the satisfaction I have felt from its services.——I think I have given fresh proofs of my constant resolution to fulfil towards my people of Italy every thing they expect from me. I hope that in their turn they will be desirous of occupying the place that I destine for them in my thoughts; and they never will attain it, but by persuading themselves that the force of arms is the principal support of states.——It is time that that youth who live in the idleness of great cities, should cease to fear the fatigues and dangers of war, and that they should enable themselves to make their country be respected, if they wish their country to be respectable.——Gentlemen of the legislative body, vie in zeal with my council of state, and by that concourse of wills towards the sole aim of the public prosperity, give to my representative the support he should receive from you.——The British government having received, with an evasive answer, the propositions I made to it, and the King of England having immediately rendered them public by insulting my people in his parliament, I have seen the hopes considerably weakened, which I had conceived of the re-establishment of peace. However, the French squadrons have since obtained successes to which I attach importance only because they must farther convince my enemies of the inutility of a war which affords them nothing to gain and every thing to lose. The divisions of the flotillas and the frigates built at the expense of the finances of my kingdom of Italy, and which at present make a part of the French forces, have rendered useful services in many circumstances. I preserve the hope that the peace of the Continent will not be troubled; and at all events, I find myself in a position to fear none of the chances of war; I shall be in the midst of you the very moment my presence would become necessary for the preservation of my kingdom of Italy.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 2.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY, 13, 1805. [PRICE 1OD.

"My lords, never did I witness a job come into parliament in a way more gross and palpable than the "present. In a few days parliament will disperse, and I hope we shall not return to our homes with the "stigma of having passed such a bill as that now before us; that we shall not thus put an end to a "session, during which less of glorious and more of inglorious things have been exhibited to the world, "than during any former session within the memory of man Let us not, at a moment like this, when "all classes of the people are ground down with taxes, add to their burdens by voting a boon to mendicant "importunity. However critical may be the times; however great may be our dangers; however hopeless "the state of our finances; let us not, my lords, like sailors, when they see their vessel driving upon the "rocks, abandon the sails, throw up the helm, and fall to plundering the chests. Let us rather, my lords, "by virtuous deeds, endeavour to resist the storm, and to avert the vengeance that seems ready to burst "upon us. Let us, at any rate, for that is completely in our power, return to our homes with the con- "sciousness and the reputation of honest men."—THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE'S Speech, on the 8th inst. upon the Athol Claim-bill.

ON IMPEACHMENTS.

SIR,—During the discussions which have taken place in the last month, much has been said, and written, as to the inconveniency, the delay, and the expense attendant upon trials by impeachment. But it was well observed, that those who indiscriminately condemn trials by impeachment, find fault with the constitution of Great Britain.——It is impossible for a man to consider the conduct of the House of Lords setting as a court of justice, without being fully convinced that it is a fair, an honourable, and an impartial tribunal. If, indeed, we were to go back to the earlier period of our history, we should find that impeachments have often originated in violence, and terminated in injustice. This remark, however, does not apply to later periods. Even in the reign of Charles the First, when the Commons impeached the Earl of Stafford, the trial before the Lords was conducted with decency, and even with justice. No judgment was pronounced, because the Commons changed that mode of proceeding before the close of the trial. They voted a bill of attainder, and the populace, encouraged by the leading members of the Commons, compelled the House of Lords and the King to pass the bill.——In the next reign Lord Stafford fell a victim to the public dread of popery. He was impeached by the Commons, and found guilty by the Lords, as a party to a plot which had no existence; but the same fate would have awaited him, had he been tried by a jury, since many innocent men were condemned and executed on the same evidence that was produced against Lord Stafford. Four whig lords were impeached by a tory House of Commons at the close of King William's reign. The charge was a state crime, advising his Majesty to consent to the celebrated partition treaty. This was, in truth, a mere party business, a tory lord, the Earl of Jersey, was equally guilty of this crime, if the act was criminal, but being a tory, he escaped impeachment. The Commons declined to support their impeachment, and the Lords were acquitted of course.——In the reign of Anne, a turbulent parson was impeached for preaching a seditious sermon, and after a regular trial, was found guilty. This was also a party question, and though the man was guilty, the whigs had reason to lament that they made him of consequence enough to bring him to so solemn a trial, as the cry of the church being in danger, was artfully adopted by the tories, and was the first cause of the overthrow of Lord Godolphin's administration.——In the reign of George the First, several lords were impeached for high treason. The charge was fully and speedily proved, and sentence pronounced without delay.——In the same reign the Earl of Oxford was impeached for high treason, and high crimes and misdemeanors, though it was much doubted, whether, if the article charging the first could have been proved, it would have amounted to high treason. He had been minister during the four last years of Queen Anne, and the crime was, concluding the peace of Utrecht, which had been approved of by two parliaments in that reign, though so strongly condemned by the whig House of Commons of her successor. Lord Oxford lay two years a prisoner in the Tower, and then petitioned either for a trial or a discharge.——The Lords called upon the Commons to proceed, and the trial commenced in Westminster Hall. The Commons began by opening a very trifling charge. The Lords directed them to proceed first with the article of high treason, observing, that if found guilty of that charge, Lord Oxford would forfeit both life and estate, which would render it useless to proceed further. The Commons insisted on

their right, to begin with which article they thought proper. The Lords contended, and apparently with very good sense, that as a court of justice they were to direct the proceedings. They therefore appointed a day for continuing the trial. The Commons positively prohibited any of their members from attending on that day, and on the Lords going into Westminster Hall, and no prosecutors appearing, Lord Oxford was unanimously acquitted.——Such is the public history of this extraordinary case, but it was generally believed that the original movers of this prosecution, sought a quarrel on finding that their impeachment could not be successfully prosecuted, a state crime except in times of violence, being very difficult to be defined or proved.——There was also in the same reign an impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors, of a nobleman, Lord Macclesfield, who had been Lord Chancellor, and who was not only high in the esteem and confidence of the King, but powerfully connected with the great families of the kingdom. The charge was for corruption in his office as Chancellor of Great Britain. The charge was proved, and he was found guilty by the unanimous voice of his peers.——In the reign of George the Second, there were several impeachments for high treason, in consequence of the rebellion of 1745. The charge in each impeachment was proved, and sentence followed without delay.——From the preceding statement it is clear, that from the period of the revolution to the commencement of the present reign, every impeachment that the Commons have prosecuted to a legal termination, they prosecuted successfully, and with very little delay or inconvenience.——The impeachment of the four whig lords, in the reign of William, and of Lord Oxford in the reign of George the First, they never did prosecute. They were terminated by a quarrel with the Lords, on points of form. The charges were of a particular nature, hard to be defined, and difficult to be proved. The partition treaty was as strongly approved of by one party in the nation as it was condemned by another; and while the whigs censured, the tories applauded the peace of Utrecht. Neither the whig lords, nor the Earl of Oxford, were supposed to be actuated by corrupt motives, and the extent of the state crime in any of these cases, could only have been an error in judgment.——Much has been said, of the delay and expense attending the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, and if that precedent was to be followed, most undoubtedly no man would wish to see an impeachment in future.——The same argument might be urged with some degree of force against a bill of pains and penalties, because that mode of proceeding was instituted against Sir Thomas Rumbold, and dropped in the third year of it.——But no man who is acquainted with the proceedings on the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, can think that it forms a precedent likely, or indeed possible, to be followed up in future. The charge against him was not a charge of high treason which is capable of proof, or of being invalidated in a very short time, nor simply of the corruption in the execution of a great office, which is also capable of being speedily substantiated or disproved, but it was a charge comprehending the whole of his conduct as the sovereign of a great empire, civil, military, judicial, and financial, during a government of thirteen years, to which was added corruption in office, and a waste of public money for private purposes. That charges so extensive, and which the life of man appears too short to go through, came to be voted by the House of Commons, strikes us now as extraordinary, and that they were so voted, was owing to a departure from former precedents.——The general mode of originating impeachments, has been to move, in the first instance, that the party should be impeached. That vote being carried, a committee has been appointed to draw up the articles, which having been presented, were approved, or altered by the House; then carried to the Lords and managers appointed to make them good at the trial. Such has been the practice in every instance since the revolution.——In the case of Mr. Hastings, the proceedings were reversed, and hence arose the immense mass of criminating charges preferred against that gentleman, and the great delay and the enormous expense attending the trial, which did indeed last as long as the siege of Troy. The notice of moving a prosecution against him was given in 1785. The proceedings in the House of Commons lasted the two following sessions, when the impeachment was voted, and the articles carried to the Lords. The trial began in 1788, and the prosecution closed in 1791. The defence in 1793. The reply in 1794. And, in 1795 Mr. Hastings was acquitted of all the charges. ——Strange and paradoxical as it may appear, yet the fact is true, that the Commons never did come to any distinct vote on the criminating allegations contained in the articles preferred against Mr. Hastings, and that they did not do so, was owing to the mode of proceeding which was adopted. This will be proved by stating what was that mode.——Mr. Hastings returned from Bengal, after having been thirteen years at the

head of that government. In that period he increased the resources of the Bengal government, more than two millions sterling a year. He left it in perfect tranquillity, incumbered with a very trifling debt, and during the general war, which the contest with America had occasioned, he counteracted every effort made by France, in concert with Hyder Ally and the Mahrattas, against the British empire in India. On his arrival in England he received the unanimous thanks of the two Courts of Directors, and Proprietors, his masters, for his long, faithful, and able services. It was a fact of public notoriety, that his character was highly esteemed by the natives whom he had so long governed, and by his British fellow subjects in India. There was not a single complaint against him from any quarter, and his Majesty's ministers expressly disavowed the most distant idea of instituting a criminal prosecution against him.——Under these circumstances, therefore, if a member had proposed a vote of impeachment according to the usual precedents the business had ended at once.——Mr. Burke began by moving for certain papers, from which the House, as he said, would naturally ground their impeachment of Mr. Hastings. These were granted. Motions of a criminatory nature were moved, and negatived. Mr. Burke was next desired to present his charges, which if adopted by the House would naturally lead to an impeachment. These charges he did present. They were twenty-four, and each contained a very great number of criminal allegations. It was stated that these charges if they were voted, were not to be deemed articles of impeachment, but that on a subsequent stage of the proceeding, they were to be referred to a secret committee, who were to frame them into articles, which if approved by the House, were then to be presented to the House of Lords.——After these charges had been printed, Mr. Hastings was heard at the bar of the House.——A debate followed on the first, and as Mr. Burke said, the most important charge which was negatived. The next debate, and that which was decisive of the impeachment, was on the charge called Benares. This contained no more than *eighteen* criminal allegations. But the mode adopted, and which led to all the subsequent delay in the trial was, to move that the Benares charge contained *matter for impeachment*. Mr. Pitt, who spoke with infinite ability and eloquence, not only defended Mr. Hastings against *seventeen* of the criminal allegations, but declared that his conduct was in the highest degree meritorious. On *one point*, and on *one only*, he condemned Mr. Hastings, and this was, for his intention of imposing a fine of forty or fifty lacks of rupees on the Rajah of Benares for his delinquency. The delinquency he fully admitted, but he conceived that the intended punishment went beyond the offence. Now, the charge expressly stated that the Rajah had been guilty of no offence, and that every demand made by Mr. Hastings upon him, to contribute his proportion to the expense of the war, was an act of injustice, and a breach of treaty.—The common sense mode of proceeding, certainly would have been to have put a question on each of the eighteen criminal allegations, as the only mode by which the sense of the House could have been fairly taken. If that had been done, it is *probable* at least, that upon seventeen criminatory charges, the majority might have voted with Mr. Pitt, and had that been the case, it is very possible, that after approving all Mr. Hastings *had done*, the House might have paused before they voted to impeach Mr. Hastings for what he had *intended* to do, and which intention never was communicated to the Rajah, nor carried into effect.——With this vote the proceedings closed for the session. In the next session many other charges were voted precisely in the same way; each charge containing a great variety of criminal allegations, but the motion upon each charge, being, that it contained *matter for impeachment*. ——Mr. Pitt delivered his statement on each charge, and specifically stated the point on each, which he thought contained a ground for impeachment.—— If, therefore, the House had divided on the different allegations, the probability is, that when the articles were put into forms, the points of the charge would have been very few, very intelligible, and the impeachment of Mr. Hastings might have been finished, as Lord Macclesfield's was, in twenty days.—After Mr. Burke's charges had been gone through, a secret committee was appointed to draw up the articles of impeachment. This committee consisted of gentlemen who conceived that Mr. Hastings was criminal in every thing that he had done. It was extremely natural, therefore, that *they* should make their articles a transcript almost of Mr. Burke's charges. The only change was, that they were put in a more technical and legal form.——They were presented to the House, read a first time *pro forma*, and ordered to be printed.——When read a second time, it was to be supposed, that each article would have been debated, and that Mr. Pitt, agreeably to his original and declared intention, would have moved to leave out such allegations charged to be criminal,

as he had declared to be in his opinion highly meritorious. But instead of taking this line, the question was, whether the articles should be read a second time, and voted. In other words, whether the House should or should not vote the impeachment. It was determined by a majority that the articles should be read the second time. A letter from Mr. Hastings was read by a member during the debate, in which he expressed his anxiety for a trial, if the House should enter the articles on their journals: of course when on a subsequent day the impeachment was moved, that question was carried without a debate or a division.——The causes which led to this conclusion are obvious. The business had been two years before the House, of course the members were heartily tired of it. Confidence must be placed somewhere, and possibly, the House thought that the managers who were to support the impeachment, were the best judges, as to the points on which it should be supported. This, however, was unfortunate reasoning, and not only caused so great a delay on the trial, but involved the House in endless contradictions during the course of it.——A few days after the first seven articles were presented and voted, thirteen additional articles were presented, and ordered to be printed. But, so rapid was now the proceedings, that these thirteen articles, which make a tolerably sized volume, were actually voted, before the printed copies were delivered to the members.——During each of the remaining seven years that this trial lasted, the minister of India, opened his budget, in which he solemnly declared in each year, that Bengal under the British administration had been in a progressive state of improvement, as to agriculture, population, and commerce, and that the natives had been infinitely happier under our government, than under the administration of any of their native princes. The documents presented to the House by the India minister, and voted to be correct, and entered on the journals, proved the truth of his statement beyond the possibility of a doubt. From these documents it appeared, that in 1772, the annual resources of Bengal were three millions sterling. That in 1785, when Mr. Hastings quitted it they were more than five millions, and that the increase was owing to the improvement of the revenues of Bengal and Benares, and to our subsidiary treaty with the Nabob Vizier of Oude, all of which formed the most material of the charges which the Commons, in Westminster Hall, were supporting against Mr. Hastings. In that great court how different a representation was made of the present and past state of Bengal, from that which the India minister delivered in the House of Commons. In Westminster Hall it was affirmed, and the articles so stated, that by the measures of Mr. Hastings, enormous losses had been sustained by the East India Company, and disgrace and dishonour brought upon the English nation.——To what causes are we to attribute this unexampled contradiction. To one, and one only, namely, the new mode adopted by a former House of Commons in voting the impeachment. But, are we, therefore, to argue against all future impeachments? Is the error which that House fell into likely to form a precedent? Very far from it. In the case now pending, the old parliamentary mode has been adopted. An impeachment has been voted in the first instance. A committee is appointed to draw up the articles of impeachment., and there can be no doubt, that they will be duly considered before they are voted by the House. In addition to this, what future impeachment is likely to embrace every important, and even every unimportant act, in an administration of thirteen years.——If any gentleman should now have the curiosity to read over the twenty articles preferred against Mr. Hastings, he will find that they contain at least five hundred criminal allegations. Had the whole been gone through, the trial instead of lasting seven, would have continued fifty seven years, provided the managers, the defendant, and the lords had lived so long.—And after all, could this be called the impeachment of Mr. Hastings. Very far from it. It was, in fact, the trial of the British nation, and the East-India Company. The fact of an increase of two millions sterling in the annual resources of the Bengal government during his administration was admitted. The fact of his having supported the British empire in India during a long and arduous war, by the extraordinary sums that he acquired, was also admitted. The managers asserted that the revenues were improved, and the extraordinary resources provided by rapine, violence, oppression, injustice, and breach of faith. Had they proved these assertions by evidence, what, must have been the consequence. Mr. Sheridan boldly and fairly stated what the consequence must be; redress to the injured, at an expense of many millions sterling, and an abandonment in future, of those extra revenues, for which the India minister takes annual credit.——Another circumstance in which this impeachment differs from any one that preceded, or that can follow it, is not less extraordinary. The words in the preamble to the articles are, that the measures of Mr. Hastings were attended

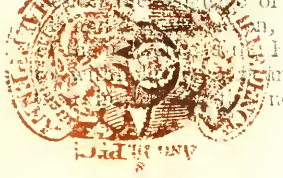
with great loss and damage to the East-India Company, and with distress and misery to the natives under its government. Yet the directors and proprietors, who form the East India Company, had returned him their unanimous thanks for his long, faithful, and able services; and in the second year of his trial, testimonials were transmitted through Lord Cornwallis to the East-India Company, from the princes and natives of every province in Bengal, Benares, and Oude, expressing their high opinion of Mr. Hastings, and their strong attachment to him. Of what nature have all the other impeachments been since the period of the revolution, and how dissimilar from this; and no fair argument against a trial by impeachment can be urged by a reference to the impeachment of Mr. Hastings.——Another cause in the delay of the trial of Mr. Hastings cannot possibly operate in any future trial by impeachment. ——The charges in this cause were so many, that the managers in their general opening, in their speeches previous to, and in summing up the charges, and in the reply, took twenty-four days. In addition to this, much time was wasted by arguments on the admissibility of evidence, the council of Mr. Hastings opposing the introduction of any evidence that did not apply to some one of the five hundred criminal allegations, contained in the articles of impeachment. As the judgment was ultimately to be pronounced, *secundum allegata, et probata*, the opposition to the introduction of evidence that had no reference to the articles was very natural. Did this occur in any former, or can it happen in any future impeachment. In the impeachment of the four whig lords, had it been prosecuted to a legal termination, the question was, whether it was a crime or not, to advise the partition treaty. In Lord Oxford's case, had his trial proceeded, the question was, whether the peace of Utrecht was an honourable and safe, or a precarious and an inglorious treaty. ——There was no difficulty in the case of Sacheverel, nor in the trials of the rebel lords in 1715, and 1746, for high treason, nor in that of Lord Macclesfield for high crimes and misdemeanors.——It would be presumption in the writer to consider how far it was right, after having in the recent instance voted a criminal prosecution, to change to a trial by impeachment; but the arguments urged against the latter mode of trial by a reference to the case of Mr. Hastings, do not apply in the smallest degree, since he thinks he has proved to the satisfaction of those, who shall think the subject worthy consideration, that the chief cause of the delay in that remarkable trial, was occasioned by the House of Commons not sufficiently considering the articles which were presented to the Lords.——I am, Sir, &c.—*July 8, 1805.*——X. X.

REFORM OF FINANCIAL ABUSES.

LETTER VIII.

Sir,——In my last, I confined my observations to a discovery of some importance, in the Exchequer language, respecting the *application* of the public money. Mr. Burke says, that "the technical style of "an Indian Treasury is not one jot more "remote, than the jargon of our Exchequer, "from the train of our ordinary ideas or "the idiom of our common language." (Speech on Nabob of Arcot, Vol. IV. p. 230.) If the only cause for styling the language of our public accounts mere jargon, was a corrupt use of terms, little or no inconvenience would arise from it, except the trouble of acquiring a knowledge of their customary meaning. But as this is not the case, and as terms have been so construed, that they may produce the double effect of satisfying and deceiving the public, it is high time that this jargon should be exploded, and the accounts stated in plain intelligible language. Upon every consideration it is at this present moment particularly requisite, that every description of the people should understand in what manner the Commons House of Parliament exercise their most valuable prerogative of controling the "*application*" of the public money.——How successful the authors of the Exchequer tongue have been in deceiving the world, cannot be more fully illustrated than it is by the motto of your last sheet but one, as quoted from Dr. Paley. For, if so learned, and so accurate a philosopher, not only admitted the deceit to be practised on himself, but has also lent the aid of his name to extend the influence of its operations upon others, it is perfectly clear that an universal opinion prevails, that the House of Commons do actually control the application, in its full and proper sense, of the public money. Such an impression is the natural consequence of the deplorable apathy with which every financial statement is received; and, in truth, the fault is not so much the fault of the ministers, as it is that of the people, because it is this apathy which encourages and enables them to practise their delusions. Till, then, more talent and more exertion are devoted to the finances of the country, it is irrational to expect that any efficient reformation will take place in the existing abuses. Whilst the House of Commons feel, that the public are not gratified by laborious investigations of their ac-

counts, the House of Commons very naturally relieve themselves from the task of making such investigations; and, they even do more, for they do not, apparently, take the trouble of examining at all into the nature of the principal accounts that are laid before them. This may very possibly be a very erroneous supposition, it is by no means intended to state such a circumstance as an absolute fact, further than as this transaction may warrant it; namely, the impossibility of the eight papers of annual accounts of this year being examined, in consequence of their not being printed and delivered to the members, though presented in March, and the sessions within a few days of being closed. How then can the exercise of the controling powers of the House of Commons over the *application* of the public money be considered as effective? The minister brings on his budget, imposes his taxes, and makes his loans without any account of the revenue and expenditure of the preceding year being before the House. These accounts are at length presented, but immediately withdrawn to be printed. But, such is the fatality attending the public accounts, that, although every other paper is printed and delivered within a few days after the order of the House takes place, these papers are not heard of more during the whole of the session. One would have thought, that sufficient confidence might be placed in their delusive construction, to have removed all apprehensions of their being brought to light during the sitting of Parliament; and, therefore, the only conjecture that remains to be formed on so mysterious a proceeding is this, namely, that the set for this year contain something or other which even the vocabulary of the Exchequer is not capable of colouring. But, whatever may be the cause, the result is, and as a result it is deserving to be recorded, that the sessions of 1805 are on the point of closing, without the members of the House of Commons having had the opportunity of ever attempting to understand, what the revenue and expenditure have been of 1804. That is, the House of Commons have taken it for granted, that every thing is, as it ought to be, and upon this solid foundation, have unanimously acceded to every proposition of the minister for raising new taxes and incurring an expenditure of 70 millions.——When, therefore, it can be brought as a new charge against the public accounting system, that, [illegible] of it being unintelligi- [illegible] advantage is taken [illegible] House of Commons, [illegible] ints altogether from [illegible] necessity is still fur-



ther obvious of a minute investigation by Parliament, into all the circumstances belonging to it. There are a sufficient number of merchants in the House, who well know, and who in their sleeve laugh at the extreme credulity of those country gentlemen, who, whenever they look upon an account, admit, that it must be correct, merely because they find they cannot understand it. These merchants are aware that there can be no complete account without its being balanced and closed; and that the public accounts never are balanced and closed. These are the description of members, who should make the public accounts their study, and assist in obtaining a committee to sift the whole subject to the bottom, for without such a proceeding the public can feel no security against the frauds and the collusions of office.——VERAX.——*July* 2, 1805.

THE SIX IRISH MINISTERS.

SIR,——The resolution of the query of your correspondent M. M., occurred to me to be of so great importance to many of his Majesty's liege subjects, that I have devoted some hours in an attempt to form a satisfactory answer to it. But, I am obliged to confess that all my labour has been in vain. I have looked over Locke on Government, Grotius, Puffendorf, Vattel, Martin, and Blackstone, *de jure personarum*, and have not been able to acquire any light upon the subject. Being obliged, therefore, after all my research to come to this conclusion, that though there are six ministers for Ireland, there is no Irish minister, I next made an attempt to procure information how this anomalous occurrence came to pass. After toiling many hours over Letters Patent, the Irish Journals and Statutes, the Laws of Honour and Precedency, the Debates on the Union, the Act of Union, and the Acts of the United Parliament, I found that the only method by which the functions of this ministry could be analysed, was by assuming as the basis of my deductions, that the Union was *a half measure*. That of the two great moities of government, the legislative and the executive authorities, one only had been considered and provided for, by merging the legislature of Ireland into the legislature of Great Britain; whilst the other, namely, the executive government had been left *stain quo*, however ill adapted to the new circumstances of both countries. If, upon further inquiry, I find my conjecture to be borne out by facts, I shall communicate to you such observations, as present themselves as well calculated to shew the necessity of some new arrangement for administering the executive government of Ire-

land.——I am, Sir, &c.——VIGIL.——*July 8, 1805.*

ADMIRAL DUCKWORTH.

SIR,——Genius may dazzle, eloquence may charm, and intelligence may inform; but unless the political writer divest himself of partiality, or party prejudice, he will not obtain, nor has he any pretensions to expect, the confidence or estimation of any readers of enlightened understandings, or independent minds.—It is, therefore, to your *impartiality*, and energy in maintaining and supporting the opinions of your unbiassed judgment, that the high estimation of the Register is to be attributed.——It was on these principles you maintained a long and arduous contest with the destructive influence of Jacobinism, the prejudices of America, and the bribery of France; and, after successfully combating the united force of popular frenzy and democratic tyranny, at length obtained a complete and glorious victory, saving the British Empire and the American States from being involved in a bloody and impolitic war, which the insidious ambition of the Jacobin regicides of France had planned for their mutual subjugation.—In the establishment of Lutz's claim to the honour of taking the Invincible Standard, and in your defence of M. Peltier, the same causes produced similar effects. Firmness and impartiality triumphed over prejudice, and turned the current of popular opinion.——I could adduce many instances of a much later date, and of the most extensive public advantage, in which your exertions have been equally successful; and that too without risking the imputation of flattery. But they are foreign to the subject of *Admiral Duckworth's trial.* From which I have already digressed much farther than I intended.——You inform your readers that you extract the speech of Admiral Markham "from the Times newspaper, "because it is a print which has been "*most laudably*, and *most steadily*, engaged "in supporting the cause of the country "against the partisans of Lord Melville." Now, Sir, with all due submission to your *impartial* judgment, the superiority of which, in most cases, I most readily acknowledge, I cannot see that the *least degree* of praise is due to the editor of the Times, for supporting (not the *country* but) the partisans of Lord St. Vincent, against those of Lord Melville. Or what merit there be in that kind of "*steadiness*" which consists solely in an interested or servile devotion to *any* party whatever. Surely such conduct is not consistent with that perfect impartiality without which (you say truly) "there is *no justice*."——To form an accurate judgment of the estimation in which you held the character and principles of the Times newspaper about two years ago, and they have continued *tolerably steady* ever since, I beg leave to refer to your third volume of the Political Register, wherever that paper is mentioned; but, particularly, at page 837. This character, it is true, is not given in your own words, but in those of your intelligent correspondent "Veritas;" yet, as the *Times* at that period was the most servile (though weak) apologist for the Peace of Amiens, the *naval* administration, and every public measure which met with your decided, unqualified reprobation, it is fair to conclude that your opinion respecting the Times newspaper was in unison with that of your correspondent. For its consistency and *veracity* I refer to Political Register, vol. 3, page 865. Various examples of a similar nature might be adduced; but these will, I apprehend, be amply sufficient to prove that the Times newspaper has not the least pretension to that "*perfect* impartiality without which there is *no justice*;" and that its concurrence with the public opinion, in Lord Melville's case, is evidently the result of its *party* connexions. Your observations on the very extraordinary speech of Admiral Markham, as quoted by you from the Times, and also your preliminary remarks, are such as cannot fail to meet the approbation of your impartial readers, who will doubtless be shortly gratified by your resumption of this very important subject. In the mean time I conceive it necessary to remark that, exclusive of the indispensable obligation which every captain and officer of his Majesty's navy is under to act in strict obedience to *all* the articles of war, as expressed in the Act of 22d Geo. II. there are the following very cogent reasons why this 18th article, in particular, should be most strictly adhered to.—1. To preserve that dignity and respectability of his Majesty's naval service, which very properly precludes captains of his ships of war from being carriers of wine, or other goods, or engaging themselves, or his Majesty's ships under their command, in any mercantile employments. 2. To preserve to the owners and captains of merchants' ships those privileges of commercial intercourse which would, by so unwarrantable a violation of the 18th article of war, be greatly infringed, if seven or eight hundred ships and sloops of war were allowed to carry wine or any other articles of commerce, free of freight.—3. To prevent *smuggling*, which there is too much reason to apprehend would derive very great encouragement and extension

from the continuance of, or connivance at, so gross and shameful a violation of an act of parliament, on which the honour and the discipline of his Majesty's naval service, the respectability and support of his navy, and, consequently, the existence of the British empire itself, must ultimately depend. An abuse so generally committed, so daringly justified, so *authoritatively* sanctioned (as stated in the speech in the Times), so disgraceful in itself, and so extensively injurious to the national commerce and revenue, is scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of national depravity. This *double* violation of the law extenuated, and even acknowledged to have been (as far at least as relates to the *carriage* of wine) actually perpetrated (according to the report in the Times) by a legislator; an avowed reformer of peculation, while on the awful seat of judgment, however, it might, from the ludicrous combination of the "*ridiculum acri*," excite momentary risibility, cannot fail to occupy the most solemn and deliberate attention of the British legislature in the ensuing session.

——I am, Sir, your humble servant,——

BRITANNICUS.——*London, 9th July*, 1805.

PUBLIC PAPER.

PRUSSIA AND SWEDEN.——*Copy of a Note transmitted by the Baron de Hardenberg to the Baron de Brinckmann, Chargé d'Affaires of His Swedish Majesty, dated Berlin, Dec.* 24, 1804.

When his Majesty, the King of Sweden, thought proper to send Lieutenant-General Armfeldt to Berlin, with a letter from his Swedish Majesty to the King, dated September 19, to inquire in what light he considered the political situation of the north of Germany, the King explained himself upon the subject, with the greatest freedom, to the Baron D'Armfeldt, as well in his answer of the 26th of September, as by the medium of the undersigned cabinet minister of state. The King declared that, as his system was to prevent, as much as possible, the extension of the war to the continent; and as he had invariably prescribed to himself the strictest neutrality for the good of his kingdom and of his neighbours, his Majesty would, in conformity to that system, employ every means in his power to prevent the tranquillity of the north of Germany being disturbed by any person whatever; that his Majesty had given explanations on this important object, as well to the Emperor of all the Russias, as to the Emperor of the French, and that his Majesty had entered into mutual engagements in consequence thereof, and that he could not admit or suffer any hostile attempt on either side, consequently no armament of any kind in Swedish Pomerania. This declaration was at the same time communicated to France; and it is with true satisfaction that his Majesty on the one hand received the most positive assurances, by Baron Armfeldt and M. Brinckmann, his Swedish Majesty's Chargé-d'Affaires, at his court, that his said Majesty had not any hostile intention against France: that the measures taken at Stralsund were purely defensive, and would never have any other view than to secure himself from an unjust attack; and on the other hand his Majesty found that his endeavours to preserve the tranquillity of the north, were not employed in vain at Paris.——Nevertheless the King has just been informed, by an official note delivered by the French Minister, M. Laforest, that a treaty of subsidy is at this moment negotiating between England and Sweden, in which the latter power offers to march 25,000 men, and, according to the statement of the expense attendant thereon, demands a subsidy of two millions sterling for the same, and that it is only the amount of the subsidy which is still under discussion. Although the King wishes to persuade himself that those facts deserve no credit—facts which are so greatly at variance with the above-mentioned assurances—yet the manner in which they are announced, and the confirmation received, at least in part, by other advices, place the King under the necessity of giving his sentiments thereupon. The undersigned has, therefore, received orders to request M. De Brinckmann to ask of his august Sovereign a positive explanation on this important subject, in conformity to the mutual confidence which he has deemed necessary to establish between the King and himself.

——The King hopes, that his Swedish Majesty, far from wishing to extend the evils of war to, and to expose to danger the tranquillity and peace of, his own dominions, and of the rest of Europe, by an aggression against France, will rather be inclined to co-operate in the preservation of those benefits, and in a reconciliation with that power, all the avenues to which may perhaps not yet be closed. But in no case can his Majesty permit (without forgetting what the interests of his kingdom and of his neighbours require) that Swedish Pomerania shall become either the focus, or the theatre of war; and he does not conceal from his Majesty, that in the event of offensive measures taking place on the part of Sweden against France, he would be obliged, though reluctantly, to take the most decisive measures respecting that province, in order to hinder that event from disturbing the system which

he has adopted. His Swedish Majesty certainly will not charge this system with partiality, if he will please to consider, that the same principles which oblige the King to hold such language, are those which in general make it his duty not to permit that the tranquillity of the north of Germany be disturbed, and which guarantee Swedish Pomerania itself from every consequence attending any war whatever.——The undersigned requests M. De Brinckmann to accept of the assurance of his most perfect regard. ——(Signed)——Hardenberg.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Athol Claim.——This is a subject of so much importance, it so strongly marks the character of the persons by whom it has been brought forward and who have taken an active part in support of it, and to examine it thoroughly requires an analysis of so many documents, that I intended to leave it untouched, till I could find time and room to exhibit to my readers all the parts of the transaction in one view. But, the public interest which has been excited by the debate in the House of Lords, on Monday, the 8th instant, and in which the Lord Chief Justice took so conspicuous a part, induces me to depart from my first intention, and to notice some of the more prominent circumstances of the case, by way of illustrating the speech of the Lord Chief Justice, a passage from the conclusion of which I have selected for the motto to the present sheet. The reader will observe, that the claim of the Duke of Athol had been long ago submitted to the examination of the Attorney and the Solicitor General, who made a report against the claim. It had several times been pressed upon the government, and had always been rejected, and that too by the advice of persons most competent to judge of its merits. No voice was ever heard in its favour till a "Selac Commatee" was found to do it, and then, forward the minister drives it with all the speed in his power, and that too at a moment when three-fourths of the members of parliament have left town. Such was the haste to get the bill through, that, on Monday evening, the papers relative to the subject, containing 130 folio pages, were *wet from the press.* Nobody had read them, and nobody could have read them; and yet, it was upon these papers that the House was called upon to pass a bill, giving to the Duke of Athol a third part of the revenues of the Isle of Man! Under such circumstances, well might the Lord Chief Justice conjure their Lordships to pause, to consult their character, to think of the state of the public resources and of the pecuniary burdens already supported by the people. Good reason had he to remind the House, that, at the time when the contract with the Athol family was made, England had a great and an honest man (Mr. George Grenville) at the head of her finances; and good reason had his Lordship to lament, that Mr. Grenville had not the power of transmitting to all his successors, his *integrity* with his robe of office. Upon what ground, then, let me ask the reader, can the partisans of Mr. Pitt have made, in the Oracle newspaper of the 9th instant, a publication under the title of a speech of Lord Mulgrave, abusing the Lord Chief Justice in terms the most gross; charging him with having made use of rude expressions and of boisterous language, and with having acted like a demagogue? But, it will be best to insert this speech, or reported speech, at full length, just as it stands in the ministerial papers, particularly in that paper, which is known to be under the immediate control of The Upstart. "He" [Lord Mulgrave] "felt indignant when a "noble and learned Lord" [the Lord Chief Justice] "described the claim as proceed- "ing from fraud on one side, or gratuity on "the other. When these and the many "other harsh expressions he had used in "the course of that speech, came from a "person of his learning and authority, it "was to be apprehended that they would "make a great and an undue impression: "but it appeared to him that a person in his "high situation ought to have known how "to modify his expressions by something "like delicacy. Because he had great au- "thority from his situation, he should have "exercised it with dignity and with temper, "and not have indulged himself in a strain "so boisterous and rude. He said he should "apply to his Lordship what one of the "characters of our immortal bard, Othello, "applied to an old man: "Signor, your "age may more command me than your "weapon." He respected his learning, "his experience, his authority, and his si- "tuation in the state; but his Lordship was "not to suppose that he and his noble "friends on that side of the House were al- "ways to sit in silent apathy when he chose "to use angry language. Some of the ex- "pressions he had used were fitter for de- "magogues in Palace-yard, (who rail at "taxes, and introduce every sort of extra- "neous matter to inflame their audience) "than to be used in that House. When "he heard irritating and angry language "used it might produce the same sort of "language from him; when he heard the "word job applied to this measure, he "must say he despised the imputation. He

" himself held a high and ostensible situa-
" tion in the government of the country,
" and could not allow any such imputations
" on the motives of his conduct."——Yes, he does hold " a high and responsible situa-
" tion" in the government, and we *know* it well: we see it and we *feel* it. This is quite enough, without being reminded of it in this taunting manner, by the Upstart who sways the Oracle newspaper. His Lordship's *right* to apply to the Lord Chief Justice what Othello applied to an *old* man with a *sword* in his hand nobody can be much disposed to question, though it would, I think, be very difficult to show, that there was much either of propriety or wit in the application; and, indeed, when we consider that the Lord Chief Justice is the *younger* man of the two, we must conclude, that the Upstart has *made* this witticism for his Lordship, of whose justly acquired fame as a performer, in the character of Othello, he has, doubtless, heard; for, as a hero of the buskin, the name of Colonel Phipps stands eminently distinguished in the history of the American war. The amateurs of Philadelphia still speak with rapture of his classical representation of several of the characters of " our immortal bard," and particularly of Othello, whom he personated with an effect, that induced many persons to lament, that the exercise of his talents had not been confined exclusively to the stage.——With regard, however, to the censure, which the Oracle has published, under his Lordship's name, on the Lord Chief Justice's speech, few persons can, I think, speak with approbation. What! is it a *novelty* to hear a measure brought before parliament called " a job?" Is it *coarse*" to talk of the " *mendicant importunity*" of persons who come to obtain money without having any legal right to urge? I have not room to quote here the speech of Mr. Pitt with regard to several of the pecuniary measures of Lord North; but these quotations I will hereafter make, in order to show how *delicate* this gentleman and his partisans are now become. Whenever you hear a serious charge, like that made by the Lord Chief Justice, answered by a cry against the *violence*, the *coarseness*, the *illiberality* of the language in which the charge is made, be you well assured, that the charge itself is well-founded. *Personality* is the cry; but, I defy the partisans of the ministry to point out one single instance of personality, properly so called, in the Lord Chief Justice's speech. He expressed his *indignation*; and to express indignation, a man must use indignant terms and assume an indignant voice and attitude. There are occasions when to speak mildly is to discover a criminal indifference; and that the present was one of those occasions the public are perfectly satisfied. " It " was to be apprehended that his sentiments " would produce great effect." Certainly; but, that was no reason for representing them as being conveyed in low and coarse language, unless, indeed, such representation were intended to destroy their effect: If this was the intention, however, it has failed; for, whatever may be thought in Downing Street, no sentiments ever met with more general applause amongst all ranks of the people; and, it is to be hoped, that the subject to which they relate will again become matter of discussion in parliament, when the Houses shall again be fully attended. And, as to *taxes*, with what propriety, with what decency, was the Lord Chief Justice compared to " a demagogue, introducing *extra-*
" *neous* matter," because he strongly represented the burdened state of the people? Is this to be the charge preferred against every one, who objects to the grants and " accom-
" modations" which the minister chooses to bestow *to members of parliament?* And, when a lavish boon was about to be bestowed, were the burdens of the people *extraneous* matter? But, as was before said, when you hear a serious charge answered by complaints against the *manner* of making it, rest assured that the *matter* is unanswerable. ——I shall resume this subject at an hour of more leisure, when I intend to lay before my readers as complete a view of the whole case as I am able to give, and when, I am persuaded, that they will think with me, that, in disapprobation of the measure opposed by the Lord Chief Justice no language can possibly be too strong.

FRENCH AND SPANISH FLEETS.——It was by no means difficult to foresee, that, to repeat an expression in my last sheet, " the
" moment these fleets heard that Lord Nel-
" son was in pursuit of them, they would be
" haunted day and night by his apparition;" but, it was really beyond the compass of hope, that they should have been so completely panic-struck as they now appear to have been. I thought, and I did, I believe, say, that they were more afraid of Lord Nelson than of Satan; but, if they had had intelligence of legions of devils being in pursuit of them, they could not have experienced greater dread than that of which they have now discovered the unequivocal symptoms. As soon as we heard that Lord Nelson was gone for the West-Indies, we were sure that the combined fleets would hear of it time enough to prevent them from venturing towards Jamaica; but, who could have hoped, that they would not have con-

rage to attack any of the Leeward Islands? The intelligence, as communicated to the city of London by the Admiralty, is as follows: —— "Admiralty Office, July 9th, "1805. Captain Bettesworth, of his Majesty's ship Curieux, arrived last night "with dispatches from Vice Admiral Lord "Nelson, dated Antigua, 12th June. His "Lordship arrived with the squadron under "his command at Barbadoes on the 4th of "June, and took on board 2000 troops. It "appears that the combined squadrons "passed Antigua on the 8th of June, and "on the 20th were seen by the Curieux in "lat. 33. 12 long. 58. W. steering at first "N. by E. but afterwards N. N. W. His "Lordship intended to sail again in pursuit "of the enemy, the moment the troops "taken on board at Barbadoes were disembarked. The Diamond Rock had been "obliged to surrender from want of water, "after a gallant resistance, in which the "French lost many men, and three gun "boats. The combined squadrons had "suffered greatly from sickness." Rumour upon rumour is afloat with regard to the subsequent events; and, as it is not impossible that Lord Nelson may have overtaken, or may overtake, the combined squadrons, we may hope to hear of their being defeated and nearly destroyed; but, upon this head we should not be too sanguine, seeing, that there is not much probability of his overtaking them; for though their ships may not get through the water with a degree of velocity equal to that of the squadron under Sir John Orde, in his masterly retreat from before Cadiz, yet, they would, in all likelihood, keep too far a-head to be exposed to much danger. Abundant reason, however, have we to be thankful to Providence and to the brave Nelson for what has already come to pass. Jamaica, and, indeed, the whole of our West India islands, second in importance to the British islands themselves, have, as far as earthly means are concerned, been preserved and secured, solely by the foresight, the activity, the perseverance, the skill and the bravery of this matchless commander. No sooner does he hear that the enemy's fleets are out in the Atlantic, than the same presence of mind which preserved the glory of our navy at Copenhagen, leads him to fix on the course of his pursuit. He waits not a moment. Comes not slinking round into the Channel; is not amused by any tales or speculations about the Brazils or East Indies; but, sees the West Indies in danger, perceives their importance to his country, and, like an eagle, darts away to their relief. Those who consider how much, in the swiftness of a squadron, depends upon the skill and vigilance of the commander, will not fail duly to estimate the services of his Lordship upon this occasion. Arrived in the West Indies, and learning the situation of the enemy, he instantly fixes on his mode of proceeding; he sees the importance and the danger of Antigua (as mentioned in the last Register); he takes troops from Barbadoes to re-inforce the garrison of the former, in case it should already have been attacked; and thus, in the space of only eight days after his arrival, he would, even if the enemy had not fled, have taken measures to defeat all their hostile intentions. But, the dread of him was sufficient. And here we have a striking and most gratifying instance of the value of the *fame* of a commander. How much blood and treasure has the *name* of Nelson now saved to his country! What calamities and what disgrace has it not prevented! ——While, however, we rejoice, as we have good reason, at the issue of this enterprize; while we cannot but smile to behold this mighty labour of the sea terminating in a manner more contemptible than the fabled labour of the mountain, we must not forget, that the subject of our joy is, that we have *not been beaten*; that our ancient possessions have *not been captured*; that we have *not been covered with infamy*. Nor should we forget, that even of this negative good fortune, not a single particle is to be attributed to those, who now have the management of our public affairs. A ministerial print of the 11th instant observes: "If the combined fleet should "escape Lord Nelson, and arrive in safety "in port, still *we have ample ground for* "*triumph*: the plans which the enemy "formed of devastation and conquest have "been *completely frustrated*, our West In"dian possessions have been *secured from* "*attack*, and a great and powerful fleet has "been *forced* to fly, with disgrace and ig"nominy, before an *inferior* British squa"dron." Speaking, you perceive, all the way; just as if this frustration of the enemy's plans, and security of the West India possessions, had been owing to the measure of those ministers, who had left them to the protection of a fleet "an *inferior* British "fleet;" just as if Colonel Pitt had the merit of having "*forced*" the French and Spanish squadrons to flee before the fleet of Lord Nelson! that Lord Nelson whom he has not even the merit to have appointed, and who succeeded to the command which enabled him to save the West Indies merely in consequence of the Pitt Admiral having *moved off* from the coast of Spain. It has been well observed, in the Times newspaper, and it cannot be too strongly pressed

upon the recollection of the people, at this moment, that one of the first acts of the present ministry, after the rupture with Spain, was, to send out SIR JOHN ORDE, the brother-in-law of Mr. Frere (whose negotiations terminated in the Spanish war), and the brother of Lord Bolton, (who acted so conspicuous a figure in opposition to the Hampshire petition) this gentleman, who was well known to have a quarrel of long standing with Lord St. Vincent, it was one of their first acts to send out to Cadiz, by which Lord Nelson was deprived of the command of the Mediterranean, and would have been of *that in the West Indies*, if Sir John Orde had waited off Cadiz, or had followed the combined squadrons. Lord St. Vincent preferred Lord Nelson for the service against the French at Aboukir: he then put him before Sir John Orde, his superior as to seniority. Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville, the moment the Spanish war broke out, judged it more proper to send out Sir John Orde, Lord Nelson's superior in seniority, who would have superceded his Lordship, if Sir John's *squadron had been in a situation* to wait for the noble Admiral at Cadiz. and which, at any rate, deprived him of the chief command of the station, and also of its probably immense emoluments! No part of our good fortune do we, therefore, owe to the Pitt ministry. They have, in no way whatever, lent assistance to the brave man who has saved us. They, with all the immense means in their hands, with the hundreds of vessels of war and the hundreds of thousands of secret service-money at their command, knew no more of the destination of the enemy than did any dozen of men-milliners in the Strand. We have escaped from ruin and infamy; but, under Providence, that escape is to be attributed solely to Lord Nelson.

MR. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE.——(Continued from p. 21.) To the speech of General Fitzpatrick, in the House of Commons, I shall now add that of the Earl of Suffolk, in the House of Lords, on the 5th instant, upon the same subject. The motive for my doing this, previous to laying before my readers an analysis of the whole of the proceeding is, in order to remove, as soon as possible, the injurious effect, which the depriving of Mr. Johnstone of his rank may have produced upon the public mind. He was honourably acquitted by the court-martial appointed to try him; but, it is *possible*, as we have recently seen, for an officer to be honourably acquitted by a court-martial, and yet for him to appear in the *evidence* given to the court, guilty of some, at least, of the charges preferred against him. In this case, however, my readers will see from the analysis which I propose to give, or they may see by a reference to the proceedings of the court-martial, the gentleman tried was acquitted upon the *evidence* produced, the charges being not only *not established*, but *proved* to be entirely *false*.——I have another remark or two to make after inserting the speech of Lord Suffolk, to which the reader's particular attention is requested.——"My Lords, "I cannot allow the present session of parliament to close without calling the attention of this House to a subject immediately connected with the honour of the "profession to which I belong, and which, "from its great importance, has of late engaged much of the public attention. I "allude to the recent case of the Honourable Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, who according to the information I have received, was on a *mere rumour of intended accusation*, passed over in a general brevet "promotion, when as a colonel in the army, "he was entitled to the rank of major general; and who having since been brought "to trial on charges by an inferior officer, "and honourably acquitted by a general "court martial, has been driven to the necessity, in consequence of *his rank being still withheld*, of quitting the army.—— "If my information thus far is correct, I "believe every noble Lord who hears me, "will be of opinion, that the respectable "officer, to whom I have alluded, has suffered injustice, and that the interest of "his Majesty's service concurs with the "claims of the party injured, in demanding "redress.——I have further to state to your "Lordship, that I understand the act of apparent injustice complained of, was one of "an *assumed* power by the Judge Advocate "General, which the constitution of England "does not recognise, and which is sanctioned by no precedent or practice unless "of a very recent date.——Your Lordships "know that his Majesty is invested with "competent authority to dismiss any officer "from his service, without a court martial; "and, I should be the last man in his dominions to question the legality of such "exercise of the Royal Prerogative. But "your Lordships also well know, that in no "case is it understood that this right of the "Crown can be exerted wantonly, capriciously, or oppressively; and, therefore, "where any instance of this nature occurs, "substantial justice requires that there "should be an accredited adviser of the "Crown, responsible for the consequences. "But the constitution knows no such adviser of the Crown, as the judge advocate,

"upon whom such responsibility attaches. "And, I believe, it will be found that, till "within a very short time past, the sen- "tences of courts martial were communi- "cated to his Majesty, exclusively, by the "secretary at war, who is a responsible offi- "cer.——I refrain from going more at "length into the circumstances of the case. "I have mentioned, my chief source of in- "formation at present, being public report "alone. But, I can state precisely to your "Lordships what came under my personal "observation, at a general court martial "where I was a material evidence. I mean "the case of Major General Burton, the "circumstances of which were extremely "remarkable. The prominent features "were these. On the first day of the trial, "after examining whatever evidence the "prosecutor could produce, the accusation "was perceived not to be substantiated. "The proof in support of the prosecution "was closed. And had the court then pro- "ceeded to give their decision, the prisoner "must have been acquitted. I am safe in "venturing to add, that the wishes of the "honourable members were, that such had "been the event.——On the day following, "by the advice of the judge advocate, *fresh "evidence was produced*, consisting of a let- "ter, *written by General Burton to the* "COMMANDER IN CHIEF in extenua- "tion of his conduct, and containing a fair "and manly acknowledgment of the charge. "With respect to such a *mode* of obtaining "evidence, such an *application* of a *private "letter*, I shall make no observation. I "have simply mentioned the fact upon the "ground of the charge being proved by the "letter under the prisoner's own hand, the "court martial pronounced their sentence, "adjudging General Burton to be cashiered. "But, in consequence of the many illus- "trious and honourable testimonies borne "to General Burton's highly meritorious "military conduct, and to the esteemed "worth and amiable virtues of his private "character through life, the court martial "transmitted so strong a recommendation "to the clemency of that character, whose "benignity even outshines the splendour of "his rank, that though the sentence of the "court was approved of as conformable to "law, General Burton was immediately re- "instated in his rank in the army, as well "as in the command he held previous to "his trial.——My Lords, I have thought it "proper to state generally, this singular case "which occurred only a short time prior to "that of Colonel Cochrane Johnstone, "which has been distinguished by the "still more alarming circumstances in "the conduct of the Judge Advocate that "now induces me to address your Lord- "ships with relation to what I must con- "sider as a great constitutional question. "This last case, from all I have heard, de- "monstrates of what vast importance it is "to the state, and to the service in particu- "lar, that the powers of courts-martial, as "well as the authority and duties of every "officer concerned in their proceedings, "should be clearly marked and defined.— "The importance of the subject indeed is "such, that I trust his Majesty's ministers "will consider it as meriting their most "serious attention, and their consideration "of the best means of applying an effectual "remedy to the abuse which appears to "have crept of late years into the Judge "Advocate's department. Should they not "be inclined to bring forward the business, "I certainly shall, and at an early period of "the ensuing session of parliament. The "object of the motion which, in that case, "I shall have the honour of submitting to "this House, will be two-fold: 1st. To "vindicate the rights of parties, tried by "courts-martial, more particularly the just "and undoubted claim of right vested in "Colonel Johnstone, by virtue of the de- "cision of his court-martial, under the ex- "isting military laws; 2dly. To define the "constitutional establishment of courts- "martial, and to regulate and ascertain the "legal effect of their decisions in future." ——Thus has this case been solemnly an- nounced, in both Houses of Parliament, in neither of which, let it be remarked, has there been a word said by the ministers, or by any body else, in contradiction to the state- ment made in behalf of the injured party. The public will recollect, that rumours have been afloat of this gentleman's having ap- plied to his own use the money due to the men of his regiment; of his having made his soldiers work upon his own lands; of his having, by these and other acts of op- pression, caused those discontents which finally produced the mutiny in Dominica. Such rumours were well calculated to excite public hatred against him; and, therefore, now that the charges have been proved, amply proved, to be utterly destitute of truth; now that his innocence has been established even by the evidence produced by his prosecutors, no time should be lost in removing the effect of those injurious ru- mours. To do this nothing could be better calculated than the publication of the speeches made upon the subject in parlia- ment; and, as I confess, that I was one of the persons who, from those rumours, had received, and, perhaps, in some small de-

gree, communicated an impression disadvantageous to Mr. Johnstone, I feel myself peculiarly called upon to endeavour to obtain justice to his reputation at least. In deferring my further remarks upon this subject to another opportunity, I cannot refrain from saying, that I do not clearly perceive either the expediency or the justice of attributing so great a share of the cause of Mr. Johnstone's treatment to the Judge Advocate General; and, if there be any part of Mr. Johnstone's letter to the Duke of York, of which the public will not approve, I think it will be that, in which he labours to throw *all* the responsibility upon Sir Charles Morgan. It certainly was not Sir Charles Morgan who promised him his rank in case the court-martial should acquit him; it was not Sir Charles Morgan that afterwards refused him his rank; nor does it appear that Sir Charles Morgan had any share in those acts of which he most complains. I trust, that, in respect for the sons of my Sovereign, I am not surpassed by Mr. Johnstone, or any body else; but I never can admit the principle, that *they can do no wrong*. If they are in office, I must look to them for *responsibility*. I know of no principle of our laws or usages which bids me seek for an *adviser* of them. Such a principle once admitted would soon destroy all real responsibility.

ADMIRAL DUCKWORTH. (Continued from p. 23.) Upon this subject there is a letter in a foregoing page of this sheet, to which letter I beg leave to refer the reader, and upon which I shall content myself, for the present, with observing, that, as to the Times newspaper, I have expressed no approbation of its *former* conduct; but, surely, I am not to disapprove, or to withhold my praise of, its conduct with regard to Lord Melville and his partizans, merely because it acted, in other cases, in a manner of which I disapproved.——As to the general principles laid down in the letter refered to, I am fully sensible of their truth and of their importance; and though I do not positively assert, that passion or prejudice has never, in any instance, misled me into a deviation from them, I am confident that I never have, upon any public question, been guilty of deliberate partiality, and I trust that I never shall. *Justice* consists not in a rigid interpretation and a severe execution of the law; but, in an *impartial* distribution of rewards and punishments, according to the nature and degree of the action to be rewarded or punished, taking into view the motives, the general character, and other circumstances relative to the parties for or against whom the award is to be made. The particular case of Admiral Duckworth was not sought for by me, as a subject of comment. My attention was attracted to it by the very extraordinary speech, which was published in the Times newspaper, under the name of Admiral Markham, and which I copied into the preceding sheet at the page above refered to; a speech which I could have wished, and could still wish, to see disavowed by that gentleman. And, I am persuaded, that the reader will agree with me, that such a publication ought not to have passed without notice. I felt no bias of any sort towards the person, against whose motion Admiral Markham's speech was made; I even thought that the motion came with no very good grace from a member, who, if I mistake not, had uniformly voted on the side of Lord Melville; but this circumstance could not alter the facts in the case of Admiral Duckworth, and neither it, nor any thing else, could change the nature or the tendency of the bold declaration, the daring defiance of the law, the *ridicule* of the law, contained in the published speech attributed to Admiral Markham. When, too, I came to read the evidence taken before the court-martial, together with the papers thereunto attached, and found that it was not *wines* and liquors merely (though, I must confess, I should have wished not to find a pipe and two hogsheads of these belonging to a gentleman whose public conduct, in general, I very much admire) when I found that it was not wines and liquors merely that the loading of his Majesty's ship consisted of, but also of a great variety of articles of merchandize, making at the lowest estimation in the evidence upon oath, a bulk of FORTY TONS, and amongst which articles were eleven logs and two slabs of mahogany, each of the logs containing nearly a load and a half of timber; when I came to see the list of these goods and merchandizes, which occupies two pages and a half of a close-printed octavo pamphlet, and which bears much more the appearance of a mercantile manifest than of an inventory of a ship of the Royal Navy; when I came to see this, I felt myself impelled to commence that series of observations, which I shall, hereafter, continue and conclude in the manner that appears to me the most likely to enable my readers to form a just judgment upon the subject.

PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.——Yesterday, the 12th instant, the parliament was prorogued by Commission, and with the following SPEECH from the Lord Chancellor, his Majesty's disorder in his eyes preventing him from appearing in person.—— "MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—We have "it in command from his Majesty to ex- "press the satisfaction with which he has

" observed the proofs you have given in the " course of the present session of your con- " stant regard for the honour of his Crown, " and the interests of his dominions; and " particularly the measures which you have " adopted for strengthening his Majesty's " hands at this important conjuncture, by " the augmentation of the disposable mili- " tary force of the kingdom.——GENTLE- " MEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—His " Majesty has directed us particularly to " thank you in his Majesty's name, for the " zeal and liberality with which you have " granted the large supplies which the ne- " cessity of the public service has required. " MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—His Ma- " jesty has not yet been enabled to commu- " nicate to you the result of the negotiations " in which he is engaged with powers on " the Continent; but you may rest assured " that no step will be omitted on his Majes- " ty's part, for promoting such a concert as " may afford the best prospect of restoring " general and permanent tranquillity; or " may, if necessary, furnish the means of " repelling with vigour the continued en- " croachments on the part of the French " government, which threaten, every day " more and more, the liberty and indepen- " dence of all the nations of Europe."—— On this speech there is nothing to say, unless one were inclined to make an observation or two upon " the *augmentation* of the " disposable force of the kingdom;" but, it is not worth while. It will have been observed upon enough by every intelligent man before this sheet comes from the press.

PARTIES.—Since the publication of the preceding number of the Register, the following changes have taken place in the ministry. Lord Sidmouth, as President of the Council, and the Earl of Buckinghamshire, as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, have resigned their offices, which have been filled, the former by Lord Camden, and the latter by Lord Harrowby. (Lord Harrowby again!) Lord Castlereagh has succeeded Lord Camden as Secretary of State for the War Department, and still holds his office of President of the Board of Control. Thus are the Addingtons again separated from Mr. Pitt, and, as far as it has hitherto appeared, the separation has, on the part of the former, proceeded from motives which must be approved of by every *honest* man, of whatever party he may be. The Pitt faction, however, who have always the poison of asps under their lips, ascribe the rupture to a desire on the part of Lord Sidmouth to domineer over Mr. Pitt; and, indeed, we should not, after what we have seen, be too hasty in determining what were the motives which did in reality produce the resignation of the Addingtons. Let us, therefore, for the present, content ourselves with carefully perusing and putting upon record, according to our hitherto useful custom, the allegations of the parties respectively. The TIMES began, on the 6th instant, by stating the grounds of Lord Sidmouth's resignation in the following words. " This important " event has caused a considerable sensation " in the public mind, which is not likely " to diminish upon reflection, or a nearer " investigation of the circumstances which " have led to it. They are before the country at large—self-evident, oppressed or obscured by no ministerial mystery or poli- " tical convenience. *Lord Sidmouth would* " *not consent to the resolution which so un-* " *fortunately has been formed by certain* " *individuals, to subtract a great delin-* " *quent from the laws of his country. His* " *Lordship would not lend the sanction of* " *his name and authority to the disastrous* " *scheme for diverting the course of public* " *justice, and frustrating the prayer of the* " *petitions of so many great provinces and* " *cities.* He would not concur in the un- " precedented measure of rescinding, upon " a four-and-twenty hour's notice, the so- " lemn vote of almost the fullest assembly " of the Commons in the memory of man, " in a house, whose total numbers scarcely " exceeded the amount of the minority on " that memorable decision. *In a word, he* " *found it incompatible with his feelings and* " *his duty—with what he owed to his own* " *honour and the service of his Sovereign* " *and his country—to remain any longer a* " *part of an administration, some of whose* " *members have appeared to make it their* " *chief object and occupation (in this extra-* " *ordinary case), wherever they have not* " *been restrained by his authority, to defeat* " *the ends of public justice, and elude the peti-* " *tions of the people!* Upon the immediate " consequences of this important change, we " shall hazard no conjecture. We do not, " however, believe, that the place of his " lordship and his friends can be supplied " from the ranks of either the new or the " old Opposition, as the leaders of both " these parties *have distinguished themselves* " *by their adherence to the cause which has* " *produced his resignation.*"——Very true! Very true! but, of that more hereafter.—— On the evening of the same day the Pitt newspaper, the SUN, made the following remarks: " we yesterday stopped the press " to announce to the public an event which " has been for some time expected, viz. " the resignation by Lord Sidmouth of his " office of President of the Council. We

" should violate the principles which we " have always professed, and upon which " we have always acted, if we were to ex- " press any regret upon this occasion.— " We are fully sensible of the necessity of " a strong and efficient administration at " this juncture; but we are convinced " that administration will lose nothing in " point of strength—certainly nothing in " point of vigour and efficiency — by the " resignation of the noble lord. Indeed " the wavering, undecided, hollow sup- " port which the noble lord and his friends " have given to administration, has tend- " ed much more to weaken than to strength- " en it. It has been stated, for purposes " too obvious to be mistaken, *that the* " *conduct of Lord Sidmouth and those who* " *act with him on the business of Lord* " *Melville was the sole cause of the* " *differences subsisting between Mr. Pitt* " *and his lordship; to this assertion we* " *can give the most decided contradiction,* " although it certainly is true that their con- " duct in bringing forward a motion for a " criminal prosecution, not only without " any previous concert with ministers, but " even without the slightest intimation of " any such intention, may have *accelerated* " *the event which has just taken place.* " Whether this resignation will lead to any " accession of strength to administration " FROM ANY OTHER QUARTER, we " cannot at present take upon ourselves to " decide; but it certainly will REMOVE ONE " GREAT OBSTACLE to such an union as " that to which we allude."——Will it, think you? But of that more by-and-by. ——On the 10th instant the SUN returned to the subject, and made the following statement: " Lord Sidmouth's pretext is, " that his conscience will not permit him to " support an impeachment, but he must " have a criminal prosecution! *Can this be* " *believed? Can the mode of trial be a* " *matter of conscience? No, no. Had the* " *proposition supported by Mr. Pitt been* " *for prosecution*, impeachment, no doubt, " would have been in the eyes of the Ad- " dingtons. Lord Sidmouth's conduct, in " short, *can be traced to nothing but a* " *love of power, unaccompanied by great* " *or generous feelings.*"——This brought the following re-statement from the TIMES of the 12th instant, to which re-statement I beg the reader's particular attention: " we " re-state, therefore, that Lord Sidmouth, " and his friends, have resigned their high " situations, *because they had not sufficient* " *influence in the Cabinet to prevent the* " *measures which were pursued to rescue* " *Lord Melville from the laws of his* " *country; because they would not connive* " *at the perpetuation and impunity of the* " *system of abuse, and the profligate waste* " *of the public resources, of which they op-* " *posed the latest instance in the case of the* " *D. of Athol.* Lord Sidmouth has resigned upon " the purest and broadest public principle " that ever a great statesman, or a zealous " worshipper of the constitution, took for his " rallying point; and we affirm, that *every* " *virtuous Englishman will rally round his* " *Lordship, as the* SOLE *and central point* " *from which we can combat that prodi-* " *gality and public corruption which we do* " *not possess the means to support.*"—— This zeal may be excused; but, as long as the OPPOSITION shall continue to act upon the principles, which have distinguished their conduct during the discussions relative to Lord Melville, this writer can hardly suppose, that the Addington party will be the *sole* rallying point of the people against the abettors of corruption; for the people will not easily forget, on which side the Addingtons voted on the all-important 8th of April. I am, however, ready to allow, that, if it shall finally appear, as at present there is every reason to hope and to believe that it will appear, that the Addingtons have resigned upon the honourable ground above stated by their friends; if this shall finally appear, I shall be the first to allow, that they have regained the ground which they lost on the 8th of April, and that they have made an effort of public virtue that entitles them to *a share* in the confidence of their king and the people. But, if they had *remained in the Pitt ministry*, neither their professions, nor their votes upon particular occasions, would, or ought, to have availed them any thing; which observation will equally well apply, if they should, either now or at any future time, rejoin Mr. Pitt; for, as Mr. Fox observed in the debate of the 6th of May, " the country is " seriously agitated, and it *neither can nor* " *will place confidence in those who have ex-* " *erted themselves so much to screen a delin-* " *quent.*" What degree of confidence they would place in persons, who, after reprobating these exertions, should join the man by whom, principally, they have been made, I leave the Addingtons and their friends to determine. They are, apparently at least, now in the path of safety and of honour Their deliverance, when we contemplate the scene whence they have escaped, is little less fortunate than that of the family of LOT, the hankering matron of which let me, however, conjure them not to imitate, or, they may be assured, that, politically speaking, their fate will not be less signal than hers.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 3.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY, 20, 1805. [PRICE 10D.

" William the First, King of Prussia, never, with respect to financial concerns, pardoned either negligence " or fraud. One of his Receivers, resident at Konigsbergh, having in the chest, entrusted to his care, a " considerable sum not immediately wanted for the public service, took out ten thousand crowns which " he wished to apply to some private purpose. He, at the same time, deposited in the chest, a " memorandum, stating that he owed the said sum to the public, and that he would replace it in a short " space of time. The Receiver, who was a man very much esteemed, was possessed of large real estates. " The King, quite unexpectedly, visited Konigsbergh, the same day examined the chest, found the " memorandum, ascertained the deficit, and caused the Receiver to be hanged, as an unfaithful servant." THIEBAULT'S Anecdotes of a 20 Year's Residence at Berlin. Vol. II. page 11.*

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

ATHOL CLAIM. (continued from p. 52.) The Reports, and other printed documents, appertaining to this subject make a folio volume of no small bulk. The greater part of these must be analysed, in order to the presenting a full view of the conduct of those, through whose means the grant has been recently made to the Duke of Athol. Such a view I shall, in the course of a few weeks, endeavour to present. At present it is my intention merely to lay before my readers, the *Protest* entered upon the Journals of the House of Lords; accompanied with a few remarks, copied chiefly from the Morning Chronicle.——The following is a copy of the Protest.——" DISSENTIENT. 1st, be- " cause the bill in question appears to be " grounded on the following recitals, which " have not been supported by evidence.—— " The preamble recites that the Isle of Man " was granted in Sovereignty by King " Henry the 4th, and that the Sovereign " rights continued until the 5th year of his " present Majesty; and it further recites, " that the Act of the 12th of George the " First, chap. 28, provided for the purchase " of these Sovereign rights. But this " grant to Sir John Stanley, and the said " Act do not in point of fact convey, or " confirm, or provide for the purchase of " Sovereign rights in the Isle of Man; and " it was not denied in the course of debate " that the legislature of England had unin- " terruptedly legislated for internal pur- " poses within the said Island.——2d. The " preamble further recites, that by a certain " deed of restriction duly executed by Char- " lotte, Duchess Dowager of Athol, John, " Duke of Athol, became entitled to the " rights reserved to his family in the Isle of " Man, and hath ever since continued to " enjoy the same. But this deed when pro- " duced in evidence, purports only to in- " tend to convey—'the rents, profits, and " duties of every kind payable now forth " and from the Isle of Man;' and does not " convey any of the other rights reserved: " and it appears from evidence that the " Duchess Dowager of Athol was Lady of " the Island at the time of passing the Act of " the 5th year of his present Majesty, and " has continued to exercise part of the " rights reserved to her by that law ever " since the Act of Restriction, 1774.—— " 3d. The preamble further recites, that " there were circumstances attending the " resignation of these rights, which make it " just and reasonable that a further compen- " sation should be given, and that the du- " ties of customs of the Island belonged to " the family of the Duke of Athol, and that " a compensation should be given for them " to be regulated by their produce. But of " these circumstances no evidence was " given, nor was it proved to us that the du- " ties in question did so belong, nor was " any reason whatsoever urged in the de- " bate to induce us to think that the com- " pensation (if any was to be made) should " be regulated by their produce.——2dly. " Because the reports made at various times " down to the present moment, by the law " officers of the Crown, on the subject of " the claim for further compensation in this

C

* Original of the Motto.——Guillaume Premier, Roi de Prusse, ne pardonna jamais, sur l'article de ses finances, ni négligence ni infidélité. Un de ses receveurs, établi à Konigsberg, ayant, dans sa caisse, une somme considérable, sans destination ni emploi actuel, en tira dix mille écus, dont il avoit besion pour ses affaires personnelles; il remplaça cet argent par un billet, où il déclaroit le devoir, et annonçoit qu'il le remplaceroit dans un délai très-court. Cet homme fort, estimé d'ailleurs, étoit riche en biens fonds. Guillaume arrive à l'improviste dans cette capitale, visite cette caisse dans le jour, voit le billet, constate le vide, et fait pendre le receveur comme dépositaire infidèle.——THIEBAULT: *Mes souvenirs de vingt ans à Berlin. Tom. II. page 11.*

" matter, were sanctioned and confirmed in " the debate by the first legal authorities; " and did satisfy us that we are well grounded in our opinion, that sufficient grounds " have not been produced in proof that the " compensation given by the Act of the 5th " year of his present Majesty, chap. 26. " was inadequate. —— 3dly. Because the " vague and loose manner in which the evidence has been conducted of the nature " and extent of the supposed injury, or of " the proposed compensation, or of the " claim of the Duke of Athol, to be considered as the party to whom that compensation should be granted, forms an additional ground for the jealousy which we " entertain on the danger of establishing " this precedent for opening for re-consideration, and at a remote period, contracts " between the public and individuals.—— " 4thly. Because the House having thought " proper to reject an amendment proposed " in the last clause for the purpose of supplying words evidently omitted by mistake; the Act as it now stands enacts a " very questionable process, and imposes " severe penalties on " the officers of the receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, who " shall refuse or neglect to pay the said annuity, or yearly rent, or sum, or any " part thereof, according to the true intent and meaning of this Act, or to do " any Act necessary to enable the said John, " Duke of Athol, and the heirs general of " the 7th Earl of Derby." But, inasmuch " as the words proposed to be here added, " viz. " to receive the same," were injected, " this part of the Act is absolutely unintelligible, and was admitted by every lord who " spoke in the debate to be inexplicable and " of no effect.—(*Signed*) NORFOLK, E. M. " ——WILLIAM.——NUGENT BUCKINGHAM.——CARYSFORT."——This bill has passed both Houses of Parliament upon a *recommendation of a Committee of the King's Privy Council*, which committee consisted of *Lord Melville*, his nephew *Mr. William Dundas*, and two others, the petitions of the Duke having, on former occasions been referred to the law-officers of the Crown! By the bill, a grant in perpetuity, estimated at 2,500*l.* a year, out of the public purse, is made to the Athol family; and, therefore, it is worth nearly a hundred thousand pounds. This grant was opposed by the Lord Chancellor of England and by the Lord Chief Justice, in their places in the House of Lords. It had formerly been resisted by Lord Chancellor Thurlow when Attorney General; it was opposed, in official reports, by the present Attorney General, Mr. Percival; by the then Solicitor General, Sir Thomas (now Mr. Baron) Sutton; by Sir William Grant, now Master of the Rolls, and late first commissioner for inquiry into the claims of the Duke of Athol; by the late Lord Chancellor Rosslyn when Attorney General; by Mr. Attorney General Wallace; by Chief Justice Sir James Mansfield, when Solicitor General. In opposition to all this, however (adds the writer whose statement I have been borrowing), truth obliges us to acknowledge, that the purity and propriety of the measure has been frequently and officially urged by *Mr. Dundas*, now *Lord Melville*; and, that it has been defended on the same grounds, by Lord Glenbervie, Lord de Blaquiere, Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Charles Long, Mr. Canning, the Heaven-born Minister, and Old George Rose.——The Duke of Athol's grant is, however, a trifle in comparison to the amount of the *new grants of the whole year*, which is more, I think, than *six times greater* than that of the new grants of any year while Mr. Addington was minister! I do not speak positively, not having all the papers at hand; but, in my next, I propose to publish a list of the grants made since Mr. Pitt and his worthy colleague, Lord Melville, returned to power, in May, 1804. I shall exhibit *names* as well as dates and sums; for, it is now become absolutely necessary for *the people* to see what becomes of the money that is collected from them.—In the mean while, I beg leave to refer the reader to a letter of my intelligent and valuable correspondent, VERAX, which letter will be found in a subsequent page of this sheet. It is well worthy of the attention of the person to whom it is addressed; for, it is quite useless to punish delinquents, if you suffer others to continue in delinquency.——The financial statements, laid before Parliament, are not calculated to enable the members to know *how* the public money is *disposed of*; and, indeed, that they are perfectly nugatory as to that purpose, what other proof need we, than that which has been exhibited to the country in the sixteen years uninterrupted misapplication of the naval money by Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter; by the sums taken out by Lord Melville and expended in a way which he boldly says no one shall make him discover; by the sums lent to Boyd and Benfield, without interest, and returned again, no one can tell *how*, or *when*. Here are proofs more than sufficient of the truth of my correspondent's assertion, to wit, that the accounts as now submitted to parliament are useless for any purpose of checking the minister in his disposal of the public money.——But, I must beseech the

reader to suspend his judgment till next week; and, then, I trust, I shall be able to show, in a pretty striking light, that it was not in mere car and catamaran projects, that Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville were engaged last summer. The reader will see, too, something to convince him, that Lord Auckland's attention to the financial interests of the nation does not make him forget his own interests. In short, a scene very striking, and deeply interesting to the people will be exhibited; and, after the exhibition, let those who are still willing to support Mr. Pitt grumble as long as they please about taxes; let them groan; the only subject for sorrow will be, that he does not actually squeeze them to death.

FINANCE RESOLUTIONS.——On Thursday last, the 12th instant, Mr. Johnstone brought forward his resolutions on the subject of *finance*.——The reader will recollect, that Mr. Tierney used annually to submit a string of these resolutions to the House; which resolutions it was the custom for the minister to supplant by a string of his own, giving a representation more favourable of the resources of the country. Both strings were annually entered in the votes of the House, and thus were sent on their journey to posterity, bearing with them that precious deposit, the fame of their respective authors! Mr. Johnstone, captivated, apparently, with this easy way of securing immortality, seized upon the office last year, Mr. Tierney having filled himself and dropped off the year before.——There was, however, something curious, if not bordering upon the ridiculous, in the bringing forward of the resolutions this year. Notice of Mr. Johnstone's intention was given about six weeks ago; and, it will be recollected, (see Vol. VII. p. 960) that Mr. Pitt, in the debate upon Mr. Grey's motion, intimated, that when the resolutions should be brought forward, he should take an opportunity of showing how flourishing the state of the public resources were. The actual production of the resolutions was postponed from time to time, until the day above-mentioned, when Mr. Johnstone rising, with perfect seriousness, introduced them with the observation, that, as he understood no very material objection would be made to them, he should not *detain the House* by any exposition of either the principles or the detail, upon which he had proceeded in the framing of them; an observation the necessity of which was by no means apparent, seeing that, of the *six hundred and fifty-eight* members, there were only *nine*, including the Speaker, to listen to him! Mr. Pitt, not thinking proper to act himself before such an audience, set up Mr. Huskisson (just as the reader has frequently seen, upon occasions not very dissimilar, *out of doors*), while the great man himself sat by, examined the documents, and gave his prescriptions.——There was little of prescription to give, however; for, Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Huskisson appeared to have come to a previous understanding; the matter was, therefore, very speedily settled; the Speaker put the question upon each resolution; the "unanimity," as in the Critic, "was wonderful." The AYES had it every time, without a single dissenting voice; and thus closed the session as to the subject of finance. *We*, however, who have another long and dreary year of taxes to toil through, may, and, doubtless, we shall, as opportunity serves, return to this important subject; and, I think, we shall discover, that the resolutions of Mr. Johnstone, even with the great Mr. Huskisson's emendations, are very little calculated to enable us to judge of the real state of our financial concerns, though, if intended to amuse the city vulgar, they may not prove entirely useless.——I entertain great respect for Mr. Johnstone. On several occasions he has eminently distinguished himself as a member of parliament, mindful of his great duty, a scrupulous watchfulness over the pecuniary interests of the people; and, I remember with particular satisfaction, his conduct during the debate upon Mr. Creevy's motion relative to Mr. Fordyce, which Mr. Fordyce has, by-the-bye, too long escaped the notice of my readers. But, in proportion as I respect Mr. Johnstone's talents and character, I lament, and must lament, to see him a sort of co-operator with Mr. Huskisson in any thing, and especially in the framing and bringing forward of resolutions, such as those of which I have been speaking.

SWEDEN AND PRUSSIA.—The backwardness which, all at once, became apparent, in the conduct of Sweden, about five months ago, the reader will now find pretty satisfactorily accounted for, in the State Paper, inserted in the foregoing sheet, p. 47. Sweden would have taken our money; but, Prussia would not let her Never was there a clearer or a shorter case! The vigour of Lord Harrowby and Mr. Pitt had, we now see, well nigh succeeded in rousing the gallant young monarch to the acceptance of a subsidy, before, as it is now evident, there was the least reason to hope, that it would be of any use to us, or to any body else. ——Lord Harrowby is now come back to us again; not in the same office, it is true;

but in *some office*, no matter what one, we are now sure to have the benefit of his talents, and of that industry which shone forth so conspicuously during the sixteen months that he was "taking steps" to correct the monstrous abuses in the office of Treasurer of the Navy, but which abuses he, at last, left as he found them.——In matters relating to foreign affairs, however, his Lordship is more expeditious, as we most sensibly have felt, and shall yet feel, in the consequences of the *war with Spain*; which war, and especially our manner of beginning it, is one of the principal causes of the coolness, not to say contempt, with which all our overtures are listened to upon the Continent; and, though it is possible that it had no share in producing the Prussian State Paper, above referred to, yet, let it be remembered, that, at the time of the capture of the Spanish Frigates, *we said* that such conduct in foreign courts, with repect to this country, would be amongst the consequences of that capture.

The Combined Fleets, which are generally thought to be on their way to Europe, some persons have supposed, will endeavour to take *Halifax*, in Nova Scotia. This they would, I think, find it very difficult to accomplish. Halifax is tolerably well fortified. A fleet cannot enter till some of the works have been taken; and, to take any of the works there, leaving the fleet, in the mean while, exposed to an attack from the sea, is an enterprize not to be reasonably expected from the commanders, who, with sixteen sail of the line, have fled from Nelson with ten sail of that description. A more probable conjecture is, that, if the combined fleets are not making for Europe, they are gone to the United States of America; in which case, they will, in all likelihood, anchor in the Bay of Chesapeake. Such a course of proceeding would give us most serious annoyance, and would, at the same time, produce very little, if any, inconvenience to the enemy, whose fleets would lie snugly sheltered from the elements as well as from our cannon, while ours, which we must keep constantly to watch them, would be exposed to the elements, and that, too, upon a most dangerous coast. Provisions, repairs, and every thing they could want to keep their ships in good condition, and ready for sea, the enemy would find either in the harbour of New York or in the Chesapeake. We should obtain the same things, though upon worse terms, because we must keep at sea, or nearly so; but, we want few, or none, of these things; and, our enemy's obtaining them is a dead loss to us. While there is a strong fleet of the enemy in any of the harbours of the United States, we can never be safe without one in the West Indies able to cope with them; and, this force we ought to keep constantly there, besides having a considerable force upon the coast of America. Halifax may be in little or no danger; but, while there is a strong French naval force in the United States, Bermuda, Newfoundland, the Bahamas, and all our possessions in the Atlantic, to the north of Cuba, must be in continual danger, and, of course, in continual alarm. For these reasons, I should much rather hear of the combined fleets having safely arrived at Cadiz, or at Toulon, than in any of the ports or bays of the United States.

Proceedings against Lord Melville. (continued from Vol. VII. p. 989).——An impeachment of Lord Melville having been resolved upon, and the articles thereof (which shall be inserted in the next sheet) having been proposed to, and adopted by, the House of Commons, it was my intention, as expressed at the time when the criminal prosecution had been resolved on, to have abstained from all further comment upon the conduct of the person accused; but, as was explicitly stated in the passage here referred to (Vol. VII. p. 928.), this forbearance was conditional, and the condition was as follows: "*Here*, then, for the "present, we must leave *him*; but, not "his *supporters*, if they still appear in "print. All along they have been the aggressors. Let us hope, that they will "now, at last, learn discretion. If, however, they should continue to make publications in justification of the conduct of "Lord Melville, it may not be improper to "apprize them of my determination of "commenting upon those publications, "whatever be the title under which they "shall appear."——Since the publication of this passage, there has appeared, a pamphlet, entitled a Speech of Lord Melville on the 11th of June, 1805, in the House of Commons. This pamphlet contains a daring defiance of the law, and some most unjust insinuations against the conduct of all those, whether in or out of parliament, who have expressed a disapprobation of Lord Melville's and Mr. Trotter's conduct. That it is indecent and audacious, in the extreme, thus to attempt to brow-beat the injured nation, I think, few persons, the writer and his accomplices excepted, will deny; and, I am persuaded, that it will appear perfectly proper, publicly and in print, to comment upon the publication in question, as often as it

shall appear necessary to counteract the effects, which it evidently is intended to produce.——Besides this pamphlet, we daily see, in the news-papers devoted to the Pitt and Melville faction, paragraphs reviving, and re-stating, with more confidence than ever, the several facts and arguments heretofore brought forward by the advocates of Lord Melville, and disproved or refuted by their opponents. A specimen of this presents itself in the news-paper now before me, the SUN of the 15th instant, as follows: "The Members who have taken a leading "part in the Prosecution of Lord Melville, "have particularly excited the attention of "mankind, and have an awful responsibi- "lity attached to their names. *It is gene- "rally admitted,* that *nothing was lost to "the public* in the transaction referred to, "and that public payments *were not a mo- "ment delayed.*" Two assertions, which, over and over again, have been *proved to be false*, and which no man in the country, except he be notoriously of the Pitt and Melville faction, has ever affected to regard as true. To the readers of the Register, I think, I may safely appeal for judgment upon the impudent hireling, who is now sliding forth by stealth assertions like those here particularly cited. I think, they will have been thoroughly convinced, that, in consequence of Lord Melville's having violated the law, the public has *lost* immense sums of money, and that public payments have been *delayed* in numerous instances and to the great disgrace as well as injury of the public.——But, suppose, for a moment, that these assertions of the Pitt and Melville writer were as true as they are false; suppose, for argument's sake, that the public had sustained no actual pecuniary loss, and that all the payments to individuals had been as duly made, as if no violation of the law had ever been committed by Lord Melville; what then? Has not this supposition been made before? And have not the public, have not the parliament, decided, that, whether there were loss or not, whether the payments were retarded or not, the violation of the law still continued the same, and, that, whether by "accommodating" members of parliament or others, the violation might be rendered full as injurious, and even more injurious, to the country, than if it had produced an actual deficit in the naval money. How a King of Prussia would have thought upon this subject may be seen from the passage which I have chosen as a motto to this sheet. God forbid that any British subject, in whatever state of life, should be exposed to the hasty, and, perhaps, vindictive decisions of a despot, whether civil or *military*; but, the writer in the SUN, above quoted, may, from the anecdote related by M. Thibault, perceive, that crimes have not, in other countries any more than in this, always been weighed against pounds shillings and pence, than which, indeed, nothing can be more degrading to the people amongst whom such a principle prevails, or can, for a moment, be listened to.——I quit this subject with a promise again to return to it, for the purpose of refuting the impudent statements in the pamphlet entitled, "Lord Melville's Speech;" but, as there will be quite time enough for this previous to the trial, I shall, probably, defer it for some weeks, unless the absence of the parliament should so far embolden the Pitt and Melville news-papers, as to produce a repetition of those scandalous efforts, which, in the months of March, April, and May, they made to deceive the public. As yet, like the Devil, "squat at the ear of Eve," they are merely whispering their falsehoods; stealing them out upon the people. They deal them forth, at present, a sentence at a time, and that so judiciously placed as not to discover the design. After a while these sentences will swell into paragraphs; whence we shall be led into letters "from intelligent "correspondents," and, when the trial is near at hand, we shall see the editors themselves become the open and avowed champions of the accused. Against these arts, to give effect to which nothing will be spared, every part of the public, and particularly public writers, should be upon their guard. The Pitt and Dundas ministry have now entered upon a campaign much more important to them than the last: it is not cars and catamarans that they *now* intend to employ. The Cinque Port volunteers will, I imagine, be left to drill themselves. Let us, therefore, lay constantly upon our arms. Unless we *persevere*, we have *done nothing*.

PARTIES. (Continued from p. 64.)—In resuming this subject, we must again refer to the *prints* of the *Pitts* and *Addingtons* respectively. There are four points upon which the writers of these factions are at issue. 1. *The grounds of resignation of Lord Sidmouth and his friends.* The Pitt and Melville faction insist, that the real grounds were, that the Addingtons wanted more power and much more emolument than the Pitt and Melville part of the ministry were disposed to let them have; while the Addingtons assert, the grounds of their resignation to have been, a conviction that it was contrary to the principles of honour and honesty to continue part of a ministry, who

had made, and who were still making, such unwarrantable efforts to screen Lord Melville.——2. *The time and manner of Lord Sidmouth's announcing the intention of himself and his friends to resign.* Upon this point, as well as upon the others, we must patiently hear what they themselves say, paying particular attention to, and endeavouring to ascertain, the fact, of Lord Sidmouth's having caused his intention to be signified to the Prince, *before* he signified it either to the King or to Mr. Pitt! This is a very interesting circumstance; and I beg the reader to bear it in his mind.——3. *The effect, with regard to Lord Sidmouth, which the resignation has produced in the mind of His Majesty.* The Pitt and Melville faction, particularly the UPSTART, aver, that the King has absolutely cast off the Addingtons. That their resignation gave him no pain whatever; but, on the contrary, that he was exceedingly glad to get rid of them. The Addingtons say they are still the favourites at court; that His Majesty received the news of their resignation with the deepest sorrow; and there is, in one of the paragraphs upon the subject, something very much like a hint, that, rather than absolutely break the heart of their Sovereign, they would return to the receipt of the salaries, which, I think it will be allowed, is an effort of loyalty not too great to be expected from them.——4. *Whether there can be a junction of the Addingtons and the Opposition; or of the Pitt and Melville faction and the Opposition.* The Addington writers contend, that it is quite impossible, that the Opposition can touch the Pitts and Melvilles; and the Pitt and Melville writers contend, in terms no less unqualified, that no junction can take place between the Opposition and the Addingtons, appearing, as may be seen from the passage quoted in p. 63, particularly to allude to the aversion, to such a junction, supposed to be entertained by Lord Grenville.——Having thus stated the points, upon which the advocates of the two factions are at issue, let us now hear them in their own words, beginning with the UPSTART's paper, the ORACLE, *of the 2d and 3d instant.* The first question is rather *introductory*; but, it is very necessary to have upon record, especially when the reader recollects that it comes directly from the venomous lips of the UPSTART, whose supple crawling the public have heard, and will yet again hear of.——"From this paragraph" (having quoted a paragraph from the Morning [illegible] contradicting the report of [illegible] declared that he would [illegible] government) "from this paragraph, which came from the highest opposition authority, it is evident, that *Mr. Fox's patience began to be exhausted.* His pride at last was aroused, when he found *no return of compliment*, no language of equal conciliation, no encouragement, by an approximation of ideas, from Mr. Pitt. The latter was sufficiently polite as a gentleman; but, as a politician, he pretended not *to understand the broad hints which were thrown out to him from day to day.* Mr. Fox then qualified or moderated his ambition, by saying that he would not personally stand in the way of any arrangement for an administration including all the great men of the country. This was wise and politic on the part of Mr. Fox. *He well knew that if his friends ever got into power, they would soon succeed in obtaining for him a leading department of the state.* The minister, although unfortunately deprived of the great abilities of Lord Melville, and although an able coadjutor might perhaps have been acceptable, yet was proof against *the political courtship*, and also the *political coquetry, of Mr. Fox*, who had declared that no personal consideration on his part should preclude any arrangement for an administration on an enlarged scale.——The powers of Lord Sidmouth are so far inferior to Mr. Pitt, and the confidence which the latter has reposed in his new colleagues has so much flattered them, and confirmed their friendship for him, that they very wisely prefer the one to the other, whether viewed as a private individual, or as a public character. But who gave Lord Sidmouth the power which elevated him to his present greatness? Mr. Pitt. Who recommended and supported him at the commencement of his administration, *in language too strong for political foresight*, but very honourable on principles of friendship? Mr. Pitt. Who, in fact, *introduced him into life*, and raised him *from obscurity* to the chair of the House of Commons, consequently *made him at once the first commoner in England?* Mr. Pitt. It was, therefore, very fair to conclude, that any defection from such a leader and such a friend could not be justified on principles of honour. If the one-half of the rumours be warranted even by the shadow of truth, Lord Sidmouth's conduct on the memorable occasion was what the most delicate men would term a deviation from candour and plain dealing. We by no means think, that, when a man becomes a public cha-

" racter, and is very tenacious of that character with the public, he ought to sacrifice it entirely at the shrine of friendship, whether right or wrong. It is laudable in every man to obtain, by good and honourable actions, the continuance of public partiality. True fame is enviable, especially when supported by transcendent talents. But when it flourishes only by the kind aid of friendship—when it is endangered by a serious difference—when it depends upon temporary favouritism—the celebrity which a man borrows from such adventitious circumstances renders his fall more fatal in its consequences. Such a man is Lord Sidmouth. Unless following in the train of Mr. Pitt—*unless attached to the tail of some great man*—unless, by the jealousies and distractions of parties, suffered for a time to bask in the sun-shine of fortune—Lord Sidmouth could never have led and governed the councils of the state. Take away that by which he is propped and upheld, and his fall is inevitable. Among the eminent debaters in Parliament, he may be likened to what grammarians term a noun adjective, which cannot stand in a sentence without a substantive. He may have some strong claims on the partiality of many members of the present House of Commons, *as they were returned during his administration*; but that influence will rapidly diminish as the improbability of his return to power increases. From the expiring sessions may therefore be dated the downfall of the Addingtonian party.——On the general interest and connexions of a vast empire, extended and extending far beyond the most sanguine ideas of our ancestors, the world is naturally attracted by the man whose efforts have been *so serviceable in the government* of the whole. That man is William Pitt. His activity has explored new sources of commerce, his genius discovered *new plans of finance*. All have proved highly beneficial to his country. While he has suggested and carried into effect these improvements for our national interest and aggrandisement, he has also been most forward in debate on subjects of the greatest importance. He has at the same time been eagerly solicitous for the interest and elevation of those friends who possessed talents worthy of cultivation for the highest departments of the state. His INFLEXIBLE VIRTUE has put malignity to defiance; his transcendant talents have laid prostrate before him the genius of envy and detraction. On a late occasion HIS PURITY OF CHARACTER became more and more conspicuous, shining with a brilliancy equal to the expectations and wishes of his warmest admirers. If he has less of the condescending and social qualities which familiarize and endear some men to society, it may be attributed *to his abstraction from common life, his selection of the grand and magnificent as subjects fit for the exercise of his great and comprehensive genius.* Deserted, from the incentives of ambition, by some of his best friends, harassed by a powerful combination bent on his subjugation or overthrow, he has had greater difficulties to remove, greater dangers to encounter, than any minister, perhaps, during the last hundred years. Notwithstanding the distractions and prejudices of parties, Mr. Pitt remains respected by all; and he is too proud in principle, and too virtuous in conduct, to be alarmed by the clamour of faction. *If he find the formation of a ministry, on an enlarged and a liberal scale, opposed by insurmountable obstacles and* PERSONAL OBJECTIONS *in which* HE HAS NO PART, *he will* CONTINUE TO DISCHARGE HIS DUTY TO HIS KING AND COUNTRY *with that fidelity and honour which have so often gained him the most flattering and most enviable approbation.*" That is to say, I suppose, that he will continue to act as he did in conjunction with Mr. Dundas; that he will continue to act as he did in the case of the loan to Boyd and Benfield; and as he has more recently done in the cases of the Duke of Athol and Lord Melville.——The next quotation, following the dates, is from the ORACLE *of the 10th instant.*——" While Lord Sidmouth adhered to Mr. Pitt, there was some cause of their encouragement—some cheering expectations of future distinctions, if not of greatness—some well-grounded reasons for entertaining the pleasing and consolatory idea of dividing with their political creator the charms of power and the joys of aggrandisement. But such a participation would not satisfy the inordinate ambition of Lord Sidmouth. Like Bonaparté on the Continent, aiming at universal empire, Lord Sidmouth aspired to the uncontrouled and exclusive direction of the British government. Without the great ability of Cardinal Wolsey, he possessed while in the cabinet all the insatiable desires of that crafty statesman. It is curious to contemplate the great thoughts of little men. In idea, Lord Sidmouth had

" already anticipated his reinstatement of " office. In his mind's eye he commanded " both Indies, and at his feet were the des- " tinies of Europe. But all his ambitious " projects were the delusions of the mo- " ment—they resembled so many glow " worms which deceive and betray the be- " nighted traveller. Lord Sidmouth, in " wandering from Mr. Pitt, lost the right " way, and, to all human appearance, he " will never again find it. That Sun which " illuminated his darkness now frowns upon " his best prospects, and he is doomed to " be obscured by the force of true genius " and superior public worth.——Lord Sid- " mouth can never forgive Mr. Pitt for ex- " posing the culpable negligence, the alarm- " ing deficiency, of his administration.—— " To what party are Lord Sidmouth's " friends now to look for co-operation and " support? To the Old Opposition? IM- " POSSIBLE. Mr. Fox has some shrewd " suspicions *that to Lord Sidmouth may be* " *principally attributed his personal exclu-* " *sion from office in the formation of a new* " *administration!!!* It is admitted by those " who then knew the arcana of Mr. Pitt " and his friends, that so far averse was Mr. " Pitt to the system of personal exclusion " against Mr. Fox, that HE *in vain used his* " *utmost endeavours to remove every obstacle* " *against the admission of the latter into his* " *Majesty's councils and government.* From " Mr. Fox and his party Lord Sidmouth " can therefore expect no consolation, and " *certainly no coalition,* although the very " same men may cheer the Addingtons " when in expectation of their votes or in- " terest in Parliament.—To whom are the " latter description then to look for en- " couragement and support? To the New " Coalition—to the Grenvilles? They have " *too much the pride of family, and too much* " *the aristocracy of talents,* TO STOOP " TO SUCH BASE DEGREES OF GRA- " TIFYING THEIR AMBITION."—— Reader, need I stop here to ask you, how " base," if these observations are just, must have been the man, who not only stooped to a coalition with the Addingtons, after having bestowed on them every mark of his contempt, but who actually *solicited*, nay, who *humbly solicited*, in a letter under his own hand, a coalition with the men, who are represented as too vile for any body else upon earth to touch?——The insinuation too, respecting *Mr. Pitt's desire to bring in Mr. Fox* must not escape attention. Let it be remembered. I beg the reader to remember it; and that it comes from the UPSTART too.——We shall have to return to all this again.——Extract from the COURIER *of the 11th instant.* " In these " changes the public will add an increase of " talents to the cabinet; although 10 or 12 " votes may waver in parliament, in con- " sequence of Lord Sidmouth's retreat, yet " the unanimity which will pervade our " councils, without which vigour cannot " exist, will repay tenfold such a loss. The " want of unanimity in the cabinet has no " doubt embarrassed government last win- " ter. Unanimity in council is more ne- " cessary to the conduct of the affairs of a " country than the collection of numerous " but discordant parties. *We are in hopes* " *that some further arrangements will still* " *take place to bring those together who are* " *agreed on the great questions of our policy.* " *Lord Grenville was yesterday with the* " *King, and the Prince of Wales went in* " *haste to Mr. Fox at St. Anne's Hill.* The " state of our affairs, both at home and " abroad, seems to *inspire the country with* " *fresh confidence!!!*"—All that is necessary to be said here, is, that what is said about Lord Grenville's being with the King is *totally false.*——Exactly the same statement was, however, made in the MORNING POST, of the same day; and, these things we must not forget; because, it will not be long before we shall hear these same papers representing the whole of the opposition as being quite unworthy of the confidence either of King or people.——We now come to a most curious statement in the SUN *of the 11th instant.* "As much misrepresentation " has prevailed with respect to the time and " the manner of Lord Sidmouth's resigna- " tion, we request the public attention to " the following statements, which the " Times will scarcely venture to contradict: " Lord Sidmouth, as is well known, had a " long interview with Mr. Pitt, in Down- " ing-street, on *Thursday* last. They af- " terwards both attended a council. *Nei-* " *ther Mr. Pitt, nor his Royal Master, un-* " *derstood, at any period of that day, that* " *Lord Sidmouth had determined upon a re-* " *signation.* The FIRST THAT MR. " PITT HEARD OF IT, was through " those to whom *an illustrious personage* " had communicated (at Mrs. Egerton's " masquerade) the intelligence, *which he* " *had received from Mr. Sheridan.* The " Times will tell us, no doubt, whether *it* " *was at Lord Sidmouth's desire that his* " *situation was made known in the particu-* " *lar quarter to which we have alluded.* As " for the RELUCTANCE manifested in " the *acceptance* of the resignation, &c. &c. " we would advise the Addingtons *to say no*

"—*more about it.* We can jog their memo-
"ries with a few facts which will, we are
"sure, convince them of the necessity of
"holding their tongues on this subject.
"Some of them, perhaps, may have seen
"SOME LETTERS from *great persons*
"*lately*, much about the time of Lord Bar-
"ham's appointment to the Admiralty;
"but we shall wait to see how they be-
"have."——The answer which the TIMES made to this will be seen in the foregoing sheet, p. 63 and 64. It was, however, silent upon the last mentioned delicate points. ——The SUN *of the 15th instant* returned to the charge in the following manner.——
"We had asserted, that Mr. Pitt did not
"understand, from his conversation with
"Lord Sidmouth, on Thursday se'nnight,
"the intention of the latter to resign. This
"fact is contradicted by the Times. We
"will give credit to them for the truth of
"their assertion, that Lord Sidmouth's con-
"versation with Mr. Pitt was intended to
"convey to the Premier his lordship's de-
"termination to resign. Upon such a point,
"the assertion of the Times is, next to that
"of his lordship, the best evidence that can
"be produced. The public will judge whe-
"ther the Times or the Sun be more likely
"to convey a correct idea of the impression
"made, by any conversation, upon the
"Chancellor of the Exchequer. We need
"scarcely add, that we adhere to our for-
"mer statements. It is indeed only in that
"one point to which we have alluded that
"we are contradicted by the Addingtonian
"writers. They admit, by implication,
"that their leader, who is stated to have
"quitted office upon the "purest and
"broadest public principles," and who is
"held up as "the sole and central point at
"which every virtuous Englishman should
"rally," that this model of independence,
"purity, and disinterestedness, had no soon-
"er quitted one party, and lost the favour
"and confidence of "the powers that be,"
"than he hastened to throw himself into
"the arms of another, *and to join with it in*
"*worshipping "the rising sun.*" It is said
"that we have been altogether silent upon
"the *motive* of Lord Sidmouth's resigna-
"tion. This is not correct; we have traced
"it to his "*love of power, unaccompanied*
"*by any great or generous feelings*"—and,
"certainly, the pompous and desultory ex-
"position of his lordship's motives (in a
"style characteristic of his party), which
"appeared in the Times of Friday, will not
"induce us to retract our opinion. Upon
"this manifesto we shall forbear to remark,
"until its authors shall condescend to alight
"from their prancing Pegasus, and conduct
"us, at a jog-trot, to a knowledge of some
"of the facts of their case. We are en-
"couraged in the hope that the Addingtons
"*will take our hint upon this occasion*, by
"the attention which they have paid to our
"friendly advice about the *Royal reluctance*
"to accept the resignation; upon which re-
"signation we again congratulate the coun-
"try, as an event that frees the wheels of
"government from their heaviest clog."—
The Addingtons have the last word; and thus they speak in the TIMES *of the 16th instant.*——"Last night the whole Mel-
"ville-kennel opened against us, but we
"will not be driven from our purpose. The
"country and posterity have a right to truth,
"and the committees of falsehood, rancour,
"and disappointment, are not select enough
"to overwhelm or confuse it. For the joint
"report of Ex-Jacobins, the Ultra-Ministe-
"rial, and the Melville Papers, we enter-
"tain a contempt that we can express with-
"out indecorum. Let them rail; but they
"cannot "rail the seal from off the bond."
"What end can be answered by all their
"calumny, misrepresentation, and poison,
"as long as Lord Melville goes to trial by
"the disinterested fortitude of Lord Sid-
"mouth and his friends, which has enabled
"Mr. Whitbread and his virtuous cause to
"triumph? What object do they propose to
"themselves by the already-refuted lie of
"the day, while the self-devotedness of an
"upright statesman sends corruption to the
"tribunals? Do they think that the coun-
"try does not feel, in its remotest corners,
"the proud and almost lost conviction that
"there could exist a minister superior to
"the charms of power and of office, and re-
"solute to obtain justice for his country at
"the expense of importance, emolument,
"dignity, and the beloved presence of an
"affectionate master? Would they efface
"this sweet consolation from the public
"heart, that, in the cabinet itself, the laws
"and the interests of a generous people
"bending under the weight of their contri-
"butions, but free and loyal in their sacri-
"fices, have found a friend and a powerful
"defender?"——Here I shall, for the pre-
sent, take leave of the subject, begging the reader to go slowly and carefully over all these extracts; for howmuch-soever he may despise some of the prints from which they are taken, he may be assured, that they are the funnels, through which the factions, re-spectively, speak.

TO SAMUEL WHITBREAD, ESQ. M. P.
ON THE REFORM OF FINANCIAL ABUSES.

LETTER IX.

SIR,——There is, I feel, no occasion to

make any apology for addressing you on the subject of the naval accounts; or to attempt to render your fitness to obtain the reform of them, more obvious to those who may happen to read this letter, than it already is. As you have undertaken, and hitherto with so much success, to bring to justice the transgressors of the laws for securing the correct appropriation of the naval supplies, I most sincerely hope that you will persevere in your exertions, until you enforce the adoption of such regulations in regard to the accounting for all naval money, that it may be impossible for any future Treasurer of the Navy to conceal from the public any part of his proceedings connected with the payment of naval expenses. I shall, I trust, be able to point out to you the necessity of an entire alteration of the existing regulations, that relate to the navy accounts, and to prove, that so long as they are continued, the public must remain in ignorance of the uses made by the treasurer of their money. The only account now laid before parliament is, "An Account, shewing the amount of monies received from his Majesty's Exchequer for naval services, between 5th Jan. , and the 5th Jan. : distinguishing the services to which the same is *applied*." This account is made up at the Navy Office, and signed by the Commissioners of the Navy; and it forms the only source of information upon the important and extensive subject of the navy expenditure. In a former letter I have hazarded a conjecture, that the whole of this account was a mere delusion; and, that under the semblance of shewing what the nation *paid* for its navy, it was in fact, an account only of what money was applied at the Bank for the purpose *of being paid* for it; but which occurrence might or might not take place, just as it suited the pleasure of the Treasurer or Paymaster. The circumstances on which I founded this conjecture were, 1st. That the Treasurer of the Navy makes all naval payments, and not the Commissioners of the Navy; and, 2d. That the Commissioners of the Navy are said, in the language of the Exchequer, to *apply* money to naval services by paying it into the Bank on account of the Treasurer of the Navy. Though these facts appear sufficiently to bear out the inference that has been deduced from them, there existed in my mind so great a reluctance to believe, that a delusion so monstrous could have been attempted to be practised upon the nation, that I certainly was induced to hazard only a conjecture, and that with great diffidence. But, since I did so, I have found upon a reperusal of the title of the account, ample grounds for being fully convinced of the accuracy of my first opinion concerning it. The account is, of all the money received from the Exchequer, and applied to naval services by the Commissioners of the Navy. Now, Sir, if it should appear, that in the account of every year the sum applied is exactly the sum received, and that there never has been any balance in the hands of the Commissioners of the Navy, is it not obvious that the receipt from the Exchequer is one and the same identical operation as the application of the money so received to naval services? That is, that the whole operation is nothing more or less than the payment of so much money by the Exchequer into the Bank on account of the Treasurer of the Navy? If, Sir, you will examine the public accounts for some years back, you will find the fact to be, that there never is any difference between the sum received from the Exchequer, and the sum applied; and, therefore, I conceive, that I am fully borne out in my conclusion, that the account is an account of money applied *to be paid*, and not of money *actually paid;* and, further, therefore, that there exists NO SUCH THING amongst the annual accounts laid before parliament, AS AN ACCOUNT OF THE MONEY EXPENDED UPON THE NAVY. There is yet another circumstance that corroborates this conclusion, namely, the manner in which the account of the army expenditure is stated. This is styled "An Account of "the monies paid by the Right Honourable "the Paymaster General of his Majesty's "Forces, from Dec. 25, , to Dec. 24, " ." According to the principle of the navy account, this account should be "An Account of money received from the "Exchequer, and applied to military ser-"vices," and it should be signed by the Secretary at War; for his office is similar as to the accompting for money to the Navy Office, and the office of Paymaster of the Forces is precisely similar to the office of Treasurer of the Navy. Why, therefore, all circumstances being duly considered, should the navy account be an account of money applied to naval services by the Navy Office, and the army account be an account of money actually paid by the Paymaster General? This question might be answered by saying, that it has been found more convenient to let the Commissioners of the Navy Office furnish the account of the navy expenditure, than to follow the example of the Paymaster General, and thus expose in each year the Treasurer's accounts to the public. But, whether or not this is the real cause of so delusive a method of stating an account of

so great a proportion of our annual expenditure, it is now of little use to lose time in investigating. It is sufficient merely to observe, that, had the House of Commons required, that this account should have been an account of the Treasurer of the Navy, it is very probable, that the illegal practices which are at last come to light, could not have been concealed during the long period of sixteen years. But the point, Sir, to which I particularly wish to draw your attention, is the necessity, which is thus manifestly promulgated, of the interference of the House of Commons to secure for the future an honest account of the money received and *paid* by the Treasurer of the Navy, and to place the office of Treasurer of the Navy under such a control as shall render it impracticable for any one, who may hereafter fill it, to rob the public. And, here, Sir, let me leave my immediate subject, to observe how futile all legislative regulations are in respect to the public money, if due attention is not paid to the method to be adopted in accounting for it. It is now obvious, that the object of the law for preventing abuses in the office of Treasurer of the Navy, has been totally frustrated by the neglect of those who undertook the reformation of it, to lay down some efficient system of accounting for the money received by the treasurer; for, had he been obliged to present to parliament an annual account of all money received and paid by him, the balances which Mr. Trotter kept at Coutts's would have been easily discovered; or, rather, had such an account been required, it is to be presumed, that he would never have attempted to make an improper use of the public money. I am aware, Sir, in advancing these observations, that it may be replied to me, "The whole object of your "plan is sufficiently provided for, by the "law that obliges the Treasurer of the Na"vy, to pass his accounts before the com"missioners for auditing the public ac"counts." To any one making use of such an argument, I should recommend it to read an act of this session for amending the act for regulating the office of Paymaster of the Forces; in this he will find, that no accounts of the Paymaster have been passed before the commissioners since 1783; and, also, to look into the public accounts of this year, by which he will find that Lord Melville's account is not yet settled; from which circumstances, I feel myself warranted in inferring, that the control of these commissioners under the present regulations is not efficient.—But to return to the subject. Having fully shewn that there is no such account required by parliament, as an account of the money received and paid by the Treasurer of the Navy for naval services, I submit to your consideration the expediency of parliamentary inquiry into the existing system, of accounting before parliament for the navy expenditure; and, I further take the liberty of suggesting, that your very laudable exertions to promote the public interests cannot be attended with complete success, unless that species of control, which is to be obtained by well-regulated accounts, is fully and effectually secured by some new law upon the subject.—I have the honour to be, &c.—VERAX.—*July* 15, 1805.

ON THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

LETTER I.

SIR,——Should the British constitution be happy enough to maintain unimpaired its present shattered perfections, future generations who may live under its authority, will gratefully acknowledge your able struggle for their preservation. By awakening the political lethargy of men, by detecting the weakness of ministers unfit to rule, or to merit even personal respect; by discovering designs of those who through the glare of brilliant sophistry and unparalleled cunning, have wielded the rod of power to gratify private ambition and personal emoluments, you have revived the fading laurels of patriotism. Entertaining this opinion, I am induced, through your Register, with your permission, to offer to my countrymen some observations I have made, and some facts I have collected, on the conduct of a society which has often attracted your attention, I mean the celebrated Board of Agriculture, *and Internal Improvement*. I am the more induced to attempt this task from the extraordinary circumstance of an institution professing so much, having so feebly prosecuted the design, which its name imports, it was created to execute. It thence seems questionable, whether it has not been established for sinister purposes, or whether, somehow or other, it does not greatly want a proper efficiency to execute the mighty promises held forth in its high sounding appellation. It certainly is quite the character of the administration which gave it birth, to do anything for support, to display the most barefaced want of discernment, and to propose undigested projects, however glaring the empiricism. The real state of the case, I will from indisputable facts endeavour to develope. However, that the great and dignified persons who rule over its concerns may not be too suddenly taken by surprise, and that I may render what I have to say on the subject as clear, and as perspicuous as possible, I propose to divide my observations

into three letters.——1st. This first shall contain my ideas of what might have been done by this Board of Agriculture *and Internal Improvement*, with its income, and whether from the modes of proceeding they have adopted the objects which the name of the institution points out, have been or are likely to be accomplished.——2. I will in the second letter show that the Board of Agriculture since anno 1799, has been very improvident in carrying on both its public and domestic affairs. If it should appear that their proceedings have been a little tainted with Melvillean philosophy, they will no doubt, be able to justify themselves to the parliament who annually grants them 3000l. of the public money.——3. I will give a general view of the organization of the Board and its defects, the character and talents of its leading members, and the expectation the public have of the ends of the institution being accomplished, from their talents to conduct business. To prevent any alarm, no names will be mentioned. I hint this to prevent a monopoly of heartshorn and other volatile spirits.—— To promote agriculture is certainly the first object, which the Board from its title ought to have in view. To accomplish this, it would be proper to lay down a plan, which might be consistent with its finances. Suppose the income 3000l. per annum, it would be right to take four subjects. As draining, inclosing, manuring, the course of crops, and to offer 120l. for the best essay on either of these subjects, and 80l. for the second best. When good essays on these subjects were obtained, propose four new subjects in a similar manner, and offer smaller premiums, as 40l. for the best observations and improvements on either of the four first essays they may procure. Five gold and five silver medals might be offered for miscellaneous subjects of secondary importance.—— By this means agricultural knowledge would be kept in a continual state of accumulation. The collected knowledge could periodically be condensed and systematised, formed into part of a general code, and be gratuitously circulated among the most ingenious farmers in the kingdom.——The premiums for the first year would not exceed 800l., the publishing them in annual volumes would pay itself. The next year the addition of 160l. for the best observations, might be partly, if not wholly cleared, by the profits of publishing the first essays. Beyond the limits of such a plan an institution cannot go with an income of 3000l. per annum, and pay officers, house-rent and taxes. Such a plan presents to a man the prospect of a fair remuneration, and the hope of acquiring fame. Without the idea of obtaining celebrity, a man has little stimulus to rouse him to the toil of literary exertion. Neither can practical information be expected, but from those who have obtained it by indefatigable industry, and it is unjust to expect they who have passed a laborious and useful life, should give up their knowledge to the public without an adequate reward.——The Board of Agriculture, however, first formed the idea of circulating queries to obtain information for nothing. Then they projected the plan of surveying eighty districts in twelve months, which at the moderate rate of 30l. each with the annual incidental charges, would have swallowed up more than their first year's income. The projects and printing of the next year were to amount to about 6000l., and they receive 3000l. per annum. This was a specimen of internal improvement. Not, I suppose, in the branches of finance and economy. It is true, a number of surveys were executed in a very short period of time, at the rate of from 20l. to 30l. each. But who were they done by and how were they executed? They were in general done by men whose paucity of talents made them from want, grasp at any employment.——The first surveyor went to jail for debt, just after he gave in his report. The next person who was employed is now a pauper in Morden College, Blackheath; some have been bankrupts, and others have run away. Two or three only came forwards whose property enabled them to display a commendable zeal. How ridiculous is it to expect a vast undertaking to be accomplished on such mean and ungenerous principles, indeed, it is an undertaking that I doubt could ever be accomplished as it ought to be, were thousands spent to effect it. The consequence was, the surveys were very badly done, were the ridicule of the farming world, and it has ever since been the maxim among the generality of farmers, to laugh at every subsequent exertion of the board.——But the board say, that they have been of considerable use in promoting the improvement of husbandry, and that they have made agriculture the fashion among men of property. Can twenty or thirty gouty old gentlemen going every Tuesday to Sackville Street, to hear a few insipid letters from persons who seldom understand the subject they attempt to discuss, inspire young fellows of spirit with a passion for the plough?——If agriculture is a more fashionable pursuit than it formerly was, that circumstance is to be attributed more to the Essays in the Annals of Agriculture, to

the labours of Anderson of Edinburgh, to those of Hunter of York, to those of Kirwan, to those of Injenhouz, &c. Here the genius of agriculture seems to have rose above its dawn. Several agricultural societies in the kingdom had brought real husbandmen together, and their efforts had led to scatter practical knowledge and improvement in rural affairs, long previous to the formation of this boasting board. The meetings at the late Duke of Bedford's, Mr. Coke of Norfolk, Mr. Burgoyn, Mr. Western, though in some respects not free from censure, have contributed more to inspire a love of farming among young men of rank, than the chattering cabals of the Board of Agriculture. At those meetings they have met with the first geniuses in the country, seen their theories practically explained, and have gone home instructed. This too, amidst a scene of gaiety and splendour suited to their years, and their accustomed manners of living. At the sittings of the Board of Agriculture, there is nothing but tiresome discussions dictated by secret envy of one another. Nothing but pitiful broils, and unmeaning contentions. Sometimes as to the manner a book should be printed, whether their printer or publisher have cheated them. Whether they should have the publications out of the public money, and the hard working farmer be obliged to pay for them; or of what has become of the ingenious manuscript of some enlightened man, which had somehow or other been mislaid, and could no where again be discovered. Is this calculated to inspire a love of farming? No, the fact is, gentlemen become members, pay their subscription, attend a few times, and are quite tired out.—The board boast much of the parliamentary grants they procured for Mr. Elkington the drainer, and for Mr. Davis the smutty wheat cleaner; but, it is a matter of considerable doubt, whether the money would ever have been obtained for these objects, had it not been for the interposition of a certain gentleman, whose South Sea researches have pleased his Sovereign, and whose fitting out of privateers on the Lincolnshire coast, has been gracious in the eye of a minister. When the board, however, under the auspices of Francis Duke of Bedford, and Lord Carrington, and by order of the House of Lords, were directed to inquire into the best mode of breaking up grass lands, of converting them into tillage, and of again laying them down to grass, and they accidentally adopted a part of the plan I have suggested, by offering premiums for the best essays on the subject; how worthy of admiration was the result! Could a more irrefragable proof be imagined of the efficacy of proper premiums being judiciously offered? I know, I may be told, that, in the volumes of communications of the board there are very valuable essays. So there are! But how were they obtained? Not in the above fair and impartial manner. They were procured by means which have disgusted the major part of the authors. Though they are known to possess a great fund of agricultural knowledge, yet they have withdrawn their exertions, having fully experienced the feeble spirit of the board in rewarding them. Institutions should ever recollect these maxims, that a labourer is always worthy of his hire, and should be paid according to his merit: that promises are easily given (even of things not to be obtained) but that donations of sterling money is a far more secure mode of commanding the talents of the able and meritorious.——Thus I have shewn all that such a body of men could do, and ought to have attempted, with 3000 l. per annum; and, that the Board of Agriculture have projected schemes which neither their income nor their flimsy tampering with genius could accomplish the execution of. Certainly the minister who has permitted all this must have little knowledge of the character of men. He can have no just idea of the value of money or of labour. For he has certainly established an institution with a name which boasts of effecting the greatest benefits to the country, and he has not given it a fund commensurate to attaining the end proposed, and he has placed the conducting of it in the hands of individuals, who seem totally unequal to the task. Unless, indeed, they have been led on by secret promises of support, which has not been given. If this be not the case, are we to suppose, that in creating such an institution the minister was flattering the public with the hope of their condition being improved, while he was gently sliding millions out of their pockets, and while he was amusing the restless spirits of some individuals, who were, perhaps, tired with waiting for long promised honours. If any person doubt that the income of the board is inadequate to effect what its title proclaims it was intended to perform, I beg to inform him, that the first president made the attempt, and set off with the idea of prosecuting a statistical inquiry, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of the people, which he was obliged to abandon for want of resources. The agricultural survey of counties was a branch of the plan. From the whole it was intended to draw up a general view of the state of the kingdom, and

to point out the best means of improving the condition of it, the performing of which was likewise given up from the same cause. How the collateral branch has been executed I have already shewn. The board has since been much employed in trying to improve, and to botch up the surveys. How they have succeeded in this will appear in my next letter.——Now, for the present, leaving these worthy advocates for improvement, and for the security of the most *sacred ecclesiastical rights of the church*, and those friends and benefactors of the human race, I will conclude with wishing you every blessing that a true friend to political liberty merits.——I remain your most obedient servant,——Scythеus,——*Minchin Hampton, July* 3, 1805.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Petitions against Lord Melville.—— *Petition presented to the House of Commons from the County of Kent, on the 3d of July*, 1805.

A petition of the noblemen, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, of the County of Kent, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the proceedings of the House, in consequence of the detection of the flagrant abuses in the expenditure of the public money, which have been brought to light by the Commissioners for Naval Inquiry, have filled the minds of the petitioners with the warmest gratitude; and that the petitioners rely, with confidence, on the continued and persevering exertions of the House, for the further detection and punishment of offences of so dangerous a nature; but at the same time feel it to be a duty which they owe to themselves, and to their posterity, to express to their representatives, the natural and constitutional guardians of the purse of the people, their just sentiments of indignation, and their earnest supplications for full and ample redress; and that the petitioners respectfully represent to the House the great and increasing necessity for its rigid and vigilant attention to the due application of public money to the services to which it shall be appropriated by the wisdom of parliament, the practices which have of late prevailed tending manifestly not only to the encouragement of fraud and peculation, but to the subversion of the fundamental principles of the constitution; and therefore praying the House, to persevere in the inquiries so happily begun, to bring all delinquents to condign and exemplary punishment, to exert the ancient and indubitable privilege of the House, of watching and controling the exercise of every branch of the Royal Prerogative, for the exclusion from his Majesty's councils of every person who has committed, countenanced, or favoured the abuses and evil practices so justly complained of, and to establish in every department that wise, liberal, and comprehensive system of economy which the exigencies of the times, and the circumstances of the arduous contest in which the country is engaged, require, and which is due equally to the interests and to the feelings of a people, who have submitted, with exemplary fortitude, to unparalleled sacrifices and burthens.

Neutral Ships.——*Order of Council relative to Neutral Ships trading with the Enemy.*

George, R.—— Instruction to our Courts of Admiralty, and to the commanders of our ships of war and privateers, given at our Court at St. James's the Twenty-ninth day of June, 1805, in the forty-fifth year of our reign.——In consideration of the present state of commerce, we are graciously pleased to direct, that neutral vessels, having on board the articles hereinafter enumerated, and trading directly or circuitously, between the ports of our United Kingdom, and the enemy's ports in Europe (such ports not being blockaded), shall not be interrupted in their voyages by our ships of war, or privateers, on account of such articles, or any of them, being the property of our subjects, trading with the enemy, without having obtained our special licence for that purpose: and if any neutral vessel, trading as aforesaid, shall be brought into our ports for adjudication, such vessel shall be forthwith liberated by our Courts of Admiralty, together with the enumerated articles laden therein, which shall be shewn to be British or neutral property.——Exports. List of goods permitted to be exported to Holland, France, and Spain.—British manufactures (not naval or military store)—grocery, allum, annatta, coffee, cocoa, calicoes, copperas, drugs (not dying drugs), rhubarb, spices, ginger, pepper, tobacco, vitriol, elephant's teeth, pimento, cinnamon, nutmegs, cornelian stone, nankeens, East-India bales, tortoise-shell, cloves, red, green, and yellow earth, earthen-ware, indigo (not exceeding five tons in one vessel), woollens, rum, and prize goods, not prohibited to be exported. ——Imports. From Holland—Grain (if importable according to the provisions of the corn laws,) salted provisions of all sorts (not being salted beef or pork), oak, bark, flax, flax seed, clover, and other seed, madder

roots, salted hides and skins, leather, rushes, hoops, saccharum saturni, barilla, smalts, yarn, saffron, butter, cheese, quills, clinkers, terrace, Geneva, vinegar, white lead, oil, turpentine, pitch, hemp, bottles, wainscot boards, raw materials, naval stores, lace, and French cambrics and lawns.—From France —Grain (as above), salted provisions of all sorts (not being salted beef or pork), seeds, saffron, rags, oak bark, turpentine, hides, skins, honey, wax, fruit, raw materials, linseed cakes, tallow, weld, wine, lace, French cambrics and lawns, vinegar and brandy.—From Spain—Cochineal, barilla, fruit, orchella weed, Spanish wool, indigo, hides, skins, shumac, liquorice juice, seeds, saffron, silk, sweet almonds, Castile soap, raw materials, oak bark, anisced, wine, cork, black lead, naval stores, vinegar, and brandy.—And we are further pleased to direct, that the foregoing enumeration may be added to, or altered by an order of the Lords of our Council.——By his Majesty's command.—HAWKESBURY.

GIBRALTAR. —— *Proclamation, issued at Head Quarters, Gibraltar, dated, May 22, 1805.*

Whereas his Excellency the Hon. Lieutenant-Governor has had intimation from his Excellency General Castangs, that it has been thought necessary, for the better security of the health of Spain, to prohibit any person from this garrison to pass by land into the lines, and that a quarantine will be put on all those who may have occasion to go into Spain by water; also that no woollen or cotton goods will be admitted; which regulations are to commence on the first day of June next.——His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor therefore thinks it necessary to make this publicly known, that all those whom it may affect, may govern themselves accordingly.——By command,—— THOMAS DODD, *Secretary.*

KING'S VISITS. —— *Letter from Lord Hawkesbury, Secretary of State for the Home Department to the Mayor of Bristol, dated, July 5, 1805.*

SIR,——I lose no time in acquainting you, that his Majesty is under the necessity of postponing, for the present, his intended journey to the West of England and to the City of Bristol. I have, at the same time, the honour to express to you, by his Majesty's commands, the satisfaction which his Majesty proposes to himself in visiting his loyal and ancient commercial City of Bristol on some future occasion.

PUBLIC PAPER.

TRADE BETWEEN HOLLAND AND GREAT BRITAIN.——*Proclamation of their High Mightinesses relative to the Trade with Great Britain. Issued May 31, 1805.*

Their high mightinesses representing the Batavian republic, to all those who shall see these presents, or hear the same read, greeting, make known:——That, the proposition of the Raadpensionary, to the following effect, having been received and approved by us, has consequently been resolved, so as enacted by these presents.——ART. I. That, from the promulgation hereof, all laws, publications, ordinances and decrees, made and passed until the date of these presents, against the trade with Great Britain, the importation of British merchandizes and manufactures, and the exportation of sundry articles of ammunition, naval stores, or provisions, are held annulled and without effect, so as it is enacted by these presents, and with the same also all orders and instructions issued to officers in the service of this country on the aforesaid subject. ——ART. II. That no vessels, coming directly from ports situated in Great Britain, or any place or places in Europe possessed or garrisoned by civil or military authorities subject to the said empire, and having partly or wholly loaded there, shall be admitted into this republic, nor into the ports of the same.——ART. III. That any vessel which, notwithstanding, should venture to enter, from any port or ports in Great Britain, or any other ports in Europe dependent thereon, without any, or with false or stimulated papers, shall be confiscated, together with all the goods she may have taken at said port or ports, independent of what the same may consist.——ART. IV. That the master or commander of a vessel, coming from neutral countries, which by necessity, contrary wind, or any other defect or want, may have put into any port or ports of Great-Britain, whether that the same has discharged there and afterwards re-loaded in whole or in part the discharged goods, or whether the cargo has remained untouched, shall be obliged to declare the same, on his entrance in the river, at the first office of the customs. In which case, if such vessel should have taken in at any such port or ports any additional or other goods or merchandizes which did not belong to her original cargo, such additional goods only will be confiscated; but if it should afterwards appear, that the master or commander of such vessel has concealed and not immediately reported such goods as may not have belonged to the original cargo, the master will be further liable to a penalty of

one thousand guilders, and his vessel made answerable and actionable for the same.—— Art. V. That, in case a neutral vessel coming from Great-Britain, and bound to any neutral port or ports, should put into any port of this republic, by necessity, contrary wind, or other defect or want, the same shall be stopped at the first office of the customs, and a guard put on board the same.—— And, if the necessity of putting into said port appears doubtful, it shall be proved by sufficient documents to the satisfaction of the judge, under a penalty of one thousand guilders, to be levied under the regulation stipulated by Art. IV. That none of the men on board such vessel shall be permitted to go on shore, but under the care of the military commanders appointed for that purpose. That in case the situation in which such vessel may be found renders the immediate departure practicable, and wind and weather permitting, the master shall be ordered and obliged to comply therewith. That the vessel being in want of repairs, and it being necessary to land the whole or part of the cargo, the same shall be housed and kept in the custody of the officers of the customs of this republic, and shall be afterwards re-shipped, without that any part of the same may be kept back and remain in the country. That the vessel not being able to proceed on her intended voyage, after sufficient proofs have been given to this effect, and a licence has been obtained from the commissary for the affairs of the customs, the goods will be permitted to be exported in another vessel, and be re-shipped on board the same under the same precautions as would have been observed in case of re-shipment on board the original vessel, under this proviso, however, that the vessel, on board of which such goods may be shipped, shall not be allowed to load any other goods, without a special licence previously obtained for that purpose. That, with regard to goods which might be found damaged to such a degree that the same could not be re-exported, without incurring the risk of a total loss, a permission will be granted to sell the same, according to the exigencies of the case, and under such precautions as will be prescribed by the board of customs. That all goods found on board such vessel, of which no documents are to be found establishing the neutrality of the same, will be considered as the property of inhabitants of Great Britain, and be confiscated as such, without any claims of reclamation being admitted; and this until such time as when the rule free ship, free merchandize, will be admitted by the government of Great Britain.——Art. VI. That the masters of vessels situated as in the foregoing articles, as well as of those arriving in ballast, who may have received any letter or letters or packets on board, in any port or ports of Great Britain, or at sea, from any English ship or vessel, or any other coming from the said ports, shall be obliged to deliver the same, on their arrival, to the military officer, authorised for that purpose, in the different roadsteads and harbours of this republic, under a penalty of one thousand guilders, if they have acted contrary thereto, and should be convicted thereof, either immediately or at any time thereafter during the vessel's stay in this republic.—— Art. VII. That, with alteration of the 106th and 112th articles of the general placart on levying the customs of the 31st of July, 1725, during the present war with the Empire of Great Britain, all vessels, from whatever port or place the same may come, besides the general declaration or other acts required in the said articles, shall be bound to deliver at the first office of customs all public acts or documents, and ship's-papers, together with the bills of lading or charter-parties of their cargoes, on board, or at least attested copies of the same, without any of the same being withheld, which shall be sealed up in presence of the masters, and by them also, if they should think proper, and immediately sent up to the commissary for the affairs of the customs in the departments to which the place of the destination is subject. That the master and mate shall be obliged to take the following oath or affirmation before the officers at the outer or first office of customs upon the delivery of the papers: "We the underwritten master "and mate declare to have come with the "vessel under our command, from "and to be bound to , and "that we have no other vouchers or acts on "board concerning the cargo, but those "which are delivered by us on this day to "the officers at the outer or first office of "customs, nor any letters received by us in "any port or ports of Great Britain, or at "sea from any ship or vessel; but that, for "as much as any such have been received "on board by us, the same are delivered up "faithfully and without exception. So "truly help me God Almighty!" (Or the usual form for those, who, on account of their persuasion or religious opinions, make difficulty of taking the oath.)

(To be continued.)

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 4.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY, 27, 1805. [PRICE 1OD.

"It" [a proposition for *reducing the expenses of the civil list*] "would have come with more grace; it would "have come with more benefit to the public service, if it had sprung from the Royal breast. His Majesty's "ministers ought to have come forward, and proposed a reduction in the civil list, to give to the people "the consolation of knowing, that their Sovereign participated in the sufferings of the empire, and "presented an honourable example of retrenchment in an hour of general difficulty. And, surely, it is no "reason, that, because ministers fail to do their duty, the House should fail to do theirs. Acting as the "faithful representatives of the people, who have trusted them, they ought to seize upon every object of "equitable resource that presents itself; and certainly none are so fair, so probable, or so pleasing as "retrenchment and œconomy. The obligations of their character demand from them not to hesitate in "pursuing those objects, even to the foot of the throne. Such conduct would become them, as the "councillors of His Majesty, and as the representatives of the people; for, it is their immediate duty, as "the Commons House of Parliament, to guard the liberties, the lives, and the properties of the people. The "last obligation is the strongest; it is more immediately incumbent upon them to guard the properties, "because they are more liable to invasion, by the secret and subtle attacks of influence, than either their "lives or their liberties. The tutelage of this House may be a harsh term; but it cannot be disgraceful to a "constitutional King. The abridgement of unnecessary expense can be no abatement of royalty. "Magnificence and grandeur are not inconsistent with retrenchment and œconomy; but, on the contrary, "in a time of necessity and of common exertion, solid grandeur is dependent on the reduction of expense."
——MR. PITT'S Speech, 26th Feb. 1781.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE HEAVEN-BORN MINISTER. —— Actions ought always to be estimated with due reference to the professions, or the generally ascribed motives or character of the person from whom they proceed. A lavish expenditure of the public money, and especially when evidently made for purposes of private ambition, or any other purpose disconnected from, if not opposed to, the good of the nation, must, in any minister, call for the censure of all loyal and public-spirited men, in whatever rank of life they may be placed; when, therefore, we see such an expenditure falling from the hands of one, who rose into public favour by professions such as those above quoted in my motto, who acquired his power over the public purse by the most solemn promises to guard it with vigilance and fidelity; when in such a person we meet with a waste of the public treasure surpassing all former example, it is certainly just that our indignation should be greater against him than against a person from whom we had never heard any professions of purity.——The facts brought to light by the zeal and integrity of the Earl of St. Vincent and the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry have, indeed, produced a general feeling of indignation, accompanied with that astonishment, which was naturally excited by the discovery of a system of peculation so extensive under the administration of WILLIAM PITT, a name which many of us had hitherto credulously regarded as a sort of charm or spell sufficiently potent to protect us against all the demons of corruption. The greater part of us, who have the misfortune to have arrived at a state of manhood in these days so disgraceful to our country, must well remember the circumstances under which Mr. Pitt rose to the prime ministry of England. We remember, that, when he, for the first time, opened his lips in parliament, in the year 1781,* it was for the purpose of severely censuring the conduct of all those, who appeared to him to be, or, whom he chose to consider, adverse to a plan for diminishing the influence and the expenses of the crown; and, that he then insisted, that it was the duty of the House of Commons to guard the properties of the people with even more care than their liberties or their lives; because the former were the most exposed to the secret and subtle attacks of ministerial influence. We remember, that, in his second parliamentary speech, in the same year,† he complained, that there only remained to the parliament the odious power of taxing the people, and of making them pay for the minister's wild schemes and lavish corruption. We remember, that, in the year 1782,‡ he proposed a new mode of electing members of parliament for the purpose of destroying that corruption, which he asserted to exist, and which he represented as the principal cause of the misfortunes of the country and of the hardships of the people. Upon this memorable occasion he said: "It "is perfectly understood, that there are "some boroughs absolutely governed by the "Treasury, and others totally possessed by "them. It requires no experience to say,

* Debrett's Debates, 26 Feb. 1781.
† Ibid. 31st March, 1781. ‡ Ibid. 7th May, 1782.

" that such boroughs have no one quality of " representation in them; they have no " share nor substance in the general in- " terests of the country; and they have in " fact no stake for which to appoint their " guardians in the popular assembly. The " influence of the Treasury in some bo- " roughs is contested, not by the electors of " those boroughs, but by some one or other " powerful man, who assumes or pretends " to an hereditary property of what ought " only to be the rights and privileges of the " electors. There are hardly any men in " the borough who have a right to vote, " and they are the subjects and slaves of the " person who claims the property of the " borough, and who, in fact, makes the " return. Another set of boroughs and " towns, in the lofty possession of English " freedom, claim to themselves the right of " bringing their votes to market. They " have no other market, no other property, " and no other stake in the country, than " the price which they procure for their " votes." This, we remember, was the description, with which he prefaced his proposition for the making of such a reform in the Commons House of Parliament as should, in future, give to the people the means of checking the influence of the crown by preventing the public money from being lavished upon the creatures, the dependents, the tools, of the minister of the day. We remember, that it was by conduct like this; by professions like these, that he obtained the good will and applause of great numbers of the honest and disinterested part of the people; and that, to this cause, more than to any other, he owed that support, which afterwards placed him, and, for so many years secured him, at the head of His Majesty's councils. We remember, that, when, in 1784, a contest arose between him and the party of which Mr. Fox was at the head, he owed his success to the opinion which the people were induced to entertain of his superior purity, of his abhorrence of all jobbing and clandestine influence of every sort, and of his resolution to adhere, in defiance of all obstacles, to a system of œconomy the most rigid that could be devised by the mind of man. Looking back to that epoch, we remember, and some of us with no little shame, the loud huzzas, with which we greeted the triumph of the " Son of Chatham;" and, were our memory to fail us, we need only turn back to the periodical prints of the day, wherein to find indubitable proofs of his cunning and our gullibility. We remember, that, when, in 1765, he became minister himself, he publicly declared his resolution, never to neglect any means that might tend even in the most minute particular, to prevent abuses, or to promote œconomy, in the expenditure of the public money.* And, above all things, we remember, that, in making these professions, in promulgating these solemn assurances as to what he himself would do, he never spared any one, be he who he might, to whom he thought proper to impute conduct or principles hostile to the pecuniary interests of the people. All this we now remember. Indeed, the recollection of it has frequently intruded itself upon our minds, at several epochs, during the twenty years administration of Mr. Pitt; but, till now, it has never produced much effect; till now we have always found, or made, some apology for every instance which his conduct exhibited of an abandonment of principle. We did, 'tis true, perceive, that his several promises, if not apparently totally forgotten, were but very few of them attempted to be fulfilled: his boards of Commissioners we found to produce no more real reform in the conduct of the public offices, than he himself produced in the representation of the people in the Commons House of Parliament: his measures for reducing the national expenditure were numerous, and more numerous were his promises, but, amidst them all, we still found our taxes annually increase in number and in amount: his harangues against the influence of the crown did, indeed, soon cease after he became the mover of that influence, and herein we must applaud his prudence, seeing that his administration soon began to be distinguished by nothing so much as by a waste of the public money in pensions, in useless offices, and in contracts of every description; while of the still more precious possession of the nation, its *honours*, a dispensation was made, which to speak of in detail would be perfectly useless, if, from the laws that he has procured to be passed, such a detail was not rendered unsafe. Still, however, did many of us, did multitudes of us, adhere to him, and that, too, from feelings which ought not to be hastily condemned. We found, that, at the end of his long administration; at the end of eighteen years, during which he had had the absolute command of our purses, and, politically speaking, of our persons, we found our condition much worse, in every respect much worse, than when we so blindly yielded ourselves up to his sway. The confidence which his professions of zeal and purity had gained him,

* Debrett's Debates, 8th March, 1785.

enabled him to set all opposition at defiance. He had nothing to apprehend either in the parliament or at the court. He was completely master of his measures, whether as to foreign or domestic concerns. Yet, with all these advantages, we found, that, at the end of eighteen years, we had fallen very far from the height at which we were when he became our ruler; that we, with his approbation and by his advice, had made a peace sanctioning, on the part of our rival, an immense augmentation of territory, of population, and of power, and, of course (as we had acquired an augmentation of neither) a great triumph over us, especially when we took into view the base abandonment of the honours won from that rival by our gallant forefathers, while every badge of French conquest over us was retained with fear and with trembling. As to our domestic situation we stood in need of reflection. Our houses, our account books, the secrets of our pockets and our hearts, we found exposed to be ransacked by some one or other of his innumerable tribe of tax-gatherers, an exposure to which if we had been, twenty years ago, told that we should one day submit, we should have spurned at the wretch who should have had the baseness to entertain the apprehension. The sum annually raised upon us to pay the interest of the national debt, and which sum he had repeatedly promised us rapidly to diminish, we found to have been gradually augmented, during his administration, from *nine millions* to *twenty-four millions*, and this, too, observe, during a series of years, at some part of every one of which he had entertained the parliament and the people with boasting descriptions, with congratulatory addresses, upon the prosperity of the nation, and particularly upon the flourishing state of its finances. Looking round us, at last; no longer disposed blindly to believe representations which our feelings so flatly contradicted; looking round us in search of some of the proofs of that prosperity, to which he still boldly asserted he had conducted us, we found, that the annual amount of the poor-rates for England and Wales had more than *doubled in increase*, during the time that he had been minister, and that he left us with *more than a million of paupers* upon a total population of between *eight and nine millions* of souls. Yet, all this we could have borne without giving way to any very great degree of indignation. Men of sense did, indeed, now perceive, and, where they were at liberty, they scrupled not to declare, that Mr. Pitt had been tried, and that, as a minister, as a statesman, as any thing but a manager of the House of Commons, he had been found to be miserably deficient; that he was a person incapable of great views, and of course, quite unfit for the times in which we were, and which times his political incapacity had principally contributed to produce; and, there were not wanting persons, who, turned to reflection by his conduct at the time of his resignation in 1801, were convinced, and expressed their conviction, that to *rule*, at all events to rule, was his predominating passion. This conviction was greatly strengthened and widely diffused by his conduct during the last year and a half of Mr. Addington's administration; and, when he re-entered the Treasury, the eyes of the nation were upon him. Still, however, though it was hard to conceive how he could have retained his purity amidst the use of those means, which are the natural produce of a resolution to retain political power at all events; though it was quite impossible to state any rational grounds for a belief in such retention, did, nevertheless, generally believe in it, till the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry came forth, and excited doubts so strong as to leave no longer any chance that the truth would escape discovery. Not his *name*, indeed, but the name of his secretary, his pensioned secretary, long and still his close adherent and confident; this person's name was found in the Tenth Report, where he appeared as one who had handled, for some purpose or other, a considerable sum of the money which had been unlawfully taken from the Bank of England, and which to have so taken, the House of Commons soon after declared to be a gross violation of the law and a high breach of duty. This circumstance of Mr. CHARLES LONG having touched some of the money; it was this circumstance that thoroughly rouzed the public attention as to the conduct of Mr. Pitt. Every word he said on the 8th of April was connected with this circumstance; and, when the exposure finally took place, in the publication of the *evidence* taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, the anxiety to palliate, if not to defend, the conduct of Lord Melville, and which anxiety might otherwise have been ascribed to friendship, was, I may say unanimously, ascribed to a feeling of a very different sort. The *Heaven-born* career of this great operator was now decidedly at an end; for all that his very hirelings pretended to say, was, that he was *no worse* than other ministers had been before him, to

some of whom, be it observed, he had imputed every crime that a public man, as such, can commit, and, in making these charges, had used every epithet of severity that our language affords. It was piteous, perfectly piteous, to hear the Upstart "*boldly* asserting," expressing his "*satisfaction*," that Mr. Pitt had not been *proved* guilty of peculation! To hear the Upstart talk of Mr. Pitt's having been "*ignorant*" of the circumstance of private emolument being made by the use of the naval money, while he knew that it was deposited at a private banker's; to hear him talk of Mr. Pitt's ignorance of the riches of Lord Melville's friend Mr. Trotter; to hear him talk of the simplicity of Mr. Pitt, who went to Lord Melville to ask him whether the information of Mr. Raikes was true, and who (good easy soul!) was at once satisfied, by the mere *opinion* of Lord Melville in opposition to the assertion of Mr. Raikes; to hear the Upstart talk of that "public spirit," that "zeal in the cause of the country," that "noble fortitude," which induced Mr. Pitt to connive at the withdrawing of the naval money from the Bank, in direct violation of the law, and this for the purpose of lending it without interest to two of his cronies, who were, besides, members of the then parliament, just about to assemble for the dispatch of business: to hear all, or any of, this from the Upstart was piteous enough; but, to hear it from Mr. Pitt also was truly deplorable, and, the Pittites may be well assured, that ten thousand bills of indemnity, would not, in the minds of the people, restore Mr. Pitt to the situation in which he stood even so late as the month of February last. I, for my own part, greatly disapproved of that bill, which I hope yet to see repealed; and, if I had not that hope, I should think my time thrown away in making any efforts whatever in what I regard as the cause of the country; for, I am convinced, that, if the lending of the public money without interest to members of parliament, receive not some signal marks of the disapprobation of the country, the country is not worth caring about. In my opinion, the offence of Lord Melville is not so great as this. It is the very thing, which all good and wise statesmen have endeavoured to prevent. It is the end and object of all the checks upon the minister and those entrusted with political power; for, if the minister can give, or lend (which is the same thing in effect) the public money to members of the House of Commons, or of either House of Parliament; if he can do this without the consent, or knowledge, of either the Parliament or the King, and even without the knowledge of his colleagues of the cabinet, making no minute and leaving no record of the transaction; and, if his so doing should by accident be *detected*, he can come to that same House of Commons, to some of whose members he has lent or given the public money, and can from them obtain *a bill of indemnity* for what he has done, in order to prevent the censure which his conduct would naturally call for; if he can do this; if this be just and fitting, according to the principles of the British constitution, then ....., why then is the British constitution something very different indeed from what I always used to think it, and very different too from what it has been described by Montesquieu, De Lolme, Paley, and many others, whose writings, upon this subject, if the Boyd and Benfield job remain uncensured, can never hereafter be read but with ridicule and contempt. After the acts, of which we have now been speaking, the pretensions to superior purity cannot, of course, exist. They do not; for, as was before observed, even the Upstart, whose whole race depends upon the minister for bread, now contents himself that his master is *no worse* than other ministers have been. Of this opinion, however, the Addingtons perceive that the public are not; and, accordingly we now see them leaving Mr. Pitt, and declaring, that they could no longer remain with him, because they saw that he was resolved to protect persons accused of peculation. What! Mr. Pitt, the "son of Chatham," the "heaven-born minister," shunned, shrunk from, by the sons of his father's family doctor and *their* underlings; and that, too, because their *honour* will not permit them to go the lengths that he is going in screening persons whom the House of Commons have declared to be guilty of peculation! "No:" say the Pittites, "it is not true. The Addingtons "have been *turned out* by Mr. Pitt, because, "having been refused so great a share of "the honours and emoluments of office as "they required, they betrayed him in the "parliament." This, therefore, is a disputed point; but, there can be no dispute as to the grounds which the Addingtons *allege* for their leaving Mr. Pitt; and, who would have thought twenty years ago, who would have thought, nay, twelve years ago, or thereabouts, when, to borrow the words of the Upstart, Mr. Pitt "*introduced Mr. Addington into life*, and raised him from "*obscurity* to the chair of the House of "Commons." (See ORACLE, 3d May, 1805.) Who, at that time would have

thought, who would have believed, that the day would come, when Mr. Addington and his family and friends would allege to the world, that they shunned Mr. Pitt, because *honour* bade them do it? Whether this be the real state of the case, or not, is of no consequence; that it is *their representation* of it we know, and that is quite sufficient for our present purpose, the fact forming an excellent close to the history of "a heaven-born minister." The fame, however, of this celestial personage is too dear to us all for us to suffer any part of his deeds to remain unrecorded. To all outward appearance the attention of this great man has been, for more than a year past, exclusively confined to the parish army, the cars, the catamarans, lord Melville, and himself; but, by an attentive perusal of a document, which I am now about to lay before my readers, it will, I think, become very evident, that he has not been unmindful of his friends in any part of the United Kingdom. Much has been said, and much yet remains to be said, upon the subject of the grant to the Duke of Athol; much has also been said, and very properly too, upon the subject of the grant of 1500l. for life to Lord Melville, which grant was made in July, 1804; but, in these detached items, we have but a very imperfect view of the transactions of this sort which have taken place, since Mr. Pitt's return to the Treasury, in May, 1804, and which transactions can be duly estimated only by a careful perusal of the whole account respecting the pensions granted by the crown, and the additions made to salaries of public officers, which account was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons on the 20th ultimo. Before the reader enters upon the perusal of this account, I beg him again to look at the passage, which I have chosen for my motto. I beg him, if he be now about forty or fifty, or from forty to sixty, years of age, to call to his recollection the effect that was produced on his mind by speeches such as that to which I now refer; I beg him to turn back, if he has the means, to the public prints of the years 1783 and 1784, and having thus refreshed his memory as to the principles, upon which Mr. Pitt started a candidate for popular favour and political power, let him enter on the following account of "PENSIONS granted by the "Crown, between the 1st of May, 1804, "and the 1st of April, 1805," observing that it was about the 14th of May, 1804, that Mr. Pitt re-entered the Treasury; so that, the grants made previous to that day are, it is probable, to be attributed to Mr. Addington and his colleagues.

Date of Grants.	*Names.*	*Pensions per Ann.*
1804.		
9 May.	Percy Viscount Strangford, and Thomas Thompson, Esq. in trust for Maria Dowager Viscountess Strangford	£300
Do.	More to them, in trust for Eliza Maria Strangford, to commence from the decease of Viscountess Strangford	100
Do.	More to them, in trust for Louisa Sarah Strangford, to commence as above	100
Do.	Rev. Herbert Marsh	514
Do.	Dame Sarah Burdett	100
Do.	Priscilla Wilcocke, (now dec.)	100
14 Do.	Mary Faddy	40
10 July.	John Clementson, Esq. (now deceased)	386
8 Aug.	Margaret Catherine Aspinwall	50
Do.	Phillippa Melusina Aspinwall	50
23 Do.	Jas. Abercrombie and Geo. Strahan, Esqrs. in trust for William Dundas, James Fullarton Dundas, Elizabeth Dundas, Isabella Dundas, and John Burnet Dundas, or survivor, children of David	
1805.	Dundas, Esq.	300
11 Jan.	David Dundas and Isabella Dundas, and survivor	300
28 Do.	Augusta Brudenell	131
Do.	Robert Brudenell	131
Do.	Catharine Dent (now Brinsteed)	50
Do.	Cotton Dent	50
Do.	Sophia Dent	50
Do.	Caroline Dent (now Stanhope)	50
28 Feb.	Elizabeth Delamaine	100
1804.		
31 July.	Daniel Hailes, Esq. (in lieu of a pension of 800l. per ann. granted him 12th March, 1801)	1,127
1 Aug.	Wm. Lord Auckland, whose former contingent pension of 1,000l. per ann. had become void	2,300
7 Sept.	Richard Shepherd, Esq.	250
11 Oct.	Charles Lord Whitworth	2,300
Do.	Sir James Craufurd	1,000
Do.	Sir Richard Worsley, Bart.	600
31 Do.	Lord St. Helens	2,300
19 Nov.	Thomas Earl of Elgin	2,000
1 Feb.	Robert Liston, Esq.	2,000
13 June.	Right Hon. Wm. Wickham	1,200
19 Nov.	Right Hon. Isaac Corry	1,200

We must stop here to make a few remarks upon the foregoing part of the list. And first, I am unacquainted with the claims which the *Reverend Herbert Marsh* has to the pension put against his name. I know,

that he wrote a pamphlet about French aggression; and, as it was a very good one, it is probable that it yielded him a compensation to his labour; upon that ground, therefore, I can see no right or title that he has to a pension, and a pension, too, observe, of 500l. a year. If the Rev. Herbert Marsh had been filling some one of the hundreds of empty pulpits in Ireland, instead of seeking political knowledge abroad, he would have deserved a pension better than he now does, and it does seem to me something dangerous to admit of this custom of pensioning political writers, more especially if those writers are clergymen.——The groupe in which Mr. Marsh stands, from the Viscountess Strangford to Mrs. Philippa Melusina Aspinwall inclusive, I know nothing of; but, we all know enough of the *Dundases*, and here we have no less than seven of them settled upon us, at the rate of 600l. a year, probably for half a century. I wonder who this lucky gentleman, David Dundas, is? What? (for we certainly have a right just to ask the question) What are the grounds of his claim upon us? Here are he, his wife, and all his children fastened upon the people of England to keep. Ought we not to be told what are his services; what his merits; what his pretensions? Or are we to find in the name of *Dundas* alone quite sufficient grounds whereon to prefer a claim for maintenance at the public charge?—— In the next seven upon the list we find no less than four *Dents*, and it would be really curious to ascertain, whether these persons are not relations, in a near degree, of the celebrated senator and statesman of that name! It may be otherwise; but, to ascertain the fact would be useful. It would, probably, serve to explain very satisfactorily what now appears unaccountable.——From Mr. Hailes to Mr. Wickham inclusive, the pensioners are called, late ministers at foreign courts. Why *Mr. Hailes* should have his pension augmented from 800l. to 1,127l. a year, there appears no reason whatever; nor does there appear any reason for adding 400l. a year to the pension of Lord Auckland. This name is in every pension list that comes before parliament. Himself, his wife, his children; every thing that is *Eden* is pensioned; is, apparently at least, maintained at the public charge. We shall, in another part of the list, find a pension of 500l. a year to Lady Eleanor Auckland; but, of that in its place.——The late ministers at foreign courts ought to have a suitable provision made for them. I do not know that the pensions here granted are too great in amount; but, I do know, that some of them might have been entirely saved to the public by keeping in actual service the persons to whom they are granted. If Mr. Liston had been sent to Madrid instead of Mr. Frere, 2,000l. a year would have been saved, and a war with Spain prevented; but, then, what would Mr. Frere have done for a place, for the title of Excellency, and for a seat in the King's Privy Council? There are others of these late ministers who might be employed, and whose pensions might be saved; and, it ought by no means to be a general rule to pension persons in this situation, for, if it be, and especially if the pension be proportioned to the *rank*, and not to the *services*, of the person pensioned, the diplomatic line will be taken, as, indeed, it now is, merely as a certain road to the pension list. Nothing, however, can be more convenient to a wasteful or corrupt minister, who, when he wants to bestow a thousand or two a year upon some one, in return, perhaps, for some equivalent act on the part of that same one, or of his friends, has nothing to do but to send him to some foreign court, and to saddle the nation with a pension for his predecessor. Is it any wonder, that we are out-witted in almost all our transactions with foreign courts? Is it any wonder, that we have little influence abroad; that the enemy finds it so easy a matter to excite and to perpetuate prejudices against us; and that, in short, we have, during the last twenty years, been continually sinking in the opinion of the world, gradually losing our consequence, till, at last, we are, as a nation become an object of contempt in the eyes of those nations who formerly looked up to us with admiration and reverence? The *expense* is, here, the least part of the evil; but, it is an instance in which is clearly exhibited the fatal tendency of the Pitt and Dundas system of retaining political power. ——As to the "Right Honourable William Wickham," whose wife, I think, will be found upon another pension list, he can scarcely be reckoned amongst the diplomatic corps. He was, last war, our agent in Switzerland, to be sent whither he was taken from his office of police magistrate, where he had a salary of three or four hundred a year. As a detector of thieves and vagabonds he became somewhat distinguished, and that is the sort of man that the Pitts and Dundasses have always preferred. He could hardly be supposed to lose any thing by going to Switzerland; and, it is generally thought, that he *gained*, and pretty handsomely too. What claim such a person has to a pension of 1,200l. a year I leave the reader to determine. If he be rendered

unfit for service, unable to get his living, a pension may with propriety be granted him; but, then, it should be a pension suitable to his former rank, and his talents, and services, none of which would, I think, justify the granting him a pension of more than 200l. or 300l. a year.——Next comes the "Right Honourable Isaac Corry," to whom and to Mr. Wickham, observe, the pension is granted by *patent*. This gentleman too, is fixed upon us for life at the modest amount of 1,200l. a year! What his services are let Mr. Foster tell. Mr. Foster, who, during the whole of the last Session of Parliament but one, was bringing accusation upon accusation against the official conduct of Mr. Corry. We have now before us an explanation of Mr. Corry's passive conduct under all the taunts and reproaches of Mr. Foster. There appears to be no good reason, no plausible excuse even, for bestowing any pension at all upon Mr. Corry, and especially a pension so immeasurably disproportioned to any services that he has rendered, or that he is able to render to the public. The pension is, too, a patent one, and will, I imagine, be still enjoyed though the pensioner should again fill an office, and, of course, receive a salary!——The next class of pensions that I find in the account consists of such as have been granted by virtue of the King's Order in Council, and placed on the ordinary estimate of the navy. Those granted to widows, or to wounded officers, I shall not particularise. The others are as follows:

Dates.	*Names.*	*Pensions per Ann.*
1804		
3 May	R. Robinson, one of the senior clerks of the Admiralty Office	£375
Do.	William Gimber, Do.	337
4 June	H. Fishley, master shipwright of Jamaica Yard	200
9 July	W. White, master mast-maker of Deptford Yard	150
14 Do.	John Kingdom, first clerk in the office of the Secretary to the Navy Board	350
20 Do.	J. Smith, master attendant of Plymouth Yard	300
21 Do.	Dr. R. T. Blair, in addition to his former pension	50
3 Aug.	W. Seaman, clerk to master shipwright of Antigua Yard	65
7 Do.	Dr. J. Lind, senior physician at Haslur	300
22 Do.	J. Woodin, master attendant of Gibraltar Yard	125
12 Dec.	Elias Marshall, master ship-	
1805	wright of Halifax Yard	225
22 Jan.	Benjamin Slade, master boat-builder of Deptford Yard	150
25 Do.	E. Falkingham, a clerk in the Navy Office	375
14 Feb.	W. Brittain, second clerk to the master shipwright of Deptford Yard	50
7 Mar.	J. Luffman, second clerk to the clerk of the Survey of Portsmouth Yard	100
30 Do.	Francis Stephens, one of the commissioners of the Victualling	400

To the granting of these persons pensions, after it was time for them to retire from service, or, upon their being disabled from pursuing their business, no reasonable man would object; but, every man, who has any regard for the public welfare, must object to pensions being granted to persons like these, merely for the sake of making their offices empty for the purpose of putting others, and generally worse qualified persons, into them. Here we see about 3,500l. a year granted away to persons, who, perhaps, for the far greater part, are as fit for their offices as ever they were, as is the case in the instance of Mr. *Benjamin Tucker*, of whom, and of others in the same class, we are now about to speak more particularly.

Dates.	*Names.*	*Pensions per ann.*
18th March, 1804	Sir W. D'Arley	216
13th Do.	Lady Thompson	150
15th June	T. Fitzgerald, clerk in treas. office	150
24th Oct.	Lucy Marsh	300
31st Jan. 1805	Benjamin Tucker	1,000

N. B. This pension of Mr. Tucker revoked since, and another of 1,082 l. in lieu thereof, granted, together with a reversion of 300l. a year to his wife in the event of his death.

12th Feb.	Frs. J. E. Courtenay	50
Do.	M. Stew. Courtenay	50

These pensions are, by the account, said to be "payable out of *Old Stores*." Old hemp and worn out sail cloth! Good for nothing at all! Quite a clear gain to the country to pay pensions from such a source! That Lady Thompson should live upon old junk! And Lucy Marsh: I wonder who, in all the world Lucy Marsh is? It really is fitting, that we should know something of the pedigree of these fair ones, towards the decorating of whose persons we have the honour so largely to contribute. There will, at any rate, be something grateful in the task I am performing; for, it will introduce to the knowledge and the notice of the whole nation many persons never before heard of

except within the walls of their own houses and those of the Treasury. Sir William D'Arley will, I should think, be very much obliged to me. Mr. Tucker's case is worthy of particular notice. The public will recollect, that, at the very time, when, as it now appears, this pension was granted, Mr. Tucker was at daggers drawn with Lord Melville, and, indeed, with the whole of the ministry, by whom the pension was granted. They were accusing him, and he was recriminating. Yet, from *their hands* he accepts of a pension! And for what? What had he done to deserve a pension? A pension, too, observe, of a thousand a year? What had he done to deserve it? He had been a captain's clerk on board a man of war; he had been Lord St. Vincent's Secretary; but, were these services to warrant the giving of him a pension, and a pension of 1000*l.* a year too? No: but, Mr. Tucker had, by Lord St. Vincent, been appointed *a Commissioner of the Navy*, a place, for life, worth, I believe, about 1,500*l.* a year; and, upon giving up this place, he receives a pension of 1000*l.* a year, now 1,082*l.* a year, with a reversion of 300*l.* a year to his wife in case of his death. So that, the public, instead of paying Mr. Tucker 1,500*l.* a year, as a Commissioner of the Navy, an office which he might have filled for thirty years yet to come; instead of paying him 1,500*l.* for his performance of the duties of that office, the public now pays 2,582*l.* a year for the performance of the duties of that same office; to wit; 1,500*l.* to the person appointed in the room of Mr. Tucker, and 1,082*l.* a year to Mr. Tucker himself! Such gracious acts as these do, however, tend to produce harmony; and, they certainly prove, that, amongst the persons in question (though there be a great deal of apparent anger and even hatred), as to the interest of the public the Tuckers and the Home Pophams are all of a mind; all animated with one soul!——The following pensions are stated, in the account, to be paid out of the duties of 4½ per centum in Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands. And here we may stop, for a moment, to observe on the perplexity, the apparently studied perplexity of all these lists and accounts, laid before parliament. Why not pay *all the pensions* out of one fund, and let them come under one single head, in chronological or alphabetical order? Why not divide them the males from the females? Why not give them some division more rational than that of referring merely to the sources whence is drawn the money wherewith to pay them? Which appears not to be less absurd than it would be in a merchant to class his payments under heads appropriated to the different sorts of currency in which he should make such payments. But, this perplexity is neither without its object nor its use. It bewilders those who examine, or rather who look at, the accounts. They do not easily come at a clear understanding of what they see; and, there are very few who will bestow much time or pains in order to acquire a clear understanding of it. By mixing and confusing the dates, and names, more time is rendered necessary to find out any particular pensioner, or to ascertain any particular fact. And, then, by representing the pensions, or part of them, as "payable "out of *Old Stores*;" out of the "revenue "of the Isle of Man;" out of "the 4½ per "centum in Barbadoes," &c. many unreflecting persons are led to suppose, that, the money does not come out of the pockets of the public, but proceeds from sources, which, if not exhausted by pensions, would be exhausted in some other way, and would be of no advantage to the nation; not perceiving, that all the sources abovementioned are, in fact, sources of revenue as much as the Excise or the Custom duty is; and, that, whatever is subtracted from them for the purpose of paying pensions, must be added to the amount of the taxes.——In returning to the list, the first two pensions we find granted to *sisters* of a Colonel. *Widows* and *children* of officers, *killed in actual service*, are entitled to, and always ought to receive, a suitable pension; but, the *sisters* of a military or any other officers, can have, on such officer's account, no claim whatever upon the public. In private life, it is always regarded as a serious calamity, when a man or woman has *married a whole family*; and, I think, the lot of the nation would be very hard, if it were bound to support the *relations* of its officers, either civil or military. The name of *Campbell* does, indeed, serve to mitigate the mortification which we Englishmen must feel at being compelled to pay these pensions.

Dates.	*Names.*	*Pensions per ann.*
1804.		
30 Oct.	Mrs. E. Fearon, Mrs. Jane Campbell Sisters of the late Col. Campbell, Lt. Gov. of Plymouth - - -	£100
9th Oct.	A. Shaw, Esq. late Gov. of the Isle of Man - -	300
14 May,	R. Mitford and J. Unwin, Esqrs. in trust for Mrs. Char. Sargent, wife of J. Sargent, Esq. and in reversion to the said J. Sargent. - -	616
15 Do.	Miss Let. Morgan -	50

	Miss F. Morgan - -	50
16 July 1805.	Miss Rosalie Huyghnes -	91
11 Jan.	The Rev. R. Elliot, in trust for Lady Elear. Auckland -	500

The late Governor of the Isle of Man was, we may suppose, silenced by this sop, which was, in all probability, one of the measures preliminary to the grand job which afterwards made its appearance, and which received the applause of so many persons notoriously corrupt.——This Mrs. Charlotte Sargent is, doubtless, the wife of John Sargent, Esq. late a Secretary of the Treasury; and, therefore, this must have been a job of the Addingtons. What claims Mrs. Sargent may have upon us, I know not, but, that her husband has none, and never had any, I think, cannot be denied. He was a merchant; he continued to be a merchant while Secretary of the Treasury; and he is still a merchant. He was in the public service three years, for which service he received 12,000l. We left him where we found him, having put 12,000l. in his pocket; and, now, behold, we find him fastened on us for 610l. a year for life, or, which is worse, for the life of his wife and himself. Why this provision for the wife first? Lord Chatham was too much of a patriot to accept of a coronet for himself, but accepted of it for his lady, taking care, however, afterwards, to slide it from her head to his own. This has always appeared to me as an act of meanness unpardonable in any man; and, really, Mr. Sargent's obtaining a pension for his wife, with the reversion to himself in case of her death, is something not much behind it. The philosophy of Lord Melville, who could so deliberately calculate and even speculate upon the death of his son as to secure the reversion of his place to himself, in case of such accident, has been very much admired; and, there appears no good reason why the philosophy of Mr. Sargent should excite less admiration. Some persons, however, have ascribed this securing of the reversions to excessive affection in the party so securing; for instance, they say, that a husband who doats upon his wife ought to secure a reversion of her pension, in order that her death may be sure to bring with it something by way of set-off; something that may tend to make the world worth remaining in for a little while longer. After all, however, perhaps, this is mere refinement, and that the obtaining the pension for the wife and the reversion for the husband would require no explanation, if one were to be admitted to the honour of seeing their faces. We should, it is probable, at once perceive, that the mode of the grant had been adopted upon the plain and unerring rules of the insurance offices; and, that, to all appearance at least, the lady's was, as the phrase is, "*the better life of the two*;" but, as there is no certainty in life, the gentleman had a mind to make assurance double sure. ——Of the two *Miss Morgans* I know nothing, and the name of Miss Rosalie Huyghnes has all the appearance of being feigned. Indeed, there are as many Romance names in the Pension List as in the volumes of a circulating library.——Last upon this list comes Lady Eleanor Auckland with her 500l. a year, and which 500l. a year I, for my part, do most heartily grudge her. Her husband receives, in the pension before stated, 2,300l. a year from the public, and observe, that he stands his chance of official emoluments besides, being in place always as often as he can, and, when out of place, returning to his pension. His children, some of them at least, are provided for at the public expence; reversions of sinecures are secured for them. And now comes Lady Eleanor Auckland with her claim for 500l. a year, in addition to what is already enjoyed by her family! Am I told, that Lord Auckland is poor, and, having a large family, has not wherewith to support an appearance suitable to his rank, without some aid from the minister? My answer is, that we did not compel Lord Auckland to assume that expensive rank: the assumption was his own choice; for his own and his family's gratification; and, not, in any degree, for the advantage or the gratification of the King or the people. It is one thing to apply the public money to the *supporting* of the aristocracy of the kingdom, and another thing to apply it in the *creating* of a new aristocracy. The former every man who wishes to preserve the monarchy will approve of, when the support is unconnected with corrupt influence; but, the latter, every man who does not wish to see the monarchy destroyed must earnestly reprobate. There are cases, which may, which have, and which will again, justify a departure from this rule; but, the case of Lord Auckland will never, I imagine, be regarded as one of these; and I do hope, that the day is not very distant, when the pension of which I am now more particularly speaking will be no longer paid.——The next list is that of Pensions on the Irish Establishment, respecting which I have only to beg the English reader not to imagine, that he does not pay his share of them. As was before observed, it is no matter what head the pensions are classed under: no matter whether they are paid out of this fund or out of that

fund; whether in Ireland, or in England, or in Scotland: this fact the reader may be sure of, that, on account of every pound that is paid in pensions, a pound must be raised in taxes.

Dates.	*Names.*	*Pensions per Ann.*
1805		
20 Mar.	Dame Mary Pitt, wife of the Rt. Hon. Sir William Augustus Pitt	£600
Do.	Rob. Wynne, Esq. his executors, administrators, and assigns, for the life of Elizabeth Wynne his wife, and of his three daughters, Harriot, Emily, and Lucy Wynne, and survivor	300
Do.	Theobald Mc. Kenna, Esq. sen. and Theobald Mc. Kenna, Esq. jun. and survivor	300

There is, somewhere or other, the history, and a curious one it is, of a pension to Mr. *Marsden*; but, as I do not find it in the account now before me, I must reserve the particulars relating to it, till I have an opportunity of referring to the papers.—Now, "Stars put out your lights!" for the SCOTCH LIST is approaching.

Dates.	*Names.*	*Pensions per Ann.*
1804		
18 May	Alex. Fraser, Esq. in trust for Elizabeth Fraser, widow, and Wm. Fraser her son, and the survivor	£100
22 Oct.	William Law, Esq.	200
Do.	Helen Dalrymple	50
Do.	Margaret Dalrymple	50
Do.	Elizabeth Dalrymple	50
Do.	Helen Burnett	40
Do.	Elizabeth Burnett	40
Do.	Christian Burnett	40
Do.	Lamont Burnett	40
Do.	Dame Mary Dacre Clerk	100
Do.	Mrs. Francis Wall	100
Do.	Jane Ogilvie	25
Do.	Rebecca Ogilvie	25
Do.	Mary Ogilvie	25
Do.	Katherine Stewart Murray	100
Do.	Agnes Scott	100
Do.	Rachael Cleghorn	50
Do.	Jane Cleghorn	50
Do.	Ann Cleghorn	50
Do.	Wm. Adam and James Chalmers, Esqrs. in trust for Hugh Cleghorn	50
Do.	Ditto in trust for Janet Cleghorn	50
Do.	Mrs. Jane Bailie	40
Do.	Elizabeth Bailie	40
Do.	Jane Bailie	40
Do.	Louisa Cicil	100
22 Oct.	Margaret and Ann Halkett	100
Do.	Mary Bruce	100
Do.	Margaret Christie	25
Do.	Helen Christie	25
Do.	Katherine Margaret Swindell Norwell	100
Do.	Betty Murray	50
Do.	Louisa Mackay	100
Do.	Mary Ann Johnston	60
Do.	Janet Anderson	100
Do.	Magdaline Goldie	100
Do.	James Lapslie	50
Do.	Charles Hope, and David Williamson, Esqrs. in trust for Isabella Viscountess Arbuthnot, and reversion of £150. per annum to her two daughters at her death	300
Do.	Menzies Baillie, Widow	50
Do.	Jane Stewart	50
Do.	Grace Stewart	50
Do.	Ann Stewart	50
Do.	Eliza Mac Laurin	100
Do.	Marion Maxton	100
Do.	Ann Boyd	100
Do.	Jane Brown	60

These pensions were all granted under the *Privy Seal of Scotland*, of which seal, the reader will recollect, that *Lord Melville*, the "right trusty and well-beloved councillor" Lord Melville, was and *is* the *keeper!* But, let us be just; for, not a penny of this money could have been granted without the consent and approbation of Mr. Pitt, who, indeed, must have proposed the measure to the King.——In return for this liberality, on the part of the "right trusty" Lord Keeper of Scotland, with regard to others, his friend, the Lord Treasurer of England, seems to have thought it just to do a liberal thing with respect to him, and, therefore, we find a King's warrant, dated in July, 1804, giving to Lord Melville, for life, an addition to his salary of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland, of 1,500 l. a year, making the whole yearly salary for that sinecure, for the life of Lord Melville, 4,500 l. This deed was done, observe, in about ten weeks after Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville returned to office last year, the warrant being signed by, WILLIAM PITT, C. LONG, and LORD LOVAINE; names well worthy of the instrument to which they were affixed.——Another warrant, dated on the 6th of October last, grants an additional 200 l. a year to the Royal Academy at Edinburgh, which Academy was totally devoted to the Dundases. ——The account concludes with a King's warrant, granting to all the *Sheriffs Depute* and *Sheriffs Substitute* of Scotland, nine only of the latter excepted, an addition of

salary, making in the whole, an annual addition of 3,925l. This warrant bears the names of WILLIAM PITT, C. LONG, and the MARQUIS OF BLANDFORD.——After such a statement of facts, very little is required by way of comment. Some few observations, however, I cannot refrain from making, the first of which relates, of course, to the aggregate amount of the pensions here particularised. By adding them together, the reader will find, that they amount to 36,245l. and, if we thereunto add the grant to the Duke of Athol, we shall find the total to be 39,745l. This, let it be observed, is the *yearly* amount of this one year's grants. No small part of the whole is granted in perpetuity or in reversion; and, at any rate, none of us now alive can hope to see the day, when, in the common course of things, we shall be relieved from any considerable portion of the burden. The light in which we are to view this burden, therefore, is, as an annual charge fixed upon us, the people of this country, for ever, the principal of which charge, if to be purchased or sold, ought to be reckoned at about 800,000l. This is the amount, therefore, to which the heaven-born minister, the vehement advocate of œconomy, *has mortgaged our property and our labour*, in this one year, for the purpose of gratifying his adherents, and, thereby, of *preserving his power*. The reader will recollect, that, in the early part of the session, when the taxes upon salt and upon draught horses were before the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt *lamented*, or, at least, professed to lament, at the *necessity* he was under of adding to the burdens of the people; so, too, did he advise his Majesty to express himself in his speech from the throne. We *now* may judge of the degree of sincerity with which that declaration was made, and that advice was given.——Another observation for the reader to make, is, that the heaven-born minister and his colleague began their operations the moment they resumed the reins of power. By a reference to the dates of the several pensions, it will be seen, that they *lost not a day*. The warrant for augmenting the salaries of the long list of Sheriffs Depute and Sheriffs Substitute of Scotland bears date, indeed, on the 24th day of October, last; which was five months after Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville got possession of the Treasury and the Cabinet; but (and I beg the reader to mark it well) it is ordered in the body of the warrant, that the payment of the additional salaries shall *commence from the 5th of the preceding July!* ——Upon examining the pension lists for the years that Mr. Addington was minister, I find my former conjecture fully verified; to wit; that the grants of this one year by the Pitt and Melville faction have surpassed, more than one half, the grants made by the Addingtons in *three years* and upwards! This is well worthy of notice. If Mr. Addington had been willing to employ the same means that the Pitts and Dundases have employed, he might, notwithstanding all the weakness of his ministry; notwithstanding the utter incapacity of himself and his colleagues to manage the affairs of the country, in a manner consistent with its interest and its honour; notwithstanding all his faults, and they were neither few nor trifling, he might, if he had chosen to employ the means that his successors have employed, have set all his opponents at defiance, for, at least, a year or two longer.——I shall here quit this subject for the present, purposing to return to it in a short time, with some additional proofs of the advantage we derive from being governed by a minister of celestial mould. ——[Want of room must be my apology for deferring the several other topics, which ought to have found a place here.]

CONTINENTAL CONNECTIONS.

Note in the French Official Journal, the Moniteur, of the 7th of July, on His Britannic Majesty's Message to Parliament, of the 19th of June, 1805. *(See Vol. VII. p. 955.)*

Thus his Britannic Majesty confesses that, after six months, he has no relations with the powers of the continent which could have prevented, as stated by his ministers in their letter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, an answer to the overtures of peace made by the Emperor of the French. These relations, which appeared then to be so close that he could not dispense with consulting those powers with whom he had contracted them, are nothing more than "communications which have not yet acquired a degree of maturity which will permit him to enter into ulterior explanations with the French government." The answer made by the ministers six months ago was therefore false, and if there were not relations then, there are no more now. His Britannic Majesty adds, "That it may be of essential importance that he should be enabled to profit by every favourable conjuncture to effect, with other powers, such a concert as may give him the means of resisting the unqualified ambition of France." What pacific dispositions! Two years since his Britannic Majesty neither looked for nor wished for any coalition. Will he succeed, or will he not succeed, is a question not difficult to re-

solve. How does the case stand? His Majesty would have been much more frank, and would not have entangled a simple proposition, if he had said, that he did not wish to treat before he had had five or six campaigns with the coalesced powers. Then it would remain to be ascertained what advantage had been gained after these five or six campaigns, and if this advantage should be in proportion to the sacrifice of 2 or 300,000 men. His Majesty might then resolve to make peace. Peace, the object of just ambition to all wise governments, appears to be only a sort of last shift to his Britannic Majesty. Who does not wish that England may find Europe deaf to every project of coalition? Who does not pray for the success of the arms of a nation, who wishes for nothing but peace, whilst England, its enemy, calls out with loud cries for the return of those disasters which have so long afflicted Europe?——His Britannic Majesty thinks he can quote a part of the letter of the Emperor of the French, to prove to the continent that the Emperor fears England, and that, because he desires peace, he fears war; thus hoping to induce some power to enter into a new coalition. The Cabinet of London has not neglected to support weak reasoning by offers of subsidies; but it will be perceived, that it does not place a value sufficiently high on such services, and that it must pay still dearer. The Parliament have granted 5,000,000l. sterling; still more will be asked of them. We shall see whether the generosity of the merchants will render the course more easy. ——Every word, every act of this government, bears the character of disorder and madness. It is a strange political declaration, which the ministers put into the mouth of the King, when they make him say, distinctly enough, that he will not make peace, until he can no longer make war. It will necessarily result, that, when he wishes for peace, it will be imagined that he is constrained to make it, and that more, therefore, may be exacted from him.——What then is to be concluded from such a message? It is, that the re-establishment of the tranquillity of Europe is far distant, as the English government will not be disposed to peace until it shall be convinced that no power will concur in feeding the flame, and that it has no longer ministers or intriguers who can hope to purchase such assistance.

NAPOLEON, KING OF ITALY.

(*Continued from p. 32.*)

Official Account of the Coronation of the Emperor of the French, as King of Italy, at Milan, on the 26th of May, 1805. From the French Official Paper, the Moniteur.

On the 25th of May, his Excellency the Cardinal Caprara, Archbishop of Milan, *Legate-a-latere* of his Holiness to his Majesty the Emperor of the French, was admitted to a private audience, and delivered to the Emperor the new credentials of the Holy Father, accrediting him also in the same dignity to his Majesty as King of Italy, for the transaction of all affairs in which the Holy See is interested in that kingdom. Besides these new credentials, his Eminence delivered on the part of his Holiness, the following congratulatory letter to his Majesty: —" Pius VII. to our dear son in Jesus Christ: greeting and apostolical benedictions. Your Imperial and Royal Majesty is not unacquainted with all the sentiments with which we are penetrated for you, and with what gratitude we remember the things you have done in France in favour of the Catholic religion, and the proofs of love and respect which you gave us during our stay in Paris; you can then readily comprehend with what interest we have learned that the regal dignity was united in your person to the imperial dignity with which you were already invested. The reciprocity of our love, and that paternal tenderness which we feel towards you, render very dear to us whatever is glorious for you. We should have sent a particular Nuncio to testify to you these dispositions; but, knowing all your benevolence towards our dear son, Jean Baptista Caprara, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, Archbishop of Milan, we have not hesitated to believe that the testimonies on our part could not be better received than when presented by him. We have then charged him to present himself before you, and to impart to you all the sentiments of our heart, on this occasion, in which you receive a new dignity. It is he who will present to you this letter, and we are sure that the congratulations he will make to you in our name will be accepted by you with benevolence. In fine, we doubt not but you will employ all the authority you are invested with to secure in your new kingdom all the advantages of religion, which is the column and the support of all kingdoms; and we have the farther confidence that you will continue to give us those marks of love and filial respect which we have always received from you. In the mean time we give, from the bottom of our heart, the apostolical benediction to your Imperial Majesty, in pledge of our paternal benevolence. Given at Rome, at Marie Maggiore, under the ring of the fisher, the

20th May, 1805, in the sixth year of our Pontificate.—JOHN, *Archbishop of Carthage.*" —On the 26th of May the ceremony of the coronation of the King of Italy, was performed with the greatest pomp, and the most imposing grandeur. The fineness of the weather, the serenity of the sky, and the splendour of the sun, contributed to render this solemnity most brilliant.——At half past 11, her Majesty the Empress, preceded by her Imperial Highness the Princess Eliza, repaired to the Cathedral, along a gallery elegantly adorned, and was conducted under the canopy to her tribune, amidst the liveliest applause. At 12 o'clock, his Majesty the Emperor and King left the palace by the same gallery, wearing upon his head the Imperial Crown and that of Italy, holding in his hands the sceptre, and the hand of justice of the kingdom, and clothed with the royal mantle, carried by the two grand gentlemen of the horse. His Majesty was preceded by the hussars, the heralds at arms, the pages, the aides-de-camp, the masters of the ceremonies, by the grand master of the ceremonies, by seven ladies carrying offerings, by the honours of Charlemagne, of the Empire and of Italy, carried by the grand officers of France and Italy, and the president of the three electoral colleges, accompanied by the civil officers of his Majesty. All the ministers, grand officers, French counsellors of state, and the officers of the royal household, followed the Emperor and King. The Cardinal Archbishop came with his clergy to receive his Majesty at the portal, burned incense before him, and addressed him as follows: "Sire, with that clemency and goodness which so eminently distinguish your Imperial and Royal Majesty, you condescended to receive the homage which I had the honour to offer you in the name of the clergy and people of Milan, on the memorable day of your entrance into this capital. Deign also to accept the same in this sacred temple, chosen by your Majesty for the solemn ceremony of your coronation; and look with the eyes of a tender father, on the assembly of cardinal, bishops and clergy, who this day unite with me to celebrate that august event, and to implore the Author of all good to shower down upon your imperial and royal person, an abundance of all heavenly blessings." After this speech the Cardinal Archbishop conducted his Majesty under the canopy to the sanctuary. The shouts of applause which involuntarily burst forth at the sight of so grand a retinue and so great a hero, almost drowned the sounds of a vast band of music which announced, by the triumphal march, the arrival of his Imperial Majesty. The Emperor seated himself in the chair, upon a throne, having upon his right the honours of the Empire, upon his left those of Italy. The honours of Charlemagne were at the entrance of the sanctuary, in front of the altar. The Cardinal Legate was upon an arm chair, with the Gospel at his side. The grand civil officers were behind his Majesty, the grand master and the maters of the ceremonies upon the right and left of the altar, and the civil officers in the choir. After the prayers and usual interrogations, the grand officers of Italy laid upon the altar the royal ornaments delivered to them by his Majesty, and the Cardinal blessed them. The Emperor then went to the foot of the altar to receive from the hands of the Archbishop the ring, the mantle, the sword, which he delivered to his Highness Prince Eugene, the sceptre, and the hand of justice; and finally he ascended the altar, and took the crown of iron. Placing it on his head with an air of defiance, he said, in a loud tone of voice, these remarkable words: *Dieu me la donne, gare à qui la touche!* "God gives it to me, woe to him who touches it!" Having then laid this crown upon the altar, he took that of Italy, and placed it upon his head, amidst thunders of applause from the spectators. After this ceremony, the Emperor preceded by the same procession which had conducted him to the choir crossed the church, receiving at every step numerous and lively acclamations, evident proofs of the love and respect he inspired. His Majesty placed himself at the bottom of the nave, upon an elevated and magnificent throne. The honours of Italy were placed behind the throne. His Highness Prince Eugene was seated upon a chair on the right of the Emperor. Below him, on the same side, were the honours of Charlemagne, and on the left of the throne, the honours of the French empire. Below them, to the right and left, were the great military officers, the members of the counsel and the councellors of state on seats raised one above the other. Before the throne, and three steps lower, were the grand chamberlain, the grand equerry of France, the grand master of the ceremonies, and the grand equerry of Italy on stools; the pages were seated upon the steps of the throne. At the bottom of the steps, seven ladies, bearing offerings, were seated upon chairs. To the right and left of them, were the masters of the ceremonies, and lower down the heralds at arms and the ushers. On both sides of the nave were long seats occupied by the members of the three electoral col-

leges, the legislative body, the tribunals of cessation and revision, by generals, colonels, inspectors, commissaries, prefects, the members of the tribunals of appeal, the presidents of the departments, &c. The military deputations occupied the space by the window of the choir and the nave; below these benches were erected galleries and tribunes, filled with the most distinguished persons of the realm. In the first of these tribunes, called the Imperial tribune, to the right of the throne, were the Doge, two members of the Ligurian Legation, and forty ladies magnificently attired. Opposite was the tribune set apart for the Diplomatic Corps; next, the tribune set apart for the Generals of France, and lower down, the one appropriated to strangers. The Empress Josephine and the Princess Eliza occupied another tribune in the choir. The walls, ceiling, and columns of the cathedral were covered with silk and crape, and ornamented with gold fringes. Nothing could equal the splendour and magnificence of this superb picture, which commanded respect and admiration from every beholder.——His Majesty again traversed the church, preceded by ladies bearing offerings, and accompanied by the aides-du-camp of the Emperor. His Majesty, after laying the offerings upon the altar, returned, and seated himself upon the throne. After mass had been performed, the grand almoner brought the Gospel to his Majesty. The grand chancellor of the kingdom, after a signal given him by the grand master, called to the president of the councils to bring the oath, and summoned near the throne the three presidents of the electoral colleges, and the presidents of the legislative body, and the counsel of state. His Majesty thereupon read the oath with a loud voice, and the chief of the heralds cried out "*Napoleon, Emperor of the French and "King of Italy, is crowned and enthroned. "Long live the Emperor and King!*" These last words were repeated by all the attendants, accompanied with the most lively and repeated acclamations. Te Deum was then chaunted, during which the secretary of state prepared the procès verbal of the oath taken by His Majesty; the clergy appeared with the canopy at the foot of the throne, and His Majesty returned to the palace with the same procession, and amidst the acclamations of an immense concourse of people who pressed around him. The sanctity of the place, the elegance of the decorations, the order of the procession, the splendour of the ceremony, the regularity of the evolutions, the noble symmetry of the groups, the richness of the costumes, the grace and elegance displayed by the ladies bearing offerings, the magnificence of the throne, the majestic deportment of the Emperor, but above all, the remembrance of his numerous achievements, and the glory he had acquired, rendered the whole of the solemnity so august, and left that lively and deep impression on the mind of every spectator which it is far easier to conceive than to describe.—On the afternoon of the same day, at four o'clock, their Majesties, attended by a grand retinue in carriages, repaired to the Church of Saint Ambrose to hear Te Deum, and for the purpose of rendering thanks to the Eternal God, in one of the most holy and most ancient edifices ever consecrated to Him. All the streets were ornamented with the richest tapestry, and crowded with an immense concourse of people, who made the air resound with their prayers for the prosperity and long continuance of the reign of the Happy Warrior, who has restored us to glory, and has promised us happiness. The following is the speech addressed by the Provost of the Basilic of Saint Ambrose to His Imperial and Royal Majesty on his descending from his carriage. "Sire, the solemn thanks, which the sacred person of your Majesty has just performed in this Church of Saint Ambrose affords me a fortunate opportunity of presenting, in the midst of public acclamations, the most respectful tribute of fidelity and obedience, in the name of this Chapter of the Ambrosian Church, which this day revives under the protection of her King. The august ceremony, by which your Majesty has been crowned and enthroned in the metropolitan church, has taught us, how sacred and respectable in the eyes of religion is the person of a king. But the act of gratitude which your Majesty is about to perform under the auspices of the holy protector of this capital and before the altar;—this act, Sire, secures to your Majesty, not only our respect and obedience, but also our hearts. It guarantees to you, days of prosperity and of blessings, which we beseech, and never shall cease to beseech of Heaven for your sacred person, and for your august companion, the Empress Queen, as well as for all the Imperial and Royal Family. I also feel myself doubly obliged to your Majesty, whose kindness has raised me to the unexpected honour of being appointed to the functions of his Almoner."

Opening of the Session of the Legislative Body: Milan, June 7, 1805.

This day took place the ceremony of opening the Session of the Legislative Body.

At six in the morning, his Excellency General Duroc, grand marshal of the palace, took the command of the palace of the Legislative Body. At one, the members of the Legislative Body assembled in full costume in the hall of the sittings. At which hour, the Counsel of State set out from the palace to repair to the palace of the Legislative Body, where they were received by a deputation consisting of three legislators, who conducted the members of the counsel to the seats appointed for them. At half an hour after one, his Majesty repaired to the palace of the Legislative Body, accompanied by her Imperial Highness the Princess Eliza, her maids of honour, and the officers of her household. His Majesty was received at the outer door of the palace by the president and a deputation consisting of thirty members of the Legislative Body. His Majesty was then conducted to the Tribune which had been prepared for his reception. His Majesty's retinue left the palace at two to repair to the palace of the Legislative Body. Their departure was announced by the discharge of several pieces of artillery, and the procession was in the following order. The heralds at arms on horseback. A carriage for a master of the ceremonies and the French and Italian chamberlains in waiting. Two carriages for the Italian ministers. A carriage for the grand chamberlain of France, the grand marshal, and the grand master of the ceremonies. A carriage for his Highness Prince Eugene. The carriage of his Majesty the Emperor and King. A carriage for the chancellor keeper of the seals, the grand almoner, the master of the household, and the grand chancellor of Italy. Marshalls Bessières and Mortier on horseback near the carriage of his Majesty. Marshal Moncey on horseback behind it. The two grand equerries on horseback at the doors of the carriage; and the aides-du-camp and equerries of his Majesty about the carriage. The retinue was preceded and followed by a detachment of the French and Italian guards, and a platoon of Mamelouks. The arrival of his Imperial Majesty at the palace of the Legislative Body was announced by a second discharge of artillery. At the outer door his Majesty was received by a deputation consisting of thirty members of the Legislative Body, with the president at their head. The retinue assembled in one of the halls of the palace, whence it repaired to the hall of the sittings in the following order: viz. The ushers, the heralds at arms, the pages, the masters of the ceremonies, the equerries, the aides-du-camp, the ministers, the chancellor keeper of the seals, the grand almoner, the master of the household, the grand chamberlain of Italy, the grand equerries, the grand master of the ceremonies, his Highness Prince Eugene, his Majesty the Emperor and King, the colonels general of the guard, and Marshal Moncey, the grand chamberlain, the grand marshal, and the chamberlains.—The seats were regulated in the following order: the Emperor and King upon the throne. To the right of His Majesty and two steps below the throne his Highness Prince Eugene on a chair; behind His Majesty, to the right and left, the two colonels general of the guards, the grand marshal of the palace, the grand master of the household, the grand almoner and marshal Moncey; behind them the chamberlains and equerries of France and Italy. Before the throne, to the right, were the grand chamberlain and grand equerry of France on stools; to the left the grand chamberlain and grand equerry of Italy. The aids-du-camp of His Majesty, formed a line to the right and left, at the foot of the steps leading to the throne. The pages were seated on the steps leading to the throne. To the right and left seated in chairs, were the Italian ministers and secretary of state, cardinal Caprara and the three presidents of the electoral colleges. Facing the throne, and forming a semi-circle were the legislators, the president in the midst of them without distinction of place. Before the legislators were the members of the counsel of state in chairs, one half on the right, the other on the left. His Majesty being seated on the throne, and every one present uncovered, the chancellor individually summoned the legislatures to take the oath. This being done, the secretary of state rose and read the statutes of the kingdom. They are these:

Napoleon, by the Grace of God and the Constitutions, Emperor of the French and King of Italy. The senatus consultum and the extraordinary deputation of the colleges decree, and we enjoin as follows:

Third Constitutional Statute.

TITLE I. *Possessions of the Crown.*

Article I. The possessions of the crown are; 1st. the royal palace of Milan, and the Villa Buonaparté; 2d. the palace of Monza and its dependencies; 3d. the palace of Mantua, the palace of the Thé, and the ci-devant ducal palace at Modena: 4th. a palace situated in the neighbourhood of Brescia, and one in the neighbourhood of Bologna. These palaces shall always be distinguished by suitable dependencies.

(To be continued.)

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Letter addressed to the Executive Committee of Hanover, and published by order of His Excellency the Marshall of the Empire, Bernadotte, dated July 3, 1805.

Authentic reports announce, that the English Government has commissioned several officers of the *ci-devant* Hanoverian Army to recruit unlawfully for the English troops. In several instances the routes of the individuals which have been debauched have been traced, and the peasants who had given them lodgings, and served them as guides, have been discovered. It is my duty, gentlemen, to communicate this information to you, in order that you may announce to the inhabitants of the Electorate, and principally to the Hanoverian officers, sub-officers, and soldiers, that every individual suspected of being concerned in these recruitments will be arrested. I must also observe to you, that special commissions have been formed for the purpose of obtaining information relative to this subject. councils of war will also be established, to punish with death, conformably to our laws, all the accomplices of the English in these instances. As it appears that the agents of the English Government cannot fulfil their mission, without being assisted by persons of rank, and principally by magistrates, or other persons in office, I have determined the punishment which shall be inflicted on those thus offending.——Every person in office, or magistrate, who shall tolerate in his district foreigners, or other persons who recruit or debauch the soldiers, shall be arrested, imprisoned, and sent out of the country. Every inhabitant of the Electorate, whatever may be his rank, who shall be suspected of taking any part, either directly or indirectly, in such recruitments, shall be delivered over to a military commission, and punished according to the French laws. ——I charge you, gentlemen, to communicate this letter to the different authorities of the country, in order that those whom it concerns may be informed of it. These measures must prove to you, that I rather wish to prevent crimes than to punish them.

TRADE BETWEEN HOLLAND AND GREAT BRITAIN.——*Proclamation of their High Mightinesses relative to the Trade with Great Britain. Issued May 31, 1803.* *(Concluded from p. 96.)*

Which declaration, signed by the master and mate, is to be sent up, together with the papers; and they shall be also duly obliged to specify such places where they may have put into after their departure from their port of loading, and also such goods as they may have shipped in such place or places, which shall be inserted in the said declaration. That no goods shall be delivered out of the ships or vessels, nor the unloading of the same be permitted or suffered by the officers of this republic, till after the consent shall be obtained of the commissary for the affairs of the customs, to whom the ship's documents shall be transmitted, but the vessels be obliged to wait for the said consent, taking a birth under the control of the first office of the customs, unless the masters, from a desire of prosecuting their voyage, should choose to receive a person as guard on board, and proceed with the same to their place of destination, in which case they will be obliged to find him in victuals and drink with the ship's company, and pay, over and above, ten stivers for each and every day he may remain on board. Those, however, wishing to profit of this privilege, must declare themselves on making their first report, and notify at same time, to the clearing officer, the custom-house to which they mean to apply for the said permission. It remaining, however, always optional with the officers of the customs, in case of suspicion, to put one or more guards on board, without being asked for.——ART. VIII. That no British manufactured goods shall be imported into the Batavian republic, either by water or by land, under the penalty of all such British manufactures, when overtaken and seized, being confiscated. That, besides all such persons who have been accessary, either directly or indirectly, to the said importation, or to whose consignment such goods have been laden and transported with their knowledge, over and above the confiscation of the goods, shall forfeit a penalty of one thousand guilders; from which only such persons will be exempted, who, within 24 hours from the time they have been informed of the expedition being made, shall declare such at the custom house of their place of residence, or the nearest to it, and immediately also at the first custom house where the importation shall take place: this, however, only if the goods shall not have been already seized, previous to the above declaration being made. That, with alteration, in as far as concerns the said goods, of the 67th article of the general placart of the year 1725, all those who shall be found to import, or to have imported, such manufactured goods, by or through clandestine ways, unlawful channels, ferries, or roads, or at unlawful times, or shall be guilty of violence,

over and above the confiscation of the goods, and the penalty of a thousand guilders before enacted, shall be punished with imprisonment, and, in as far as concerns the violence, with corporal, and, if need be, capital punishment, both according to the exigency of the case:—And that the ships, schoots, carts, waggons, horses, beasts of burden, and every thing used in such clandestine transportation, shall be declared forfeited. That those who shall be found to import or to have imported such manufactured goods under false denominations and packages, or provided with false declarations or certificates, and to have known any thing of the same, over and above the forfeiture of the goods, and the penalty of 1000 guilders, before enacted, shall be punished with imprisonment, or banishment out of this republic, according to the exigency of the case.——Art. IX. That, in order to remove all doubt, what will or will not be comprehended under the denomination of British manufactures, and be considered as such, now and henceforth, without prejudice to the prohibition of all other produce of British manufacture and workmanship, though not specially expressed, but, however, ranking among the undermentioned assortments, shall be held as such:——1. All sorts of goods known by the name of Manchesters. 2. All cloths and stuffs manufactured of wool or cotton, or woollen cotton or linen yarn. 3. All mixed stuffs manufactured from the articles before enumerated. 4. All wholly or partly printed or painted cottons, muslins, piquées, dimities, and nankinetts. 5. All knitted woollen, cotton or worsted waistcoats, breeches and pantaloons, and also the said stuffs in pieces. 6. All English, Scotch, and Irish stockings. 7. All sorts of cap-maker's wares, whether of cotton, wool, and leather, plain, mixed, or coloured. 8. All sorts of buttons. 9. All plated wares. 10. All fine iron and steel wares, tin-plates, copper, and tin-work, whether bright, japanned, or painted. 11. All sorts of fine cutlery. 12. All fine joinery. 13. Watches, gold and silver buckles, watch-chains, rings, fans, and all what is known by the name of English jewellery. 14. All sorts of leather, tanned, tawed, or prepared in any manner, boot-legs, men's and women's shoe-leathers, together with all other sorts of leather manufactured in whole or in part. 15. All sorts of carriages, partly or wholly finished, saddles, both new and used, and all sorts of saddle-maker's work. 16. All sorts of silk spencers and under-waistcoats, and also ribbands and tapes, either wholly or partly made of silk, cotton, or linen yarn. 17. All men's and women's hats, made of felt, straw, or any other stuff; gauze and silk threads, and also shawls known by the name of English shawls. 18. All sorts of spun wool and hair, and also perriwig-maker's and hair-dresser's work; all sorts of carpeting, whether already made up, or in pieces or rolls to be afterwards joined together. 19. All sorts of prepared leather or buffskins, fit for making gloves, breeches, waistcoats, or what is called gilets, either painted, printed, or plain, and all those articles manufactured or cut for the said purposes. 20. All sorts of English glass or christal-work, except such as is used for making of optical instruments and timekeepers. 21. All English taffeties, hanging-paper and furniture. 22. All sorts of refined sugars, either in loaves or powder, or loose sugar. 23. All sorts of china, earthen or potter's-ware. 24. All sorts of paper, either white, brown, or dyed, painted or coloured. 25. Whale oil, not imported directly from Denmark, Sweden, or North America; and, 26. Pit coals.——Art. X. That it shall continue to be lawful to import all manufactured goods of the nature and kinds described in the foregoing article, and not otherwise prohibited in the common laws of this country, under this proviso, that the same shall be accompanied at importation by a certificate, delivered, as far as it is practicable, at the place of origin, or otherwise at the place from which they are sent, precisely and accurately specifying the contents of each bale, pack, cask, chest, or other package, the numbers and marks, the place of origin of such manufactured goods, and, moreover, all and whatever shall be required for further elucidation and security by the secretary of state for the finances, as charged with the administration and direction of the customs, whether with regard to the importation from other countries, in general, or any one country in particular; agreeably to the regulations which will be made known, either immediately after the promulgation of this law, or at any future period, on this subject.——Art. XI. That in order that the searching and examination be made with better security, a regulation will be made, which will be notified by the secretary of state for the finances, through which custom-houses or offices of customs the goods mentioned in Art. IX. of neutral origin, and coming from neutral countries, will be permitted to be imported; so that all such goods, either British or neutral, of whatever origin the same may be, either provided with or without certificates, attempted to be imported by or through other roads, ports or

offices, or already imported and having passed such unqualified offices, being overtaken, shall be considered as British, and consequently fall in the terms of the third paragraph of the eighth article.——Art. XII. That all navigation and trade, direct from or out of this commonwealth to any port or ports of Great Britain, shall be and remain prohibited.——Art. XIII. That for the due execution of the foregoing article, no exportation of ammunition or naval stores shall be permitted, such as cannon, mortars, ordnance-carriages, bombs, grenades, balls, firelocks, muskets, carabines, pistols, sabres, swords, caissons, horse-harnesses, saddles, tents, and other instruments of war, of whatever denomination, gunpowder, saltpetre, anchors, sails, and cordage, without having previously obtained a special licence from or on the part of government. That it shall also be unlawful to export wheat, salted or pickled meat, and also cheese, to any port or ports situated on this side the Wezer, without a special licence, as aforesaid, to be obtained for each parcel separately.——Art. XIV. That consequently no passport shall be delivered for the said articles, nor the exportation of the same be suffered, neither of rye, oats, beans, pease, peeled barley, grouts, pork, and butter, to neutral ports, till after due proof be delivered at the customhouses, that a sufficient security is given, to the satisfaction of the commissary, to whose district the place of the intended exportation belongs, for the triple value, to be forfeited, in case the contents of the bond of security be not accomplished within the time limited in the same.—— Art. XV. That the vouchers on which the bond of security will be cancelled, shall contain plain and pertinent evidence, delivered from the offices of customs or duties or admiralties at the place of delivery, or by the public or local authorities, legalised by the consul or commissary of the Batavian republic, if any there be at such place, that the vessel and goods mentioned in the bond of security be actually arrived there, and entered according to the customs of the country: and that in no case any declarations made by private persons or merchants before any board of magistracy, or judicature, judge, public officer, or notary, or before whomsoever such instruments are usually passed, will be admitted, if the said instruments do not at the same time contain the affirmation of the said qualified board or person, in default of other proofs.——Art. XVI. That no vessels whatever, either in ballast, or wholly or partly laden, shall be at liberty to depart from their harbours or openings to the sea of this republic, without a permit of the commissary of the customs, to whose district the place of the departure or expedition belongs; which permit is to be exhibited, and countersigned at the outermost office of the customs, together with the documents in the 84th and 85th articles of the general placart on levying the customs enacted by their high mightinesses the 31st July, 1725, but not delivered up.——Art. XVII. That no master or passenger, or any of the crew, shall be permitted to take charge of, or carry along with them, any letter or letters, parcels, or any thing else, destined for any place or port situated in Great Britain, either to deliver such, themselves, at such place or port, or to deliver the same to fishing vessels or other vessels, on pain of one year's imprisonment in one or other house of correction in this republic, over and above a penalty of one thousand guilders, to be forfeited by the master, when such is committed by him, or takes place with his knowledge; for which the vessel shall be answerable and actionable; the masters and mates being also obliged to make declaration on this point, with the declaration prescribed by the 97th article of the general placart of 31st July, 1725.——Art. XVIII. That particularly with alteration and amplification of the 64th article of the general placart of the 31st of July 1725, it shall not only be unlawful for any person to ship or to land any goods on any of the strands or other points of land, where no officers of the customs are stationed, but, moreover, no ship or vessel coming from sea shall be suffered to arrive there, except in real distress (which must be proved afterwards), neither to take her departure from thence, without a permit of the commissary of the customs. That by offices of the customs shall be here understood offices of payment and no others: and lastly, that for the better attaining our manifested will and intention, it is hereby reserved to withdraw and remove such offices to other places, and to determine through which of such offices it shall be exclusively lawful to export the articles mentioned in the 13th article, both by water and by land, such as will be judged needful and expedient, in the same manner as this is enacted respecting the importation in Art. XI. and under the penalties therein mentioned.—— Art. XIX. Also, that a boundary shall be drawn and determined along the whole extent of this republic on the landside, beyond which no magazines, depots or storehouses, of any wares, merchandizes, manufactures, or whatever it may be, shall be suffered to be kept, continued, or established, under whatever name or pretext it should be; but,

on the contrary, those that are there at present are to be emptied and removed within the time of three months, on pain of all such magazines, depots, or storehouses of any sorts of wares, merchandizes and manufactures, which, to the contrary hereof, shall be found to exist, beyond the said limits, on the territory of this republic, being emptied by the officers of this country, assisted, if need be, by military force, and the goods, of being transported to the national warehouses and confiscated, and such, every time, repeatedly, as often as any such are or may be discovered: provided, however, that such boundary shall not be further, on any point, than one hour's walk from the frontiers, and that no walled cities will be considered lying beyond such limits, and also that care be taken, that this regulation do not extend to the corn or productions of any person's own cultivation, nor to small articles necessary for the use or maintenance of the inhabitants dwelling beyond such limits.——And all this without prejudice to the regulations and directions contained in the general placart on levying the customs, enacted by their high mightinesses on the 31st of July, 1725, and subsequent publications, in as far as the same are not derogated by these presents.——And we do accordingly order and direct, that these presents be published and affixed wherever this ought to be, enjoining all whom it doth concern, to see that the contents thereof be strictly performed.——*(Signed)* R. J. Schimmelpenninck, ——*Raad-Pensionary.*——*(Countersigned)* C. G. Hultman.

Jamaica Complaints.——*Notice issued by the British Consul for the Middle and Southern States of America, relative to the Prohibition of the Intercourse between the United States and Jamaica; dated Philadelphia, May* 21, 1805.

His Britannic Majesty's Consul-General for the Middle and Southern States of America, gives this public information to the merchants and traders whom it may concern:—Notice having been published and circulated about four months since, throughout the United States, of a resolution bearing date the 21st of November last, which had been passed by the Lieutenant-Governor and Council of the Island of Jamaica, prohibiting, after the expiration of six months from that date, the importation of provisions and lumber in American or other neutral vessels; and it having been represented, at the same time, that the above-mentioned resolution had taken place, in consequence of instructions from his Britannic Majesty's government of so peremptory a nature, as not to leave the governor and council any latitude to attend to the remonstrances which have been made against said resolution, by the inhabitants of Jamaica, it is thought proper to declare, that no orders have been sent by his Majesty to the governors of his colonies in the West Indies, by which they are deprived of the discretion formerly entrusted to them, of relaxing under certain circumstances, the rigid provision of the navigation laws; and that it is therefore, presumable, that, as soon as the explanation on this subject shall have reached Jamaica and the other British colonies in the West Indies, where it is believed they may have already arrived, the importation of provisions and lumber will again be permitted in American or other neutral vessels.

(Signed.) P. Bond.

Note delivered by M. Giusti, the Austrian Imperial Envoy at Genoa, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, relative to the Union of the Ligurian Republic with the French Empire. Dated Genoa, June 2, 1805.

The undersigned, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary from the Emperor of Germany and Austria, received yesterday evening, the note, in which Senator Roggieri, the Minister for Foreign Affairs has informed him, that the Ligurian Senate has resolved on the union of the Ligurian Republic with the French empire, and that this resolution will be immediately carried into execution, a deputation having been sent to his Majesty the Emperor in consequence. The government has, at the same time, thought proper to signify the motives that have induced it to annul both its old and new constitution, and renounce the rank it has hitherto maintained among independent states, to unite itself to another great power. I have also been given to understand that my mission to the Ligurian government is at an end. I will not examine the motives which have led the Senate to take this step: in this case the Senate is the best judge, and the object is of sufficient importance, since it relates to the existence and well-being of a state. But with respect to the termination of my mission, this entirely and alone depends on the orders of my Emperor, and, till I receive these orders, it is impossible that I should consider my mission as terminated. I shall, therefore, as soon as possible, transmit to my court the note delivered to me, together with the decree of the Senate, that I may receive directions for my conduct. I cannot doubt that the Ligurian government will, in

the mean time, acknowledge the inviolability of my person, and defend the rights of the legation against any attack. I hope to find here that protection which is due to the Austrian and German nation, and I expect that the Austrian Consulate for Commercial Affairs will remain on the footing on which it at present exists, agreeably to the laws of nations.——(Signed)——Giusti.

Answer of the Senator Roggieri to the above Note. Dated Genoa, June 5, 1805.

I have laid the note of your Excellency of the 2d instant, before the Chief Magistrate, and I have the pleasure to assure your Excellency, that the official respect which is due to your Excellency, according to the law of nations, and agreeably to the sentiments of esteem which the Ligurian government entertains for his Imperial Majesty, will be carefully observed, both with regard to the person of your Excellency, and towards the whole Legation of his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

War in West Indies.——*An Account of the Proceedings of the French and Spanish Fleets in the West Indies, published at Paris, July 13, 1805.*——*Report of Lieutenant Clanet, dispatched from Martinique with the Brig Lynx, arrived at France on the 8th of July.*

On the 14th of May the squadron of his Majesty, under the command of Admiral Villeneuve, reinforced by two ships and a frigate, anchored before Fort au Prince, at Martinique. It had suffered no damage, and the crews were in the best state of health. At the moment of my departure, which was on May 28, the squadron had taken in provisions and water, and only waited the return of Admiral Gravina, whose destination was not known, to put again to sea. The English squadron, under the command of Admiral Cochrane, had not been seen at the Windward Islands for twenty days: it was supposed to have returned to Europe. On the 27th of May, the Diamond Rock had been attacked and taken. It was reported that the inhabitants of Trinidad had taken refuge in the interior of the island, and that the colony offered no resistance to a division which should present itself. To the west of the Azores, I met with an American ship, which assured me, that the Spanish division, which had left Admiral Villeneuve, had landed 2,000 men at Trinidad, who had made themselves masters of the island. All the accounts received from St. Domingo confirm the intelligence, that the negroes in the Spanish part of St. Domingo have been driven from it with immense loss, by General Ferrand. St. Domingo was considered as unassailable since the arrival of the reinforcements brought by the Rochefort squadron. The army of Dessalines was divided into several factions, which had already come to blows with each other. I met with no ship of war in my passage.——Clanet.

Dispatch from Admiral Villeneuve to the French Minister of the Marine, dated on Board the Admiral's Ship Beicentaur, in the Road of Fort de France, May 17, 1805.

Monseigneur, —— Your excellency having been informed of my leaving the road of Toulon on the 9th of Germinal last, I have to give you an account of the circumstances of my voyage, as well in the Mediterranean as in the Ocean, of my appearance before Cadiz, of the junction of the ship L'Aigle, and the squadron of his Catholic Majesty under the command of Admiral Gravina; in fine, of my arrival in this road. Having wished to take advantage of the first favourable breeze to effect my departure from Toulon, I was able to make very little way during the first fortnight, the wind not having continued long, instead of increasing, as it at first seemed likely to do, I was still in sight of the coast of Provence on the next day, and I perceived in the N.E. two English frigates, which watched me the whole day without changing course. In the morning a Ragusan vessel passing within hail of the squadron, I caused her to be visited, and, on inquiring, learned that five days before she had seen the English squadron to the south of Sardinia. The last accounts which I had received at Toulon informed me that the enemy was cruising in force off Barcelona, and I in consequence had resolved to shape my course to the eastward of the Barcelona Isles; but the intelligence I received from the Ragusan vessel induced me to change my determination and pass to the westward of those islands, keeping as close as possible to the coast of Spain.——On the 7th of April, I found myself in a dead calm, before Carthagena. As I saw some ships which appeared ready for sea, I sent off a boat to obtain intelligence, and to offer my services, and the protection of the squadron to such ships of his Catholic Majesty as were willing to join it. The commander of this squadron informed me, that in the general plan of operations agreed on between the two courts, it had another destination, and made part of a fleet different from that under my command. The same

evening, a fresh breeze springing up at east, I continued my course for the Straights.—On the 9th, at break of day, I came in sight of the Rock of Gibraltar, and also of Monkey Mountain; I ordered every thing to be got ready for action, formed the squadron into two columns, and ordered the frigates to make sail a-head. At noon, the wind blowing fresh, and the squadron being perfectly formed, I entered the Straits, the alarm guns fired from all points of the Rock of Gibraltar; I caused the grand flag to be displayed at the stern, and those of distinction. In the mean time the frigates a-head made the signal for a ship of war and two frigates flying before us, firing guns. They did not, however, slacken sail; and about four o'clock made signal for eleven vessels, six of which were ships of war; a short time after they made a signal that the enemy were flying. The squadron made all the sail it could carry; but I was at too great a distance from the enemy to hope to come up with them, and night was coming on.——The Hortense had received orders to proceed before us to Cadiz to give notice to L'Aigle, and the Spanish ships which were ready to follow me, to put to sea; she executed this commission, and as I had no hope of being able to come up with the enemy, I directed my course to Cadiz, to effect a junction with the ships I expected from that port. It was still sufficiently light for me to perceive in the road of Cadiz, that the L'Aigle was preparing to put to sea as well as several Spanish ships. As soon as I was before the Bay, perceiving that the wind, which was fresh and strong, would drive us off shore, I made the signal to anchor with the sheet anchor; and soon after a Spanish officer came on board, and informed me, that eight of his Catholic Majesty's ships, and a frigate, under the command of Admiral Gravina, were about to put to sea; and before midnight I saw them successively come out of port, and anchor without it. I sent my adjutant on board Admiral Gravina, who pointed out to him how precious every moment was, and that it was essentially necessary to get under sail without delay, to proceed on our destination.—Admiral Gravina answered, that every thing was ready, that I might make the signal for getting under weigh, and he would repeat it. At two in the morning the whole French squadron was under sail, and a part of the Spanish squadron, and we steered a westerly course. At day-light I saw the Spanish ships were very far a-stern, and slackened sail the whole morning for them to come up. In the afternoon the wind changed to the westward.——From this time my voyage was only retarded by occasional contrary winds and calms. On the 9th of May, being in the latitude prescribed by my instructions, I transmitted to Admiral Gravina his dispatches, and on a signal made, six ships of his Catholic Majesty, and two frigates, and two brigs of his Imperial Majesty, ranged themselves under his flag. They were in sight the remainder of the evening, but the next morning they were no longer to be seen, and, I have reason to believe, they reached their destination.——In my passage I saw very few vessels, those I did see I caused to be chased by my frigates. I had sent on the Hortense and Hermione a good way a-head. They joined me on the 23d. They had taken the English corvette Cayenne, of 24 guns, and 125 men, commanded by the Hon. Capt. Cadogan.——The same day I had sight of the island of Martinique. On the 14th of May, at break of day, I entered the channel of St. Lucia; and in the course of the day anchored at Martinique with the squadron entrusted to me by his Majesty and two Spanish ships and a frigate.—The letter then proceeds to commend the zeal and good conduct of the captains and officers of the fleet, in particular Captain Maistral, of the Neptune; Captain Cosmao, of the Pluton; Captain Roland, Adjutant Prigney, his Excellency the Spanish Admiral, Gravina, &c. after which it concludes thus: I am employed in taking in my water; I have found the colony abundantly supplied with provisions. General Lauriston is setting out for Guadaloupe, to collect there as many transports as he can procure. From the intelligence I have been able to obtain, I have reason to believe that Admiral Gravina will experience difficulty in his expedition. When he shall have rejoined me, which I hope will be very soon, I will not lose a moment in repairing to my destination. I entreat your excellency to accept the homage of my respect.

VILLENEUVE.

Extract of a Dispatch from Admiral Villeneuve, dated Fort de France, May 21.

The last intelligence which we have received from St. Domingo is of the 15th Floreal. Every thing goes on perfectly well; the bands of Dessalines have been completely beaten and repulsed from the Spanish part of the island. Dessalines, obliged to raise the siege of Saint Domingo, has lost the half of his army. The blacks are divided, and in a state of complete anarchy. St. Domingo and the Spanish part are completely provisioned, and the Spanish colonies in a good situation. Terror prevails in all the

English Islands, martial law has been every where proclaimed. The reports circulated here lead us to believe that Trinidad is defenceless, and that it is already evacuated. I have not, however, any positive news, and I wait the return of several vessels which I have sent on cruises or expeditions.

PAPAL ALLOCUTION.——*Allocution of His Holiness the Pope, delivered in the Select Consistory, held at Rome, the 26th of June,* 1805. *Published in Latin, in the French Official Paper, the Moniteur, of the 8th of July,* 1805. *(For the Allocution delivered by His Holiness previously to his Departure from Rome on his Journey to France, see vol. 6. p. 892.)*

Reverend Brethren:—Since the first moment of our return from France to this city, we have ardently desired, Reverend Brethren, to assemble you in Consistorial Council, in order that we may make known to you our true design and object in making that journey, for the purpose of decorating our most dear Son in Christ, Napoleon, with the ensigns of imperial dignity, and to communicate to you, without delay, the salutary consequences, which, by the blessing of God, have resulted to us from that journey. Nevertheless, we are not yet fully able to gratify those our anxious wishes, because various matters relative to the churches, respecting which we had made propositions, have not yet been settled, nor have the examinations of the Bishops, on whom those churches ought to be conferred, been yet completed. We, however, congratulate ourselves in being able to communicate with you this day, so near the solemn festivals of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, in order that, after having described the benefits we have experienced chiefly by their holy assistance, we may proceed to celebrate the memory of those glorious martyrs, with a piety the more ardent, and with souls overflowing with gratitude.——The 2d day of Nov. last year, we departed from Rome. You will remember, on that occasion the fervent wishes expressed by the Roman people for our welfare; and the numbers, who, inspired by a holy affection for our person, accompanied us many miles on our route. These excited in our breast the liveliest emotions of paternal love, and were considered by us an auspicious omen, for the success of our journey.—On the frontiers of Etruria, and more particularly on our arrival at Florence, we are unable to express the satisfaction we then felt on beholding such a concourse, such myriads of people, who came to venerate, in an humble person, the successor of St. Peter, and the Vicar of Christ on earth. Among the foremost to shew us marks of veneration, was our daughter, in Christ, Maria Louisa, Queen of Etruria, who not only, in the most solemn manner, manifested her pious affection for us, but entreated us to take the opportunity of conferring the sacrament of confirmation on her dear son, Louis, King of Etruria. This sacred ceremony was solemnised with appropriate magnificence, and we had to admire on the occasion, in common with all present, the becoming piety of the mother and the son.——In continuing our progress through Italy, we received the most consoling proofs of a general veneration for our sacred functions, as well as attachment to our person, particularly at Modena, at Reggio, at Parma, at Placentia, at Tortona, at Alexandria, on our approach to Turin, our Reverend Brother, his Eminence the Cardinal Cambaceres, and our dear Son Salmatoris, advanced to receive us, and, in the name of the Emperor of the French, to wish us a happy arrival in France, and to express the Emperor's wishes for our presence in his dominions. In effect we were then in France, and the people of that illustrious nation rejoiced at our arrival among them, gave the most striking manifestations of their piety and their religion, not only in their professions, but in every mark of their respect and affection. In every part of the empire through which we passed, the Prefects of the provinces, and all those invested with civil or military authority, delivered the most affectionate and respectful addresses, as well towards our person, as to the concerns of the Holy See. At Lyons, we were received by our Rev. Brother, his Eminence Cardinal Fesch, the Archbishop of that province, with a magnificence the most generous, with the most affectionate hospitality, and with an anxious solicitude for every thing attached to us, in a way beyond our powers to express. The concourse of excellent and pious inhabitants of that town was so great, when we celebrated the holy mysteries, that the immense area of the metropolitan church could not contain them. How great then must have been our holy raptures! With what fervent adoration did we express our gratitude to the Father of Mercies, for working so wonderful, so blessed a change! We were inspired with the most lively gratitude also, to the most potent Emperor of the French, to whom that happy people owe the restoration of the true religion, the public exercise of which has been established under the Concordat, which has passed between us.——

We had not an opportunity of witnessing this complete triumph of the true faith at Lyons, so long as we could have wished. We were impressed with a lively desire to be present with the Emperor, to consecrate him, and after that to confer with His Majesty on the concerns of religion, and the affairs of the church; considerations for which we braved every difficulty, and had undertaken the journey.——We proceeded on our route to Fontainbleau, where, at length, we had the pleasure of beholding the most puissant Prince, who is so dear to us. What pleasure, what joy, we experienced in our first interview with this Emperor whose fame has sounded to the extremities of the world, and whom God has chosen to restore his true religion, in France, to its former publicity and splendour! We shall always, with the most pleasurable sensations, recollect that, and the following days, which, by the invitation of this most excellent Prince, we spent at Fontainebleau, in refreshing ourselves, after the fatigues of our journey. From the Castle of Fontainebleau, where we experienced and had to admire the just sentiments and the munificence of the Emperor towards us, we repaired together to Paris. There, on a day remarkable in itself, the first Sunday in Advent and the second of December, in the midst of all the triumphal pomp and splendour of that imperial city, in which all the population of France seemed to have been congregated, were celebrated in the most solemn manner the consecration and the crowning of the Emperor, and that of our most dear daughter in Christ, Josephine, his august consort. ——This splendid ceremony being terminated, we directed all our attention to the affairs of religion and the church; we placed the greater confidence in the Emperor, because, as we apprised you, he had testified by his letters that he desired to confer freely with us, respecting the means of re-establishing the ancient splendour of religion and of divine worship; and, we cannot recollect without particular sentiments of gratitude, the ingenuousness, the politeness, the good nature, the affectionate regards towards us, with which he listened to the desires, which, in terms of apostolic freedom, we expressed; and also enumerated the demands which we had to make of him for the advantage of the catholic religion, the glory of the Gallican Church, and the authority and dignity of the Holy See.—— One consideration, which we had particularly at heart, was the sincere return of certain bishops to the Catholic unity, who, before they received their canonical institutions at our hands, ought to have given adequate testimonies of their reconciliation; but who, on the contrary, after receiving them, behaved in such a manner as to render us very uneasy with respect to the sincerity of their sentiments. These anxieties, however, ceased, after an interval of some days; for either by oral or literary communication with us, they earnestly declared, that they cordially adhered and sincerely submitted to the dictates of the Holy See, with respect to ecclesiastical affairs in France. What precious consolation we experienced when afterwards we blended our tears together on our embracing them with sensations of true paternal charity. In order to render this consolation the more enduring, and that it may even increase, we fondly hope that they will continue to give certain and manifest signs of the sincerity of their declarations, and that in future we shall be free from all solicitude in those respects. To this end we ardently supplicate God, the searcher of all hearts, to finish and secure by his grace the good work they have undertaken. —— Having disposed of a consideration of such importance, we proceeded to the discussion of others, which concerned the advantage of religion, the liberty of the church, the honour of the clergy, the augmentation of the number of her sacred ministers, and suitable means for their support. Encouraged by the confidence with which this excellent Prince inspired us, and using that dignified freedom of communication with which our apostolic functions should be exercised, we exhibited to his Majesty, both orally and in writing, the injuries and wounds which the Gallican church had received, in the destructive conflicts of latter times, and from the preponderance of hostile opinions; in short, we manifested what was due to us in those respects. The answers of the Emperor were replete with professions of consideration for our person; for that merit of which we were in some degree conscious; and they afforded us the greatest hopes, that the Gallican church, rising insensibly from its state of langour, would recover its pristine form and vigour. These are evils of such a nature, as, though they might have been suddenly produced, yet, to attempt an immediate cure, would be to aggravate, rather than to remedy them.——Think not, however, reverend brethren, that we do not still entertain the greatest hopes. Several acts have been performed, which operate as a pledge, as a security for future conduct. The societies of the Prêtres de la Mission

and of the Filles de la Charité, which St. Vincent de Paul had so beneficially founded, have been since re-established, and authorised to wear those habits which formerly distinguished them. By a public decree, the necessary funds for the repairs of cathedral churches, and the exercise of public worship, have been provided; and suitable edifices have been allotted as seminaries for young ecclesiastics. It has been decreed, that these seminaries shall be eligible to receive testamentary bequests of monies, or of funded property; and the expenses of those attached to the metropolitan churches shall be defrayed from the public treasury. The revenues destined for the bishops and canons of the cathedral churches have been augmented. The municipal administrations of the provinces have been charged with the providing for the repairs, and for furnishing the ordinary churches. The society of the Missions Etrangères, originally destined to carry the true faith to the extremities of the earth, has been restored through the paternal care of the Emperor, so as to be able to recover the property it once possessed, and even to acquire new. Missionaries, who have been sent to the most distant climates for the propagation of the true religion, are encouraged and protected by the government of the Emperor. We have ourselves given, with the most heartfelt joy, the apostolic benediction to certain distinguished priests, who made part of the mission to China. Among such a number of provident cares, we could not have forgotten our patriarchal church of the Lateran, the mother and chief of all the churches in the world. This church, by the munificence of the most generous of Emperors, has been compensated for the loss of its property in France, which the fury of the times had wrested from her. Other measures of considerable importance have also been adopted. It has been decreed, that the Bishops shall freely exercise their powers of judging with respect to spiritual offences, and those which relate to ecclesiastical discipline, and to punish, as provided for by the canonical law. That the attempts made by the civil officers to shackle in a manner, at once unjust and oppressive, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall be discontinued; that the obstacles which existed to the entrance of young men into the ecclesiastical state shall be greatly diminished; and those which prevailed with respect to the religious education of youth; to the affording spiritual comfort to the sick, to the soldiery, or the inhabitants of the country, entirely done away. These benefits, which we have derived from our discussion with this great Prince, guarantee, as we have already observed, the effect of the other demands which we have made from him, and which we have every reason to expect from his religion.——We cannot, however, pass over in silence those other spiritual benefits, which God, the Father of Mercies, has designed to grant us in France. You know with what zeal, with what pious ardour, the French people have, in our person, revered the Supreme Pastor of the Catholic church. That which you have been apprized of, far from surpassing, even falls short of the truth. It is beyond the powers of language to express the love, the zeal, and the external veneration, which the people of France bear towards religion. The God of Mercies has vouchsafed to shower down so many blessings upon our journey to France; that the Bishops have not hesitated often to assure us, that those are beyond conception, as tending to the spiritual advantage of the people. We have not discontinued that general facility of access to us, that we may hear the complaints of the aggrieved, and remedy, as far as in us lies, those spiritual evils which still exist; and that we may promote the principle universally among the people. We have visited all the parishes in Paris, and there, as we afterwards did at Lyons, we distributed among many thousands of the faithful, the eucharistical bread. We also visited the hospitals, where the sick received the succours of Christian charity, or which were consecrated to the religious instruction of youth. An innumerable crowd of Catholics followed us every where, as well at our return, as on our going out, and appeared never tired of receiving our apostolic benedictions.——What shall we say of the illustrious French clergy? the sentiments which they loudly expressed in our favour, were of that description that we know not how to express how deeply we have been affected by such avowals. We are also incapable of describing that ardent zeal, that vigilance, those indefatigable cares, with which the Bishops especially governed the flocks entrusted to their cares, thus doing honour to that religion of which they are the ministers, and ensuring respect even from its enemies. Having been ourselves witness, we have judged it our duty to decree these just praises, in the face of the universal church, to the meritorious clergy of France.——Neither have we neglected, while at Paris, to fulfil those duties, which more properly belong to our ministry. We assembled, in conclave, our reverend brethren, those Cardinals who accompanied us, as well as those who re-

sided at Paris, and we presented the hat to Cardinal de Belloy, Archbishop of Paris, and to Cardinal Cambaceres, Archbishop of Rouen, with those rites and solemnities prescribed by the apostolic constitutions. We provided the vacant dioceses with new Bishops, and we ourselves have consecrated some of them in the extensive church of St. Sulpice, amidst an innumerable concourse of the faithful. A few days previous to our departure from Paris, we performed the ceremony of baptizing the Prince Napoleon, nephew to the Emperor, with the greatest magnificence, and in presence of the great men of that splendid court, assembled at the palace of St. Cloud. The Emperor himself, and his august mother, in the most devout manner, presented the imperial infant at the consecrated font.—Such have been our labours in France; such have been the works of the glorious Emperor of the French; such have been the marks of the attachment of the French for religion; and, such are the results of our journey.—— The discussions being terminated, and the return of spring favouring our journey, we deemed it incumbent on us to return to our city and to our see. Having fulfilled our duties towards the invincible Emperor, from whom we were now forced to separate, and after receiving from him numerous testimonies of his favourable sentiments towards us, we commenced our journey hither. At Chalons we celebrated those days solemnly consecrated to the memory of the Passion and the resurrection of our Lord. How inconceivable was the ardent piety of the inhabitants of the city and those of the neighbouring towns! What affectionate, but respectful eagerness to be near our person! At Lyons, the people manifested, if possible, still greater veneration for our person and sacred functions than on our first visit, and reiterated their professions of love and devotion toward the holy see. Our reverend brother, the Cardinal Fesch, Archbishop of Lyons, rendered to us, a second time, with equal magnificence, the offices of hospitality. We rejoice in this opportunity of publicly acknowledging our gratitude to his eminence. We should not forget that, during our stay at Lyons, the celebrated chapel de Tourviere, dedicated to the Holy Virgin, was reopened by us, in the presence of an incredible number of the citizens, and restored, as formerly, to public worship. At Turin, where, a second time, the inhabitants loudly expressed their veneration for us, we had the inexpressible happiness of again beholding the Emperor Napoleon, and of conferring with him. We took the opportunity of earnestly recommending again to his consideration the ecclesiastical concerns of France and Italy, and after returning his Majesty our sincere thanks, for all the benefits he had conferred on us, and the Catholic religion, we proceeded on our route to Etruria, and arrived at Florence.——Our entry into that city was attended with much splendour, and productive of great public rejoicings. The illustrious Queen of Etruria again received us in the most magnificent manner, evincing, at the same time, the most becoming piety. The Lord, in his unbounded mercy, had prepared for us in this city, the most gratifying of all consolation.——In our former route, through this city, we had a presentiment, that our reverend brother, Scipio Ricci, ancient Bishop of Pistoya, seriously intended to be reconciled to us, and the holy Roman Church; a thing which we had desired for some time, in common with all good men. He acquainted us, with truly filial confidence, that he was ready, in the sincerity of his heart, to subscribe to the formula, which we should please to propose to him. He has performed his promise, for the formula which had been transmitted, by our reverend brother, the Archbishop of Philippo, has been acknowledged and signed by him. By this declaration, which he has requested may be published, in reparation of his former scandal, he has testified that he has received purely, simply, and in full sincerity and reverence, the constitutions of the Holy Apostolic See, by which are prescribed the errors of Baius, of Jansenius, of Quesnel, and their sectarian followers; and especially, the dogmatic bull Auctorem Fidei, by which are condemned eighty-five propositions, taken from the Synod of Pistoya, which he had himself collected and published. Farther, he has declared, that he reprobates and condemns all these propositions, and each of them, under the qualifications, and in the sense expressed thereof, in the bull above-mentioned. And finally, he declares his determination to live and die in the faith of the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church, and in perfect submission to her, and also to us and our successors in the chair of St. Peter, in our qualities of Vicars of Christ on earth. After this solemn declaration, we have called him into our presence, we have heard him protest anew the sincerity of his sentiments, and his implicit submission to the dogmatical decisions of Pius VI. his attachment to the orthodox faith, and to the Apostolic See, which, he said, had in fact preserved him in the midst of his errors. We thereupon paternally embraced him, we have acknowledged all

the merit of his conduct, and, in the full affection of our charity, we have reconciled him to ourself, and the holy Catholic church. In congratulating us in his letters, on our happy return to Rome, he declares his adherence to the recantation made by him at Florence, which consideration affords us the greatest pleasure.—— Reverend brethren, we have conceived it our duty to communicate these important matters to you; in consideration of which, it behoves us to prostrate ourselves at the foot of the throne of the Author of all these benefits, and humbly to supplicate him, through the intercession of the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, to protect, and accomplish in his mercy, all that we, in our weakness, have endeavoured to begin, for his glory, the extension of the true religion, the safety of all souls, and the advantage of the church and the Holy Apostolic See.

VOTE OF CREDIT.

The French Official Paper, the Moniteur of the 10th July, 1805, contains the following Notes upon the Speeches of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, on the Vote of Credit for Three Millions and a Half.

Note upon Mr. Pitt's Speech.——We see with pleasure that this is not a credit of 3,500,000l. added to one of five millions, but that of five millions reduced to 3,500,000l. You will shortly see that sum still more diminished, and reduced to a few hundred thousand pounds sterling, to pay agents of corruption, or to direct some dark manœuvre; Mr. Pitt says clearly enough to whoever will understand him (which however we knew before he took the trouble to tell it), that he has no longer any hope of foreign succours.

Note upon Mr. Fox's Speech.——In Mr. Fox's language we recognise a statesman who appreciates the interests of Europe, who weighs the force of the various powers, and who differs widely from that lean, furious man who is blinded by his passions, and who feigns ignorance of what he knows; who places a whole nation under arms, in the hope of an invasion which, however probable the success may be, was not probable for the first year. A coalition between England, Russia, and Austria, would cost much more blood, and would not produce any greater result than the preceding coalitions. Is it not ridiculous to see the English speak of other powers as if they were subservient to their will; hope for the concurrence of the Continent as if there were a Continental power whom they had not despised; to see them in short accept of a foreign negociator to make peace? This last trait is quite as comical as it would be with a view of having a good and quick translation of some of our best dramatic pieces, to translate Iphigénie into Russian, to translate it afterwards into English. It is not Mr. Pitt who can think that this is the mode of making peace; yet it is he who wishes for a coalition, and who will not make a coalition. Mr. Fox has told him, that after two years of war, England will find herself in a position still more disadvantageous, compared with the progressive increase of the power and prosperity of France.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT. ——*Articles exhibited by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled, in the Name of themselves and of all the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, against Henry Lord Viscount Melville, in maintenance of their Impeachment against him for High Crimes and Misdemeanours: as drawn up by the Committee of Impeachment and presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Whitbread, on the 4th of July, 1805.*

Whereas the office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy is an office of high trust and confidence, in the faithful and uncorrupt execution whereof the subjects of this kingdom are most deeply interested: and whereas the antient constitution of the said office of Treasurer of the Navy, and of other offices concerned in the receipt, disbursement, and control of the public money, having been found to be highly inexpedient, in consequence of the increased expenditure of the country, did become the subject of frequent, long, and serious deliberation in parliament; and whereas by an act of parliament made and passed in the 20th year of the reign of his present Majesty, and by several subsequent acts of parliament, for appointing and enabling commissioners to examine, take, and state, the public accounts of this kingdom, and for other purposes therein mentioned, certain commissioners were constituted and appointed for examining, taking, and stating the accounts therein particularly mentioned; and also for examining and stating in what manner, and at what times, the receipts, issues, and expenditures, of the public monies were accounted for; and for considering of and reporting by what means and methods the public accounts might in future be passed, and the accomptants compelled to pay the balances, or monies due from them, in a more expeditious, more ef-

fectual, and less expensive manner: and whereas the said commissioners did inquire into and report upon the public accounts by the said act referred to their examination, and did discover and point out various abuses in many of the public offices entrusted with the receipt and expenditure of public money, and in particular in the office of the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy; and did propose and recommend sundry goods and wholesome provisions and regulations for the reformation of the same, and particularly for preventing the public money issued for navy services from coming into the possession and custody of the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, or the officers and persons employed under him; for depriving him and them of all opportunity of using and misapplying the public money to private purposes, and thereby exposing the same to the risk of loss: for making the Bank of England the sole place of deposit for the same; for removing, from thenceforward, all temptations and inducements to applications for more public money than was necessary for the public service; for preventing all unnecessary delay in passing the public accounts of the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, and in restoring to the public the balances remaining in his hands: and whereas the House of Commons having taken the reports of the said commissioners into consideration, upon the 19th day of June, 1782, did (among other things) resolve, that some regulations ought to be adopted, for the purpose of lessening and keeping down the balances which appeared to have usually been in the hands of the Treasurer of the Navy; and did further declare their opinion, that from thenceforward the Paymaster-General of his Majesty's Land Forces, and the Treasurer of the Navy for the time being, should not apply any sum or sums of money imprested to them or either of them, to any purpose, of advantage or interest to themselves, either directly or indirectly.——And whereas for the more effectually carrying into execution the said resolutions of the House of Commons, his Majesty, by warrant under his Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the 22d day of June, 1782, was most graciously pleased to augment the income of the Right Hon. Isaac Barré, as Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, and to add thereto the sum of 2150l. that the said income might in future amount to 4000l. which his Majesty was then graciously pleased to grant to the said Isaac Barré, clear of all deductions, in full satisfaction of all wages and fees, and other profits and emoluments theretofore enjoyed by former Treasurers of his Majesty's Navy: and whereas by letters patent, bearing date the 19th day of August, 1782, his Majesty was graciously pleased to give and grant unto the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, now Lord Viscount Melville, the office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy Royal and Ships, and Receiver-General of all sums of money appointed, or from time to time to be appointed and payable for the support, maintenance, and reparation of his Majesty's navy royal and ships, for emptions and provisions appertaining to and necessary for the said navy and ships, and for wages, salaries of officers, servants, and other persons whatever, belonging to the said navy or ships, or any other matter or thing whatsoever, in any manner touching or concerning the navy royal or ships; and for the exercise and occupation of the said office, and for and in satisfaction of all wages and fees of threepence of lawful money for every pound to be received and paid by the said Henry Dundas, by virtue of his said office, his Majesty was further graciously pleased to give and grant unto him, by the said letters patent, an annuity or yearly payment of 2000l. ——And whereas the said Henry Lord Viscount Melville represented, or caused to be represented, or it was represented to his Majesty, that the said annuity or yearly payment of 2000l. after deducting all charges, taxes, and expenses thereon, would not produce to him the said Henry Lord Viscount Melville more than the sum of 1850l. in each year, or thereabouts; whereupon his Majesty, by warrant under his Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the 23d day of Oct., 1782, was graciously pleased to declare that the income of the Treasurer of the Navy should be augmented with an additional allowance of 2324l. 6s. 6d. in order to make, together with the said sum of 1850l. the said income to amount in future to the sum of 4000l.; and his Majesty did thereby direct, authorise, and empower the said Henry Lord Viscount Melville to take and apply, out of such monies as were in or should come to his hands, or to the hands of his cashier, arisen or to arise by the sale of old naval stores, the said sum of 2324l. 6s. 6d. which together with the before-mentioned sum of 1850l. would make the said sum of 4000l. which his Majesty was graciously pleased to grant him, clear of all deductions, in full satisfaction of all wages and fees, and other profits and emoluments theretofore enjoyed by former Treasurers of the Navy; the same to commence and be computed from the day of the date of the said letters patent, and to continue during his continuance in the said office; and his Majesty did further direct,

authorise, and empower the said Henry Lord Viscount Melville, in case the said additional allowance of two thousand three hundred and twenty-four pounds six shillings and six-pence, together with the said several allowances before stated, should not produce in each year the net sum of four thousand pounds, to charge the deficiency in the annual amount of monies disbursed by him for fees of divers natures: and whereas the said Henry Lord Viscount Melville held and enjoyed the said office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, under the said letters patent, from the said 19th day of August, 1782, until the 10th day of April, 1783:—And whereas by letters patent, bearing date the 5th of Jan., 1784, his Majesty was graciously pleased again to give and grant unto the said Henry Lord Viscount Melville the said office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, in the same terms as in the said former letters patent of the 19th day of August, 1782; and upon a similar representation made or caused to be made by the said Henry Lord Viscount Melville, or otherwise made to his Majesty as that hereinbefore stated, his Majesty was graciously pleased, by warrant under his Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the 16th day of Jan., 1784, to augment the income of the said office of Treasurer of the Navy with an additional allowance of 2324l. 0s. 6d. in order to make the annual income of the said office amount to the said sum of four thousand pounds, and which said income his Majesty was thereby graciously pleased to grant to the said Henry Lord Viscount Melville, clear of all deductions, in full satisfaction of all wages and fees, and other profits and emoluments theretofore enjoyed by former Treasurers of the Navy, and to secure and provide for the due payment thereof in like manner as in the said former warrant of the 23d day of Oct., 1782, is provided:——And whereas the said Henry Lord Viscount Melville, under and by virtue of the said last-mentioned letters patent, held and enjoyed the said office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy from the said 5th day of Jan., 1784, until the 31st day of May, 1800:——And whereas, on the 17th day of Feb., 1785, the House of Commons ordered that leave should be given to bring in a bill for better regulating the office of the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, and that (together with other members of the said House of Commons) Mr. Henry Dundas, now Lord Viscount Melville, should prepare and bring in the same; and, in pursuance of the said order, the said Henry Lord Viscount Melville, on the 29th day of April, 1785, did present to the House of Commons a bill for better regulating the office of the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy; and said bill having passed the House of Commons, was, in pursuance of an order of that House, carried by the said Henry Lord Viscount Melville to the House of Lords; to which bill he (in the name of the House of Commons) desired the concurrence of their lordships;——And whereas the said bill, in the 25th year of his Majesty's reign, passed into a law, intituled, "An Act for better regulating the Office of the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy;" the 1st, 3d, 4th, and 5th sections whereof are as follow: 1st. Sect. "Whereas it appears by the reports made by the commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state the public accounts of the kingdom, that regulations are necessary for better conducting the business in the department of the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy; be it therefore enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the 1st day of July, 1785, the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy for the time being, in all memorials to be by him presented to the Treasury for money for navy services, shall pray that such sum as he requires may be issued to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England on his account, and shall transmit with each memorial a copy of the letter or letters from the Commissioners of the Navy, Victualling, and Sick and Hurt Boards, directing him to apply for such sum or sums; in which letter or letters the said commissioners shall, and they are hereby required and directed to specify for what particular service or services the said money is wanted, and shall also state the balances then in the hands of the Treasurer of the Navy, under each head of service respectively; and the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury for the time being, by their letter from time to time, shall direct the Auditor of the Exchequer to issue to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, on account of the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, naming such Treasurer for the time being, the sum for which such letter shall be drawn upon the unsatisfied order of the Exchequer, in favour of the said Treasurer, for which the receipt of the cashier or cashiers of the said Governor and Company shall be a sufficient discharge; and all sums for which letters of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury shall be drawn, shall be issued to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England in like manner as they have been heretofore issued

to the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy; and all such monies to be issued to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England shall be placed on an account or accounts to be raised in the books of the Governor and Company of the said Bank of England, and to be intituled, "The Account of the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy," inserting the name of such Treasurer for the time being, for the pay branch, cashier's branch, and the victualling branch; and on receipt of all such monies at the Exchequer, the Treasurer of the Navy shall immediately certify to the Commissioners of the Navy an account of the whole receipt under the respective heads of service, and shall also certify to the Commissioners of the Victualling and Sick and Hurt Boards, the particular sums received and applicable to those services respectively." 3d. Sect. "And be it further enacted, that from and after the 1st day of July, 1785, no money for the service of the navy shall be issued from his Majesty's Exchequer to the Treasurer of the Navy, or shall be placed, or directed to be placed, in his hands or possession; but the same shall be issued and directed to be paid to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, and to be placed to the accounts above-mentioned, according to the services for which it is craved and issued." 4th Sect. "And be it enacted, that the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy for the time being, by himself, or the person or persons in his office duly authorised by the said Treasurer, from and after the 1st day of July, 1785, shall draw upon the Governor and Company of the Bank of England for all navy services whatever, and shall specify in each and every draft the head of service for which the same shall be drawn; and no draft of the said treasurer, or the person or persons authorised as aforesaid, shall be deemed a sufficient voucher to the said Governor and Company of the Bank of England unless the same specifies the head of service for which it is drawn, and has been actually paid by the said Governor and Company of the Bank of England." 5th Sect. "Provided always, that the monies to be issued unto the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, on account of the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, shall not be paid out of the Bank unless for navy services, and in pursuance of drafts to be drawn on the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, and signed by the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy for the time being, or the person or persons authorised as aforesaid; in which drafts shall be specified the heads of service to which the sums therein mentioned are to be applied; and which drafts so drawn shall be sufficient authority to the Bank to pay such money to the persons mentioned in such drafts, or to the bearer of them."——And whereas the provisions contained in the said last mentioned act of parliament were thereby directed to take place on the 1st day of July, 1785; on the execution of said act, with respect to the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville opening an account or accounts with the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, as thereby directed, was postponed by him until the 13th day of Jan. 1786, when said Henry Lord Visc. Melville opened an account with the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, entitled, Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Act of Parliament New Account;" and which said account was continued by him until he quitted the said office on the 31st May, 1800, and was the only account kept by the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, as Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, with the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, under and in pursuance of the said Act of Parliament for regulating the said office:——And whereas on the 10th day of Jan. 1786, while the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville held and enjoyed the said office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, he did constitute and appoint Alexander Trotter his paymaster; and the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville did, on the said 10th day of Jan. 1786, duly authorise and empower the said Alexander Trotter to draw on the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, for and upon account of him the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville as Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, all and every sum and sums of money that then were or should thereafter be wanted for the public services, under the care of payment of the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, the said Alexander Trotter being particularly careful to specify in each and every draft the service for which the money should be drawn.——And whereas it was the duty of the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, during all the time he held and enjoyed the said office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, to abstain from applying himself, and to prevent all persons acting under him from applying any part of the money issued from his Majesty's Exchequer for navy services, to any purpose of advantage or interest to himself or themselves, either directly or indirectly, or to any other purposes than for navy services, and from deriving any profit or emolument therefrom: and from and after the passing of the said Act of Parliament of the 25th year of his Majesty's reign, for better regulating the office of the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, it was the

duty of the said Lord Visc. Melville to observe and pursue the provisions and directions of the said Act of Parliament; yet the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, not satisfied with the ample revenue so provided for him as aforesaid, nor regarding the duty of his high and important office, or the express provisions of the said Act of Parliament, did, whilst he held and enjoyed the said office, act and conduct himself fraudulently, corruptly, and illegally, in the several instances herein set forth.

First article.——That the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, whilst he held and enjoyed the said office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, and previous to the said 10th day of Jan. 1786, did take and receive, from and out of the money imprested to him as Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, from his Majesty's Exchequer, the sum of 10,000l. or some other large sum or sums of money, and did fraudulently and illegally convert and apply the same to his own use or to some other corrupt and illegal purposes, and to other purposes than those of the public navy services of the kingdom, to which alone the same was lawfully applicable; and did continue such fraudulent and illegal conversion and application of the said sum or sums of money, after the passing of the said Act of Parliament for the better regulating the office of the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy. And the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville has declared, that he never would reveal the application of the said sum of 10,000l. and, in particular, he did make such declaration in the House of Commons on the 11th day of June, 1805; and then and there added, that he felt himself bound, by motives of public duty, as well as private honour, and personal convenience, to conceal the same; all which conduct of the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville was contrary to the duty of his said office, a breach of the high trust reposed in him, and a violation of the laws and statutes of this realm.

Second article.—— That the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, disregarding the duties of his said office, and in breach and violation of the said Act of Parliament for better regulating the same, did, after the passing of the same Act, and whilst the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville continued to hold and enjoy the said office, connive at and permit and suffer the said Alexander Trotter, under and by virtue of the said authority so given to him by the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville as aforesaid, illegally to draw, receive, and take from the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, for other purposes than for immediate application to navy services, large sums of money from and out of the monies before then issued unto the said Governor and Company of the Bank of England, on account of the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, as Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy: and the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville did connive at and permit and suffer the said Alexander Trotter to place the said last-mentioned sums of money, or a great part thereof, so illegally drawn, received, and taken from him by the Governor and Company of the Bank of England as aforesaid, in the hands of Messrs. Coutts and Company, the private bankers of the said Alex. Trotter, in his own name, and subject to his sole control and disposition: all which conduct of the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville was contrary to the duty of his said office, a breach of the high trust reposed in him, and a violation of the laws and statutes of the realm.

Third article.——That after the passing of the said Act of Parliament for better regulating the office of the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, and after the said 10th day of Jan. 1786, and whilst the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville held and enjoyed the said office, large sums of money were from time to time issued and paid to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, and placed on an account raised in the books of the said Governor and Company with the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, intituled, "Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Act of Parliament New Account:"—And the said Alex. Trotter, under and by virtue of the said authority from the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, did from the said 10th day of Jan. 1786, during all the time the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville afterwards continued to hold and enjoy the said office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, draw upon the said Governor and Company of the Bank of England, for and on account of the monies so issued and paid to them, and placed to the said account so raised in their books, with the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, as such Treasurer as aforesaid: and the said Alex. Trotter did receive and take large sums of money so drawn by him from the said Governor and Company of the Bank of England as aforesaid:——That the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville did, after the said 10th day of Jan. 1786, fraudulently and illegally permit and suffer the said Alexander Trotter to place many of the said sums of money so drawn, received, and taken by him from the Governor and Company of the Bank of England as aforesaid, in the hands of Messrs. T. Coutts and Company the private bankers of the said Alex. Trotter, in his own name, and at

his own disposal: and the said Alex. Trotter did thereupon, with the privity, by the connivance and with the permission of the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, apply and use the said last-mentioned sums of money, or great part thereof, for purposes of private advantage or interest, profit and emolument; and did place the said sums of money, or a great part thereof, in the hands of the said Messrs Coutts and Company mixed with and undistinguished from the proper monies of the said Alex. Trotter, whereby the last-mentioned sums of money were not only applied to and used for purposes of private advantage or interest, profit and emolument, and for purposes other than navy services, but were also exposed to great risk of loss, and were withdrawn from the control and disposition of the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy; and the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, by so conniving at and permitting and suffering the public money to be withdrawn from the Bank of England, and used and applied in manner aforesaid, acted in breach of the great trust and confidence reposed in him, in violation of the said Act of Parliament made for regulating his said office, contrary to his duty, and against the laws of this realm, and to the evil example of all persons entrusted in the great departments of the public service with any control over the application and expenditure of the public money.

FOURTH ARTICLE.——That after the said 10th day of Jan. 1786, and whilst the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville had and enjoyed the said office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, he, the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, did fraudulently and illegally, for the purpose of advantage or interest to himself, or for acquiring or obtaining profit or emolument therefrom, or for some other corrupt and illegal purposes, and for purposes other than navy services, take and receive from the public money placed in his name at the Bank of England, as Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, the sum of 10,000l. or some other large sum or sums of money, and did fraudulently and illegally convert and apply the same to his own use, or to some other corrupt and illegal purposes:——That during the time the said Alex. Trotter held and enjoyed the said office of paymaster to the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville as aforesaid, and whilst the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville held and enjoyed the said office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy as aforesaid, he, the said Alex. Trotter, kept, with the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, an account current, entered in certain books of account, containing entries of all the sums paid and received by the said Alex. Trotter, on the account of the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville; and by agreement between the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville and the said Alex. Trotter, bearing date the 18th and 23d days of Feb. 1803, it is stated, that they had either mutually delivered up to each other, or resolved and agreed mutually to cancel or destroy, all the vouchers or other memorandums and writings that at any time theretofore might have existed, passed, or been interchanged between them relative to the said accounts, and the different items and articles of which the said articles were composed or consisted: and the said books of account containing the said account current, together with all vouchers or other memorandums and writings in the possession of the said Alex. Trotter, and also of the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville relative thereto, were burnt and destroyed by the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville and Alex. Trotter: and the said stipulation contained in the said agreement for the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville and Alex. Trotter mutually delivering up to each other, or for mutually cancelling and destroying all the said vouchers or other memorandums or writings relative to the said account was so entered into; and the said books of accounts, vouchers, memorandums, and writings, were so burnt and destroyed, with a view to conceal and prevent the discovery of the several advances of money made by the said Alex. Trotter to the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, and of the several accounts or considerations for or upon which the same were so advanced: all which conduct of the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville was contrary to the duties of his said office, a breach of the high trust reposed in him, and a violation of the laws and statutes of this realm, and to the like evil example as aforesaid.

FIFTH ARTICLE.——That after the said 10th day of Jan. 1786, and whilst the said Alex. Trotter so continued the paymaster of the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville as aforesaid, and with such privity, connivance, and permission as aforesaid, so applied and used the said sums of money, or great part thereof, for purposes of private advantage, profit, and emolument, as aforesaid, the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville fraudulently concealing the illegal use and application of the same, did procure, obtain, and receive from the said Alex. Trotter, advances of several large sums of money, which were made to him the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville by the said Alex. Trotter, in part from money so as aforesaid illegally drawn by him, the said Alex. Trotter, from the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, and in

part from sums of money so placed by the said Alex. Trotter, in the hands of the said Messrs. Coutts and Co. as aforesaid, when mixed with and undistinguished from the proper monies of the said Alex. Trotter: and for the purpose of more effectually concealing the said advances of money, the said books of account, vouchers, memorandums, and writings, were so as aforesaid burnt and destroyed.

SIXTH ARTICLE.——That amongst other advances of money so as aforesaid obtained and received by the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, from the said Alex. Trotter, the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville did procure, obtain, and receive from the said Alex. Trotter a sum of 22,000l. or some other large sum or sums of money, advanced by the said Alexander Trotter to the said Henry Lord Viscount Melville, without interest; part whereof was so advanced exclusively from public money so as aforesaid illegally drawn from the Governor and Company of the Bank of England by the said Alex. Trotter; and the other part whereof was advanced from the said mixed fund, composed as well of public money so as aforesaid illegally drawn by the said Alex. Trotter from the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, and placed by him in the hands of the said Messrs. Coutts and Co. as aforesaid, as of the proper monies of the said Alex. Trotter in the hands of the said Messrs. Coutts and Co. which had been mixed therewith, and remained undistinguished therefrom: and for the purpose of more effectually concealing the said advances of money, the said books of account, vouchers, memorandums, and writings were so as aforesaid burnt and destroyed.

SEVENTH ARTICLE.——That amongst other advances of money so as aforesaid obtained and received by the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville from the said Alex. Trotter, the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville did obtain and receive a sum of 22,000l. or some other large sum or sums of money advanced to him by the said Alex. Trotter; and for which it has been alleged by the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville that he was to pay interest: and for the purpose of more effectually concealing the said last-mentioned advances of money, the said books of accounts, vouchers, memorandums, and writings, were so as aforesaid burnt and destroyed.

EIGHTH ARTICLE.——That during all, or great part of the time, the said Alex. Trotter held and enjoyed the said office of paymaster to the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, as aforesaid, and the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville held and enjoyed the said office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy, as aforesaid, he, the said Alex. Trotter, did gratuitously, and without salary or other pecuniary compensation, act in and transact the private business of the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, as his agent, and was, from time to time, in advance for the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, in that respect, to the amount of from 10,000l. to 20,000l. or to some other great amount: and which advances were taken from the said sums of money so placed by the said Alex. Trotter in the hands of the said Messrs. Coutts and Co. consisting, in part, of public money drawn by him from the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, as aforesaid, and in part of his own private monies mixed therewith, and undistinguished therefrom as aforesaid: by means whereof the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville did derive benefit and advantage from the aforesaid illegal acts of the said Alex. Trotter.——And the said Alex. Trotter did so gratuitously, and without salary, act in and transact the private business of the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, and make him such advances of money as aforesaid, in consideration of the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville conniving at and permitting and suffering the said Alex. Trotter so as aforesaid to apply and make use of the said sums of public money so drawn by him from the Bank of England, and applied and appropriated for purposes of private advantage, or interest, profit, and emolument, as aforesaid: and the said Alex. Trotter would not have been, and was well known to the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville not to have been, able to make such advances of money to the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, as aforesaid otherwise than from and by means of the said sums of public money so drawn by the said Alex. Trotter from the Bank of England, with the privity, connivance, and permission of the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville as aforesaid, and applied by the said Alex. Trotter for purposes of private advantage, interest, profit, and emolument: all which proceedings and conduct of the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville were contrary to the duty of his said office, in breach of the great trust reposed in him, and in gross violation of the laws and statutes of this realm: and by all and every one of the aforesaid acts done and committed by him, the said Henry Lord Visc. Melville, he was and is guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

VOL. VIII. No. 5.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 3, 1805. [PRICE 1OD.

"The main principle of THE FAMILY" [the Pitts and the Addingtons], "is, that all the power and "emoluments of the government of this kingdom constantly belong, of right, to the different members of "The Family, who, however they may disagree as to the distribution, ought on no account, to suffer any "portion of this their inheritance to fall into the hands of any other persons but themselves. This principle "seems to be so firmly fixed in the minds of the persons who have adopted it, that, upon whatever arises "fairly thereout, they, whenever an occasion offers, argue, as upon a self-evident position. Whoever has "paid the slightest attention to their language, must have perceived, that they always talk of the "government as of something which is *theirs*; that they reason as if it were admitted, as a matter of course, "that some of them *must* be our rulers; and that the only question for both them and us to consider, is, "*which of them* are the persons most proper, or, whose *turn* it is, to rule over us."—POLITICAL REGISTER, 5 Jan 1805: Vol. VII. p. 14.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

FAMILY QUARREL.——When the recent rupture between the Pitts and Dundases and the Addingtons first took place, I was strongly inclined, as were most other impartial persons, to attribute it solely to the aversion which the latter felt at being called upon to follow Mr. Pitt through his measures relative to the Melvilles and the Athols. But, after all that has been now said on one side and on the other; after listening to both with great attention and perfect impartiality; and after making such *inquiries* as appeared to me necessary, and as it came within my power to make: after all this, I must say, and say it with some degree of sorrow, that I am fully convinced, that the quarrel and separation are not to be ascribed solely to the motives alleged by the Addington writers; but, that, on the contrary, no inconsiderable part of the cause, will at last be found, in Mr. Pitt's refusal to give to the Addingtons that share of power and of emolument which they claimed.——Before I proceed to submit to the reader the grounds of this my conviction, it will be proper to continue on the history of the quarrel, as it has made its appearance in the public prints, from the point where we broke off, in p. 82, to the present time; and, I must take the liberty, once more to beg the reader's attention to it; for, though the parliament not being assembled renders the subject of less immediate importance than it otherwise would be, we must recollect, that, before six months have passed, it will become a subject upon which every public man *must* form an opinion whereon to act; unless, indeed, he be one of those who have no opinions of their own, or, in the class of those miserable creatures, who, having an opinion, dare not act according to it.——We shall perceive, by making the reference which I have just taken the liberty to point out, that the TIMES newspaper, that is, the print devoted to the Addingtons, had the last word; and, that it concluded its observations, by talking about "the *self-devotedness* of Lord Sidmouth "*sending corruption to the tribunals*;" about "the proud and almost lost conviction that there exists a minister superior "to the charms of power and of office, and "*resolute to obtain justice to his country* at "the expense of importance, emolument, "dignity, and the *beloved presence of an affectionate master*;" about "the *sweet* "*consolation* existing in the public heart, "that, *in the cabinet itself*" (wonderful!) "the laws and the interests of a generous "people, bending under the weight of their "contributions, have found *a friend and a* "*powerful defender*." A great deal of this is cant; absolute palaver and blarney, as the soldiers and sailors call it; and, I think it must be allowed, that none of it is very modest. But, before we indulge ourselves in any comment upon this panegyric, let us again hear what the battling partisans have to say for their chiefs and against their opponents.——The first three paragraphs are taken from the TIMES of the 18th, the 22d, and the 24th instant; and the last is taken from the SUN of the 26th.——"The Ex-Jacobin, hardly Ex-Jacobin, papers have made "a violent outcry against another outcry of "their own, namely, that the Prince of "Wales was informed of Lord Sidmouth's "resignation before his Majesty or Mr. Pitt. "We distinctly and unequivocally pledge "our character and credit, that a falser or "more base and low invention, never yet "insulted the public credulity. We desire "to share the infamy of the desperate party, "that has no hope of preserving any corner "in the opinion of the public, if we do not "speak the naked truth, in asserting, that "his Royal Highness was not informed of "that event till many hours after it had "taken place, and then not officially, or by "any authority, commission, or message "whatsoever; and that the communication "alluded to (such as it was) did not reach

" his Royal Highness till many days after " Mr. Pitt had been distinctly, and repeatedly, and finally informed of the necessity " and resolution which had been taken to " resign. We are assured too, that when " it did take place, it was preceded and accompanied by all the usual forms and attentions due to the Sovereign. The best " informed persons have asserted, that Mr. " Pitt knew the hour and the moment of " it, and had it confirmed in the audience " he had the honour of receiving immediately after Lord Sidmouth. The clerks " of the council, it is observed with the " same ridiculous and impotent malice, " were made acquainted with it, upon Lord " Sidmouth's coming out of the closet! " Was his lordship to suffer Sir Stephen " Cottrell and Mr. Falkner to wait upon " him the next morning with the papers " and business of the privy council, because " it was beneath him to explain himself to " clerks? The clerks of his Majesty's privy " council have surely a right to be treated " as gentlemen, and it is the duty of those " who resign offices, to decline receiving " official confidence and communications. " We confine ourselves to plain facts; we " leave to the partisans of corruption to distort and overwhelm the truth by false " lights and impartial statements, and redundance of wicked words. We assert " again, and will at all times be ready to " prove, *that the whole and the sole quarrel " which has arisen between Mr. Pitt and " Lord Sidmouth, regards Lord Melville " and the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry;* " comprising the attempt to protect the " first against the justice of the country, " and to perplex and weary, and disgust, " the other with insults, invectives, and detraction. Does the public know that the " *present Treasurer of the Navy,* whose litigious and vexatious delays and opposition to the precepts of the commissioners, " was complained of and denounced by " them to the King, and to both Houses of " Parliament, *was placed, by the ministerial " ballot, upon the Select Committee which " has cross-examined and reported against " the commissioners?* Did the most devoted " partisan of Lord Melville and his associates, expect that the lord president of " the council should connive at those oblique and sinister stratagems to overwhelm " the commissioners in their inevitable feelings and resentments? Did they think his " lordship could have veiled his sentiments " of honour, and character of purity, to " what has been called, by the highest authority of justice, the job of the Athol " interest and family? Of Lord Melville it " is our intention to say nothing more than " we shall be provoked to by the audacity " of his improvident defenders and accomplices; of those who would defeat the " ends of public justice, and the just demands of the people; and who feel no " scruple to defame and belie the greatest " and the brightest characters, the most " distinguished services, and the noblest and " most disinterested sacrifices.——We do " not recollect to have ever seen such a " compilation of misrepresentation and malignity, as is exhibited in an evening paper of Wednesday last, under the head of " 'The Resigning of the Addingtons.' The " writer, and his masters, and his and their " associates, are stung by the just tribute of " applause so generally bestowed on Lord " Sidmouth, and his friends, for the motives which occasioned their separation " from the government; and they cannot " endure that those respected persons should " enjoy the credit of having resigned their " offices, " rather than screen Lord Melville." It will not, however, we are confident, be denied by Mr. Pitt, that had " they concurred in his wish to " screen " Lord Melville" from any criminal prosecution, those differences would not have " arisen, which were the " real" and immediate causes of their resignation. On " the part of Lord Sidmouth there was no " attempt, or " desire, to dictate, and domineer in the cabinet:" it was the fundamental diversity of opinion between his " lordship and Mr. Pitt, upon the points " arising out of the Tenth Report, and the " line of conduct to be consequently taken " in parliament, which led to the late " changes in the government. The writer " in question endeavours to involve the " friends of Lord Sidmouth in an inconsistency, in consequence of their vote on " the 8th of April. But this attempt is contradicted by facts notorious to every member of the House of Commons. It is not " true, that " they would not vote Lord " Melville guilty of a gross violation of the " law, and a high breach of duty;" but " they were decidedly of opinion that no " judgment ought to be passed on any part " of Lord Melville's conduct, till the whole " had been investigated by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, so constituted as to be free from the possible imputation of bias; or partiality—a line of " conduct, which every dispassionate man " now regrets was not adopted, as that " which ultimately was best suited to the " attainment of strict justice between the

" public and Lord Melville. But the au-
" dacity of this writer is carried to its high-
" est pitch, when he ventures to ask, " Is
" not Lord Melville given up by the cabi-
" net?" and when he asserts, that " the
" cabinet have given Lord Melville up to
" impeachment." It is notorious, that Mr.
" Pitt and his adherents endeavoured to pre-
" vent any process whatever against Lord
" Melville, either by impeachment or cri-
" minal information: but they proved, by
" their votes on Mr. Bond's motion for an
" amendment, that of the two modes, they
" were most averse to the former. They
" afterwards, however, changed their minds,
" and when a large proportion of the ma-
" jority, who voted for a criminal prosecu-
" tion, had left London, a motion for re-
" scinding the resolution of the former
" night was brought forward, and in a
" House composed of not many more mem-
" bers than the majority who had divided
" for the criminal prosecution, the vote, by
" which it was ordered, was rescinded, and
" an impeachment was substituted in its
" place—a proceeding of which there is no
" example, and which has sunk deep into
" the mind of every one who feels for the
" honour and consistency of parliament. It
" is, however, to the friends of Lord Sid-
" mouth, and to the members of opposi-
" tion, that the triumph of public justice is
" to be exclusively attributed. Without
" them, the delinquency of Lord Melville
" would have been left to the inadequate
" operation of a civil process; without them
" there would have been no criminal prose-
" cution whatever. They all gave a deci-
" sive proof of their sincerity, by declaring,
" that, whatever might be their preference
" of one mode to another, they would sup-
" port either an impeachment, or an infor-
" mation, rather than forego the certainty
" of some criminal prosecution. This, in
" the language of the Courier, is " a giving
" up of Lord Melville by the cabinet, as
" well as by parliament, to those who had
" pursued him most keenly!" That the
" Addingtons, by their upright conduct, by
" this steady adherence to their public du-
" ty, have given " mortal offence," we do
" not pretend to deny; and it is too mani-
" fest that their continuance in office had
" therefore become impossible. Upon
" whom the imputation of taking others by
" surprise ought justly to rest, the public
" will determine. It cannot attach on the
" friends of Lord Sidmouth; for it is false
" to state, that they brought forward the
" motion for a criminal prosecution, with-
" out the knowledge of their colleagues.
" Their intentions were previously and dis-
" tinctly communicated to Mr. Pitt, and he
" will not deny the fact. The report of
" Lord Sidmouth having made a communi-
" cation to the Prince of Wales, before he
" notified to Mr. Pitt his intention to re-
" sign, or his Majesty had actually accepted
" his resignation, is now so generally known
" to be untrue, upon the most unquestion-
" able authority, that we shall offer no com-
" ment upon it. On the concluding obser-
" vations of this writer, we will content
" ourselves with asserting, that Lord Sid-
" mouth and his friends worship no rising
" Sun. By whom that species of adoration
" is likely to be paid, may, perhaps, ere long
" be disclosed. Lord Sidmouth, and all
" connected with him, feel the respect that
" is due to the Heir Apparent of the British
" Throne; but they know to whom their
" highest duty is owing, and it never has
" been, and never will be, justly imputed
" to them, that they have failed in a firm
" and zealous discharge of it. *Their real*
" *crimes are, independence of mind, consis-*
" *tency of public conduct, and a determined*
" *opposition to personal corruption, private*
" *jobs, and political depravity!!!*"——And
this, observe, from the Addingtons to Mr.
Pitt! The Heaven-born minister!——" The
" calumnies and misrepresentations with
" which Lord Sidmouth and his friends have
" lately been assailed by the adherents of
" Lord Melville, and his associates, have
" recoiled upon their own bosoms; their
" detected lies, their perfidious perversions
" of the truth, and the malignant, rancor-
" ous character of their libels, have clearly
" pointed out the authors to the flagrant
" indignation of the public. It may not,
" however, be superfluous to recapitulate
" the points upon which the " heroes of
" the fifth clause" have undertaken " to go
" forth and be lying spirits" in the mouth of
" all the Journalists. That we may do so
" with the least possible offence to our con-
" temporaries, we shall omit all formal no-
" tice of what they have asserted, confining
" ourselves to what is at length universally
" admitted to be true. It is acknowledged,
" that from the beginning, the very first
" publication of the Tenth Report, Mr. Pitt
" determined to screen Lord Melville.—Se-
" CONDLY. That to prevent this resolu-
" tion, Lord Sidmouth insisted upon and
" carried in the cabinet, that the whole case
" should be sent to a Select Committee of
" the House of Commons, which was not
" to be packed and ballotted to whitewash
" Lord Melville, but to be composed of the
" leading members of both sides of the

" House, and of Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and " Mr. Whitbread in particular.—THIRDLY. " That when the ministers lost this " motion in the House, and the votes of " censure, and for a civil proceeding, were " carried, the Select Committee (although " not chosen as it would have been in the " first case, and fettered from inquiring into " the profits made by Lord Melville from " the naval money) did, in fact, discover so " much (the burning of the vouchers in " particular) as made it impossible for them " (although they chose not to make any re- " port) to screen Lord Melville.—FOURTH- " LY. That the influence of Lord Sid- " mouth, which prevented Mr. Pitt from " the course he intended to take, saved him " the government, and, perhaps, the coun- " try, on the 8th of April.——FIFTHLY. " That from the day of that memorable " vote, Mr. Pitt has omitted no attempt to " snatch Lord Melville from trial; some- " times pretending he had incurred no mo- " ral guilt, and at other times that he had " been punished sufficiently, and always " endeavouring to involve and perplex the " House in their own proceedings, until he " finally cancelled the vote of the greatest " House ever assembled, upon the motion " for a criminal information, and carried " that of impeachment (against which he " had himself voted), by surprise. SIXTH- " LY.—That from the same day to the mo- " ment of their resignation, Lord Sidmouth " and his friends have exerted all their in- " fluence in the cabinet, to prevent this " great abuse, as well as to defeat the waste " of the public contributions, of which they " opposed the last glaring instance in the " case of the Duke of Athol.—SEVENTH- " LY. That, with much attention and civi- " lity Lord Sidmouth and his friends never " failed distinctly to give previous intima- " tion to Mr. Pitt, of all the motions or " amendments they found it imposed upon " them to propose—of the motion for a " criminal information in particular; upon " which occasion Mr Pitt publicly retract- " ed, in the House of Commons, his asser- " tions to the contrary.—— EIGHTHLY. " That when Lord Sidmouth saw all his " friends and colleagues, and measures, in- " sulted and threatened, and calumniated; " and when he determined, in consequence, " to resign his distinguished office into the " King's hands, he superfluously, out of " mere politeness and attention, acquainted " Mr. Pitt with his resolution, both a con- " siderable [illegible] before, and at the instant " of [illegible] the Closet. NINTHLY. " [illegible] had an audience " of his Majesty, immediately upon his " lordship's leaving the room, was informed " of the fact having taken place.—TENTH- " LY. That Sir Stephen Cottrell and Mr. " Falkner, were informed to the same ef- " fect, by Lord Sidmouth, upon coming out " of the King's presence, in order that they " should no longer transmit to his lordship " the papers and business of the privy " council.—ELEVENTHLY. That no com- " munication whatsoever was transmitted " by Lord Sidmouth to his Royal Highness " the Prince of Wales, relative to this event; " and that, in point of fact, no information " (however indirect and informal) reached " the Prince until many hours after the re- " signation had taken place.—TWELFTHLY. " That from the moment of Lord Sid- " mouth's resignation, it has appeared of " the utmost importance to the Melville " part of the ministry, to conceal and belie " the true causes of it."——Thus far the TIMES. The following is from the SUN of the date abovementioned.——" It has been of- " ten observed, that injudicious friends are " likely to injure rather than to serve the " object of their partiality. It has been " also as often observed, that any laborious " attempts to defend a cause, rather tend to " excite suspicions which otherwise perhaps " might not have arisen. Both of these re- " marks are peculiarly applicable to the lite- " rary advocates of Lord Sidmouth, who, " by all their persevering zeal in defence of " his resignation, have drawn more atten- " tion to the subject than the noble lord pro- " bably required, and who have certainly " not illustrated the motives of that resigna- " tion in such a manner as to bring any ad- " dition of credit to his lordship's character. " No less than twelve causes have been as- " signed for his lordship's retirement, not " one of which, we believe, was the imme- " diate cause of it.——For our own part, " we certainly do not think that his lord- " ship possesses any qualities that give him " extraordinary pretensions to public no- " tice, or that would exalt his conduct into " any importance, if it were not for the re- " lation which it bears to the man to whom " he has been essentially indebted through " life, and to whom this country is under the " highest obligation for having preserved it " from the misery which has befallen many " other states, and which seems to impend " over more.——But among the reasons " which have been assigned for his lordship's " retirement, it is somewhat strange that " one, which is supposed to have had the " greatest weight, by those who are likely " to receive their information from a less

"partial quarter, than the ingenious inven-"tor of the twelve causes, is passed over in "total silence.) We beg leave to ask the "friend, if friend he may be called, of Lord "Sidmouth, who so often favours the pub-"lic with a column or two of panegyric on "his lordship's prodigious services and ele-"vated virtues (the word gratitude is very "properly never mentioned), whether the "immediate cause of the resignation, which "has been ascribed to so many great and "lofty motives, was not the refusal of Mr. "Pitt to appoint one of his lordship's friends "to a high situation under government?— "We presume that the person of whom we "ask this question has it in his power to "give an answer, because he appears to be "so much in his lordship's confidence, that "upon two or three occasions he has pre-"sumed to state what his lordship said and "did, even in the cabinet. We are the "more inclined to ask this question, and to "lay some stress upon the refusal alluded "to, because, unless we have been very "much misinformed, when his lordship "some months ago threatened the public "with such a lamentable event as his resig-"nation, the cause of his anger was said to "have arisen from a similar disregard of his "recommendation of another friend to a "seat in the Admiralty. When we hear "the answer of the long-winded advocate, "who, like Yorick's Starling, seems to "have but one cry, though the reverse in-"deed of that celebrated bird's, we shall "probably be tempted to renew the sub-"ject."——When persons of a certain de-scription fall out, "honest men," it is said, "get their due;" a saying the truth of which has now been verified in the quarrels of these political partisans, making, as I evi-dently do not, any allusion, here, to the prin-cipals. Through the quarrels of these par-tisans it has come out, that every subject of his Majesty, though a minister of state, *ought to treat the Prince of Wales* "*with* "*great attention and respect*;" and, it has further been acknowledged, that the efforts of the Opposition, have been "*virtuous, pa-*"*triotic, loyal;*" and such as are calculated to prevent the people from despairing of being rescued from their present miserable and disgraced condition. The public will recollect, too, that these acknowledgments come from the partisans of the Addingtons; that they come from that same Times news-paper, which has been abusing the Opposi-tion for these four years past, except the short space, last year, while Mr. Addington and his people were out of office; nay, the public should be informed, that they come from the "NEAR OBSERVER" himself, for he is the person who writes the greater part of these articles taken from the TIMES. The other day we quoted some acknowledgments of the same sort from the ORACLE; so that we have now the NEAR OBSERVER and the UPSTART, who upon every other subject are as wide as the poles asunder, concurring in acknowledgments in honour of the Opposition.——The observations to be made on the extracts above quoted naturally divide themselves into two heads: 1. *The time and manner of Lord Sidmouth's announcing the intention of himself and his friends to resign.* And, this part of the subject is now reduced to the mere question, whether his lordship did, or did not, notify his intention to the Prince previous to his having actually re-signed. The TIMES says, that "the Prince "was not informed of it, till many hours "after it had taken place, and then not "*officially*, or by any *authority*, *commis-*"*sion*, or *message* whatever." This, says that paper, "is the *naked truth*." Not quite so naked as one could wish it, nor quite so naked as I will now state it, agree-ably to the information which I have ob-tained, and which I believe to be perfectly correct. It is true, that Lord Sidmouth did not make any *official* communication of his intention to the Prince; but, being in con-versation with Mr. Sheridan, previous to his having actually resigned, he informed that gentleman of his intention, and, upon being asked, if there was any thing improper in the Prince's being immediately informed of it, answered in the negative. This is the account given by *the friends* of Lord Sid-mouth; and, as I before stated, I am fully persuaded, that it is correct. The informa-tion to the Prince was not, therefore, "*offi-*"*cial;*" neither was it given to his Royal Highness by any "*commission*" from his lordship, nor was it conveyed in any "*mes-*"*sage;*" but, while the denial of the Ad-dingtons is true as to the *letter*, I am afraid, that, as to the *spirit*, the truth of it will be greatly doubted. What Lord Sidmouth's *object* might be, we cannot be certain; and, most assuredly, to have given to the Heir Ap-parent an intimation of his intention to re-sign, would have discovered no want of at-tachment to the King; but, seeing how very anxious his lordship's partisans are to repre-sent him as abhorring all appearance of "worshipping the rising Sun," it does seem to me, and I think it will seem to the reader, something rather singular, if not wonderful, that he should have chosen Mr. Sheridan for his confident upon this particular occa-sion "They met by *accident*." Very

well. But, was it by accident that Lord Sidmouth made known the secret of himself and his friends? Is his lordship so leaky? I have never heard of it before; and, in short, there are few persons who will not be pretty well convinced, that the meeting was not accidental, and that the information to the Prince, though not *officially* communicated, was, in fact, communicated from Lord Sidmouth, previous to the actual taking place of the resignation.——The main point, however, is, 2. *The grounds of resignation, on the part of Lord Sidmouth and his friends.* The Addingtons do, as we have seen, assert, that "the *whole* and *sole* quarrel of Lord "Sidmouth and Mr. Pitt regards Lord Melville and the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry." And, as to this latter subject of dispute, the putting of Mr. Canning into a balloted committee there to *cross-examine* and report *against* the Commissioners is particularly mentioned. Indeed one must regret, that so good a ground of resignation does not stand clear from all suspicion; for it would have been highly honourable to the parties as well as to the country, that men should be found ready to sacrifice their power and emoluments rather than continue in a ministry by whom such an act had been committed. This Mr. Canning was the very man, of whose conduct in obstructing their inquiries the Commissioners had so pointedly complained to the King and to the parliament; and, yet the ministry put him upon a Committee to cross-examine those same Commissioners; and upon a Committee, too, chosen by ballot, that is to say out of lists made out by the ministers, or their inferiors! This act alone, if Lord Sidmouth did endeavour to prevent it, was a ground quite sufficient for his quitting the Pitts and Dundases. The partisans of these latter assert, however, that neither a regard for the honour of the Commissioners, nor for the success of their inquiries, nor any objection with regard to Mr. Pitt's endeavours to screen Lord Melville; they assert, generally, that none of these were the real grounds of the resignation, but that it proceeded from Mr. Pitt's refusal to gratify the ambition and rapacity of the Addingtons, and, particularly, they state, that "the immediate cause was "the *refusal of Mr. Pitt to appoint one of* "*his lordship's friends to a high situation* "*under government.*" This is, indeed, stated in the form of a question; but, it is put in a way so significant, and, to say the truth, it so perfectly corresponds with what *I have heard* upon the subject, that, I think, there is but too much reason to fear, that it is a fact which the Addingtons can neither deny nor palliate. Neither the "high si-"tuation", nor the "friend" whom Lord Sidmouth had destined to fill it, is *named*; and, as it may possibly be of some use in the developement of this state mystery, I will name both. The situation was that of *Judge Advocate General*, and the friend was *Mr. Bond.* My information comes from a friend of Lord Sidmouth's; from a person who supported him in parliament upon grounds very weak, indeed, but entirely disinterested; from a person, in fact, on whose word I can place the firmest reliance; and I venture to give the statement to my readers as one upon which they also may perfectly rely. Before this fact, like the mists of the night before the sun, fly all the pompous allegations and professions, made by the NEAR OBSERVER in behalf of his chief. Where shall we now look, in the conduct of Lord Sidmouth, for the grounds of the "proud "and almost lost conviction in the people "that there exists a minister superior to the "charms of power and of office, and *reso-*"*lute to obtain justice for his country*, at the "expense of *importance* and *emolument?*" Where, in that conduct, shall we now look for the grounds of "the *sweet consolation* "of the public heart, that, in the cabinet "itself, the laws and the interests of a ge-"nerous people, bending under the weight "of their contributions, have found *a friend* "and a *powerful defender?*" The *time* when this refusal was made by Mr. Pitt is, however, a circumstance of vast importance; and, I venture to assert, upon the beforementioned authority, that the refusal took place *after* the 8th of April and *before* the 12th of June, the day when the Addingtons joined the Opposition, for the *first time*, in a vote against Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville; and when, I beg the reader to observe it, the motion for a criminal prosecution was made *by Mr. Bond*, who, together with the rest of the Addingtons, had, on the 28th of April, *opposed that very measure!* These facts (and they are, I repeat it, facts which cannot with truth be contradicted) require no illustration, except, perhaps, that which they naturally receive from the yet *undenied* statement of the Pitts and Dundases, namely, that the squabble in the cabinet, and the transient resignation, real or reported, of Lord Sidmouth, proceeded from Mr. Pitt's refusal to fill the late post of Lord Melville with *another friend of Lord Sidmouth.*—— Having stated these facts, let us spend a minute or two in an impartial inquiry into the reason of the case; let us take a review of the conduct of the Addingtons, from the beginning to the end, relative to Lord Mel-

ville, and see, whether, in that conduct, we find any thing hostile to the above stated facts.——The Pitts and Dundases having contended, that the vote of the Addingtons, on the 8th of April, for Lord Melville, taken into view with their conduct on the 12th of June relative to the criminal prosecution, presents a picture of incongruity that no one can reconcile to reason, until he hears of the *intermediate refusals*, on the part of Mr. Pitt, to gratify the pride, vanity, arrogance, or rapacity of the Addingtons; the partisans of the Pitts and Dundases having urged this with considerable force, the partisans of the Addingtons reply: "it *is not true*, that the "friends of Lord Sidmouth would not vote "Lord Melville guilty of a gross violation "of the law and a high breach of duty; "but, they were of opinion, that a com-"mittee would *bring out all the facts*; a "a line of conduct which every dispassion-"ate man now *regrets* was not adopted." As to this latter assertion, we might ask the writer, *where* he has discovered the grounds of it; and, I believe, ninety-nine persons out of every hundred will, without hesitation, declare it to be utterly unfounded in truth; for, the friends of justice; the real friends of the monarchy and of the people; the enemies of peculation and of the abettors and protectors of peculators; every man of this description, so far from *regretting*, that the subject was not referred to a Select Committee, on the 8th of April, rejoices, exults, that it was not, being fully convinced, that, if it had been so referred, Lord Melville would, at this day, have been First Lord of the Admiralty, instead of standing impeached at the bar of the House of Peers. "No," say the Addingtons, for "the Com-"mittee proposed *in the cabinet*, by Lord "Sidmouth and his friends" [this writer is pretty *intimate*, it seems] "was not a *pack-"ed* and *balloted* committee to *whitewash* "Lord Melville." What irreverent language these friends of "the King's govern-"ment," these "confidential and affection-"ate servants of his Majesty" can give way to now and then when they are out of place! "*Packed* and *ballotted* committee to "*whitewash* Lord Melville!" As there is no drunkard so noisy and so beastly as a water-drinker, when he does happen to break out, so, it would seem, that there is no factiousness so virulent as that of an ousted supporter of "the King's government." But, as to the principle, here pretty clearly inculcated, is it one, upon which the Addingtons *have acted?* The reader will remember, that, on the 28th of April, a *ballotted* committee was, in opposition to the wish of the Opposition, proposed by Mr. Pitt to inquire into the conduct of Lord Melville and of himself. On the 29th of April, it having been found that a *list* for the ballot had been sent round to the adherents of the minister, Mr. Whitbread complained of it, read the list, and moved, that, to send round lists of this sort, and for such a purpose, was a breach of the privileges of the House; but, there was a majority against him, and it was, of course, determined, that, to send round the list in question *was justifiable!* That committee, whose report has since afforded so much matter of comment in this work, and the history of whose formation will be found amply and accurately detailed in Vol. VII. p. 669, we will not, in imitation of the Addington writers, call a "*packed* commit-"tee;" but, it certainly was a "*balloted* "committee;" all the means, by which it had been formed, were fully exposed; all the principles connected with its formation were discussed; Lord Melville's conduct was to be the principal subject of its inquiries; whether it should be a balloted committee or not was put to the vote; and, reader, I beseech your attention to, and your retention of, the fact, that the Addingtons *did not oppose this balloted committee;* that they did not raise a single voice against it, and that, all of them who were present *voted for it!* Whether, therefore, the assertion, that, previous to, and on, the 8th of April, the Addingtons *intended* to obtain another sort of Select Committee, "not a *packed* and "*balloted* committee;" whether this assertion were dictated by the sincerity of the asserter, or by the most profound dissimulation, the public will, I imagine, be at no loss to judge.——In our retrospective view, we must not, however, stop at the 8th of April: we must even go back to the earliest epoch, at which, as we now know, Lord Sidmouth had reason to suspect a gross violation of the law and a high breach of duty, on the part of Lord Melville. Now, if we believe his partisans of the press, his lordship and his friends, but particularly his lordship and "his nearest connexions," amongst whom we may, doubtless, include Mr. Bragge, shudder with horror at the idea of screening Lord Melville, or, to use the word of their partisan, of "subtracting a great criminal "from justice;" and, in another place, we are, by the same writer, called upon to admire "the *self-devotedness* of an upright "statesman *that sends corruption to the tri-"bunals.*" But, while we most cordially agree, that the attempt to screen Lord Melville is an act well calculated to excite horror in every honest mind, and while we are

ready to admire the man, or the men, be he or they whom they may, who, from upright motives, have sent, or shall send, corruption to the tribunals; while such is our opinion and disposition, generally speaking, we must be permitted to, and it is our wish to ask, where was this horror, on the part of Mr. Addington (now Lord Sidmouth) and his friends when they first had reason to suspect, nay, when they discovered, the malpractices of Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter? In pages 4, 5, and 6 of the present volume, to which I beg leave to refer the reader, I have, I think, shown the absurdity of supposing, that Mr. Pitt could be ignorant either of the existence, the extent, the object, or the effect, of those practices; and, when it is considered, that Mr. Addington succeeded Mr. Pitt, in all his ministerial offices, the arguments, which I have there made use of, will, I am persuaded, be found equally applicable to him. But, we *know*, that, so early as the month of March, 1802, Mr. Addington possessed *proof*, that the office of the Treasurer of the Navy had, "for several years," been so conducted as to give rise to great, scandalous, and injurious abuses; which abuses, he assured the House of Commons, *he would take care not to suffer any longer to exist.* This the reader will find clearly and fully established in the reports of the proceeding in the House of Commons, as given by Debrett, from the 4th to the 9th of March, 1802, a short account of which proceedings he will find in Volume VII. of the Political Register, p. 504 to p. 508. Mr. Addington's error upon that occasion, was, in the first instance, the error of innocence. He had no conception of the possibility of *government acceptances being dishonoured*; and, therefore, he boldly asserted, that the charge was false; an assertion for which every one would have excused him, if, when he had discovered the truth; when he had discovered that hundreds had, for many years past, been annually dishonoured in the offices under the Treasurer of the Navy; if, when he had made this discovery, he had come to the House, stated the case, and moved for an inquiry into the matter, every one would still have excused his first assertion; and, he himself will feel, that, if he had so acted, instead of making a series of miserable efforts to smooth over the facts brought to light by Mr. Robson, the Pitts and Dundases, whom he then "screened," would never have turned him out in 1804; and, which is of still greater importance to him, he will feel, that the doubts respecting his present motives would have received no addition of strength from his conduct at that time.——With the facts relative to the dishonoured acceptances in his mind must, one would think, have existed the knowledge of Mr. Trotter's having, for many years, and, indeed, during the whole of Lord Melville's treasurership, been in the constant practice of withdrawing money, naval money, public money, from the Bank, and placing it at Mr. Coutts's shop. To have connived at this practice has now been declared to be "a gross violation of the "law and a high breach of duty;" and, the partisan of the Addingtons is furious at the insinuation, that they would not join in that declaration, hinting, that they regarded it as short of the proper measure of severity. How, then, shall we account for Mr. Addington's total silence upon this subject all along from March 1802? It would require no common portion of credulity to qualify us for believing, that Mr. Bragge was Treasurer of the Navy from November 1801 to "*the summer*" (for that's the phrase) of 1802, without discovering, that Mr. Trotter withdrew the naval money from the Bank and lodged it at Mr. Coutts's; or that, discovering it, he did not communicate it to Mr. Addington.——Having introduced this part of Mr. Bragge's conduct, I must beg the reader to accompany me in a short digression, while I state more explicitly than I did before, what I mean, what I know, and what the public in general ought to know, upon that subject. In page 4 of the present volume the reader will have seen some remarks upon the immense sums funded in government bills by Mr. Coutts Trotter, brother of Mr. Alexander Trotter. That statement was made in order to shew the improbability there was of Mr. Pitt's being ignorant of the vast concerns of Mr. Trotter, and was not, as a correspondent appears to conceive, intended to implicate Mr. Coutts Trotter, in any manner whatever, in the concerns of his brother, as Lord Harrowby seems, by his evidence, to have been anxious to do; and, as to the banking business of Mr. Coutts and his partners, I by no means agree with his lordship, that profit to them must "*necessarily* arise" from Mr. Alexander Trotter having used their shop as the channel of his transactions: it is from persons who suffer their money to lie quiet for a little while that bankers gain, and not from those who are constantly speculating, and who are frequently in their banker's debt. But, observe, that this opinion of Lord Harrowby was given to Mr. Pitt in "the autumn" of 1802; and, Mr. Bragge put a stop to Mr. Trotter's practices, and prevented him from lodging any more of

the naval money with Mr. Coutts in "the summer" of that year: "*sometime* in the *summer* of 1802." I have before observed upon these indefinite expressions in p. 8, to which I refer, and in which I pointed out the coincidence of Lord Harrowby's being talking with Mr. Pitt about Mr. Trotter's probable profits just at the time that Mr. Bragge was putting a stop to them, by ordering him to discontinue his withdrawing of the naval money from the Bank, and depositing it at Mr. Coutts's. I did, at the same time, pretty broadly hint at what appeared to me to be the *real cause* of that measure on the part of Mr. Bragge; but, I am not accustomed to content myself with *hints*, and, therefore, I now explicitly say what I know of the matter; which is this; that, when the contest between Sir Francis Burdett and the elder Mainwaring became pretty violent, Lord Hawkesbury, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, (Mr. Canning not having, as yet, been able to cause him to be turned out of that situation) sent to Mr. Coutts's, by the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Hammond, an order to transfer the deposit of the public *secret service money* from Mr. Coutts's to Mr. Hoare's, which order was immediately complied with; that, *at the same time*, Lord Buckinghamshire ordered his balance to be transferred from Mr. Coutts's to some other banker's, which order, it is said, could not be complied with, for the very simple reason of his lordship's having no balance to transfer; that, *at the same time*, and *not a moment before*, Mr. Bragge ordered Mr. Trotter to discontinue his practice of withdrawing naval money from the Bank, and lodging it at Mr. Coutts's. Now, will the reader believe, that all this could be done without the knowledge of Mr. Addington, now Lord Sidmouth, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister? He certainly will not believe it; and, therefore, from this digression, we come back to the main object of our inquiry, confirmed in our opinion, that so long ago as the summer of 1802, at least, Lord Sidmouth must have been well acquainted with that gross violation of the law and high breach of duty, at the attempting to screen Lord Melville from the punishment due to which his partisans now represent him as almost freezing with horror! Nor must we stop here. Though his lordship must, at that time, have known all, or nearly all, of what we common men learnt from the Tenth Report; though the discovery of Mr. Bragge must have come with great force upon a mind prepared by the discovery made by Mr. Robson's motion; still his lordship made no report upon the subject to parliament; made no representation relative to it, in any quarter; and, instead of discovering any degree of "horror" at the conduct of Lord Melville, Lord Sidmouth did, in a few months *after* Mr. Bragge had put a stop to the mal-practices, advise his Majesty to bestow on that person, a person "guilty of a gross violation of the law and a high breach of duty," the title which he now bears, which seats him in the House of Peers, and which has, from the time just mentioned, constituted him an hereditary maker of laws, to bind and rule that people whose treasure he had applied in the manner that we have seen. Nay more: Lord Sidmouth did, at a still later epoch, advise his Majesty, and from his confiding and gracious Sovereign, obtain for Lord Melville, in the name of his wife, for 19 years certain, or for her life if it should be longer than that, a lease of certain public revenues now worth about 400*l.* a year, and, after the death of a man named Fish Crawford, worth upwards of 1,000*l.* a year, the yearly rent which she is to pay to the public for which being less than *six pounds!* Besides which the lease gave her the arrears of the said revenue, which she immediately pocketed, to the amount of 3,583*l.* without paying the public on that account, a single farthing. The warrant granting this lease, conferring this excellent bargain for us, was signed by three Lords of the Treasury, namely, Lord George Thynne, of whom I have never heard but in this one instance in my whole life; N. Bond, the very gentleman, who, on the 12th of June, moved for a criminal prosecution of Lord Melville, and who has since resigned because his honour will not suffer him to remain amongst those who appear resolved "to waste the public treasure" and to "subtract Lord Melville from the hands of justice;" and, Henry Addington, he who now is Lord Viscount Sidmouth; he "whose self-devotedness sends "corruption to the tribunals;" he who, in order "to obtain justice for his country, "sacrifices importance, emolument, and the "beloved presence of an affectionate mas-"ter;" he whose conduct affords "the secret "consolation to the public heart, that the "*laws* and *interests* of a generous people "*bending under the weight of their contri-"butions*, have, at last, found a friend and "powerful defender;" whose real crimes, "in the eyes of Mr. Pitt and his friends, "are, independence of mind, consisting of "public conduct, a determined opposition "to corruption, to private jobs, and to po-

" litical depravity !"——Still, however, the lease to Lady Melville, the title to Mr. Dundas, all the strange silence between July 1802 and June 1805, and even the coalescing with Lord Melville last year ; all would have been overlooked, had it not become evident, that the present resignation arose from the motives stated in the early part of these remarks ; and that, in truth, the same cause, the very same low passion, *the love of place, and emolument*, which has now produced open enmity to Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville, did before, when their support was necessary and could be so obtained, produce a tame submission to their will, though at the expense of the honour and interest of the nation. I do not deny, that there have been disputes between Lord Sidmouth and Mr. Pitt relative to Lord Melville : indeed, it is, on all hands, allowed, that there have been such disputes frequently ; but, what the Pitts and Melvilles assert, what I am sorry to have received the assurance of, what I am sorry to give to the reader as my firm conviction, is, that the power of prosecuting, or of screening Lord Melville, was, on the one side, used as a means of extorting place and emolument from the other.—— So much for the Addingtons ; the recent conduct of the other branch of the family must be reserved for the subject of a future page or two of this work ; but, it is impossible to quit the subject, even for a week, without pointing out the gross and base inconsistency of the Pitt and Melville writers, who are now decrying the talents and character, and who are making a perfect jest of the *public services* of Lord Sidmouth, who, in fact, are reviving, with additional virulence, all the charges of " *incapacity* and *imbecility*," so unsparingly preferred, by them and by Mr. Pitt, about fourteen months ago, and so meanly retracted by them both in December and January last, to the great scandal of the people and the still greater degradation of the government. With such scenes before their eyes, it is impossible, quite impossible, for the people to repose any *confidence* in the ministry, or, for them to be animated with that public spirit, which is, at this time so necessary to support them under the burdens imposed upon them, and the dangers they have constantly before their eyes. We want to regain the consequence we have lost in the world ; we want foreign aid against our terrible rival and enemy ; we want an increase of power of every sort ; but, more than all other power, we want that which is to be derived from the confidence of the people in the wisdom and integrity of those, to whom the conducting of the national affairs and the guardianship of the national treasure are entrusted ; and, how are we to expect this confidence, while we see men, who have openly accused others of *incapacity* and *imbecility*, seeking and forming a ministerial junction with them ; while we see those others, who had as openly accused their opponents of rapacity and corruption, joining with them in the cabinet, co-operating with them in the prosecution of the very measures that they had condemned, and, finally, quarrelling with, and separating from, them, amidst the din of mutual accusation and recrimination : while the people see these things, and while they cannot but perceive, that the motive, constantly prevalent, is, the love of rule and of emolument, a desire to be master of the people and the principal partakers of the fruits of their labour ; while the people perceive this, what reason have we to expect from them that confidence and those cheerful exertions, with which there can be nothing that deserves the name of national calamity, and without which there can be neither national prosperity nor national security ? The truth is, that the Pitt ministry, like the system which has arisen out of it, is worn out. It has been turned and patched and shortened and lengthened again ; but, its threads stare from every seam ; it is rotten ; the nation are tired of it ; and it must be thrown aside. Or, if there be any cause which prevents this, it is much better to let it drop from the carcass than attempt to patch it any more. " Men put not new wine into old bottles ; neither put they new cloth upon an old garment." The reason is evident, and that reason ought to prevent, as it will prevent, any junction, or participation whatever, between the Opposition, or any part of it, and the Pitts and Melvilles, or the Addingtons. Such a junction would not only revive that much-to-be-desired confidence, of which we have been speaking ; but, it would, in my opinion, completely destroy, absolutely annihilate, all the feelings whence such confidence arises. There would be left, in the breasts of the people, no hope, I do not say in any ministry that should be so formed, but in the present *race* of public men. The people would give themselves up to chance, and would welcome *any change* that could possibly present itself.

The Combined Fleets. —— So many rumours are afloat respecting the course which these fleets have taken, that there is, as yet, nothing that we can rely upon. That Lord Nelson may come up with and defeat them, there is every reason for us to wish,

and, perhaps, some reason for us to hope; but, even in that case, we should guard ourselves against the effects of a too sanguine reliance upon the consequences; for, we should never forget, that he who is disappointed in his expectations, makes for himself a calamity, which, but for his want of reflection, would never have existed. By a battle between Lord Nelson and the enemy, something might be obtained for glory; but, it would be naval glory, of which we have so much already: and, as to the question between the countries, it would hardly produce more effect, than might be expected from the throwing of stones at a rolling cannon ball. The mass of the French power is coming on with a momentum, against which a naval victory would tell as hardly any thing. Reputation, on that side, the French have none to lose; and, as to the loss of so many ships, with all Europe to furnish materials, as well as arsenals and workmen, it is, at most the loss of a twelvemonth. We may cut their nails, so that they cannot scratch us quite so hard; but, they will grow again; and they can well afford to wait; for, as has been observed by the planner of their system of warfare against us, "TIME, "whose scythe is now two-edged towards "England, is the friend and the guardian "of France." To what a situation, therefore, have Mr. Pitt's war and Mr. Addington's, or rather their joint, peace reduced us, when even the greatest event, which this country has been accustomed to look to, a splendid naval victory, can make hardly any sensible difference in our state! That war, and that ignominious peace, should never be considered separately; for, it was the system, and consequent fortune, of the war, that led naturally, and almost necessarily, to such a peace. And, will the nation repose confidence in the authors of those measures? Will foreign nations repose confidence in either of them; or in any persons, who should unite themselves with them?——Though there be no certain intelligence as to the course of the combined fleets, there appears to be no doubt of their having actually captured a considerable convoy of our West-India merchantmen. An event like this would have occasioned loud complaints at almost any former period of our history, even when the enemy disputed with us the empire of the sea. But, when the reader reflects upon the natural consequences of such measures as *the loan to the Grenada merchants*, and the "*accommodation*" *to Boyd and Benfield*, he will not be surprised at the silence of the mercantile world, upon all occasions when the ministry are deserving of censure. Let the owners of the captured ships cry, therefore! Let the sooty roofs of Lloyd's and the 'Change re-echo with their howlings! In that their loss affects the country in general we ought to regret it; but, inasmuch as it affects themselves only, it will be a subject of perfect indifference to every man who understands the real interests of his country, and who is indued with that public spirit which will lead him to exclaim, "perish "commerce, live the constitution." It is not hostility to commerce or to commercial men, indiscriminately, that is here intended to be expressed; but if there be either side, on which one must be misunderstood, or misrepresented, that is the safe one; and, for myself, I have no scruple to say, that, if, to preserve commerce, it be necessary that the minister should, when *he* thinks proper, make *secret* loans of the public money to members of parliament, and that too, without interest; or if being detected in having so done, to let him escape with impunity be necessary to the preservation of commerce; if that be admitted, then I say, perish all commerce! just as I would say, take from me your infamy and your gold, and give me back my honour and my rags! The smooth, the oily, the half-whispering, the pension-dispensing, the job-transacting clerks may sneer; but, to sentiments like these must the people of England return, or they and their children become the slaves of France.

MR. FOSTER.——It is curious enough, that, at this time last year, we had *two* Chancellors of the Exchequer for Ireland, and that now, it is matter of serious doubt, whether we have *one*. That MR. FOSTER did resign is certain; but, from the report of the Duke of Montrose being about to go to Ireland, as Lord Lieutenant, it is probable, that Mr. Pitt has, at last, taken courage to decide against Lord Hardwicke; and, to say the truth, this is the event to be desired; for the ministry in Ireland should be of a piece with the ministry in England. His grace of Montrose is so very fit a person to be a Ld. Lt. in the Pitt ministry, that, it is not surprising that only two other persons have ever been spoken of as being preferable to him, namely, Mr. Canning and Old George Rose. These are, doubtless, persons singularly well adapted to co-operate with Mr. Foster; but, taking all things together, I am of opinion, that that gentleman will prefer his Grace, as having somewhat more of dignity about him than either of the others, and as possessing certain other qualities, which, for

reasons too obvious to mention, may, for the present, as well be nameless.

NAVAL VICTORY.——Since writing the above, the news of SIR ROBERT CALDER's victory over the combined fleets has reached me. Upon such a subject there is no room for any thing but congratulation, except it be an expression of most severe mortification, that *Lord Nelson* did not come up with the enemy; and upon this topic I cannot refrain from quoting the ministerial newspaper, the SUN of Wednesday, and expressing my hearty concurrence in its sentiments. "We cannot close this article "without paying our feeble tribute of "praise to Lord Nelson, to whose uncommon vigilance, skill, and judgment, the "nation is greatly indebted on this occasion. Although he was not fortunate "enough to overtake the flying enemy, "yet *it was his* NAME *that drove them in "disgrace from the West Indies*; it is to *his* "skill and judgment, in ascertaining exactly the course which the enemy had "taken, and *his* prudence in sending off "dispatches home, and to the different "commanders on the coasts of both France "and Spain, that this fortunate rencontre "may be attributed, and that our fleets "have been so reinforced as to enable them "successfully to cope with the enemy."

——This opinion respecting the conduct of his lordship, in his pursuit of the combined fleets, and also respecting the weight and worth of his *name* in the deliverance of the West India Islands, the readers of the Political Register will remember to have heard expressed before. I do not, however, mention that circumstance with a view to lessen the merit of the above quoted acknowledgement, but, in order to shew, that, notwithstanding our disagreement upon other subjects; notwithstanding our political hostility, we all agree in the admiration of, and in our gratitude towards, this skilful, vigilant, gallant, and public-spirited commander. To all, and to every one singly, be praise given; but, chiefly to him, who has not only saved our possessions from being ravaged, and our name from being disgraced, but to whom it is to be ascribed, that others have had an opportunity of serving their country, and of distinguishing themselves.——Amidst our applause of Lord Nelson, and of our other brave countrymen concerned, we ought not to forget the detestation due to the perfidious and viperous American captain, by whose lies he was misled. An opportunity will offer for doing justice to the character of those sons of mischief and of malignity, the American captains, the greatest part of whom (I speak with some, but with few, exceptions) may, with perfect truth, be ranked amongst the most base and infamous of mankind. The numerous and glaring instances of partiality, which they showed towards our enemy during the last war, were, by many persons in England, ascribed to their *enthusiasm* in the cause of *liberty* and *republicanism*. Is *that* their motive *now?* No: they feel no enthusiasm in any cause but their own. They have but two passions, *love of themselves* and *hatred of us*. They hate England because they have injured her; because they have been guilty of base ingratitude towards her; and, because they *envy* their former fellow subjects, who, in spite of the Pitts and the Melvilles, are more happy and ten thousand times *more free*, than the Americans, with all their boasted independence. Let no man believe, that they are to be won by concessions: in this way we have tried them long enough: how many hundreds of acts of kindness have they received from that navy which they have now betrayed: and with how many hundreds of lies and of false oaths have they requited their benefactors!——No more of them at present; but, I certainly will take an opportunity of putting upon record some facts, which shall serve to make known to the world the true character of this malignant and despicable race of men.

Botley, Thursday,
1*st August*, 1805.

GENERAL BURTON'S COURT MARTIAL.

Sir,——As one of the members of Major General Burton's court martial, I think it my duty to make some remarks on that part of the speech in your paper of the 13th instant, stated to have been made by the Earl of Suffolk, wherein the case of General Burton is introduced. His lordship is said to have mentioned the following as the prominent features of it, viz. "On the first day of the trial, after examining whatever evidence the prosecutor could produce, the accusation was perceived not to be substantiated. The proof in support of the prosecution was closed. And had the court then proceeded to give their decision, the prisoner must have been acquitted. I am safe in venturing to add, that the wishes of the honourable members were, that such had been the event.—On the day following, by the advice of the judge advocate, fresh evidence was produced, consisting of a letter written by General Burton to the Commander in Chief in extenuation of his conduct, and containing a fair and manly ac-

knowledgment of the charge. With respect to such a mode of obtaining evidence, such an application of a private letter, I shall make no observation. I have simply mentioned the fact upon the ground of the charge being proved by the letter under the prisoner's own hand, the court martial pronounced their sentence, adjudging General Burton to be cashiered. But in consequence of the many illustrious and honourable testimonies borne to General Burton's highly meritorious military conduct, and to the esteemed worth and amiable virtues of his private character through life, the court martial transmitted so strong a recommendation to the clemency of that character, whose benignity even outshines the splendour of his rank, that though the sentence of the court was approved of as conformable to law, General Burton was immediately reinstated in his rank in the army, as well as in the command he held previous to his trial."——Some of the above assertions are certainly erroneous. With regerd to the first, I will not give an opinion whether or not the charge was substantiated on the first day by the evidence of Lieutenant Colouel George Cooke, of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards, at that time Assistant Adjutant General in the North West District, which situation, as he expressed, with a considerable degree of feeling, had imposed upon him the unpleasant duty of appearing as prosecutor. He was sent by Prince William Frederick from Liverpool to Chester to wait on General Burton, in order to ascertain whether or not the reports which had reached his ears were true that a duel had taken place between him and the Hon. Captain King. He was perfectly satisfied in consequence of the conversation he had with General Burton, that the duel had taken place on account of Captain King's having persisted in refusing to make an apology to General Burton for an improper letter which he had written, and made his report to Prince William according. Lieut. Col. Cooke is known to be a man of the most amiable character, of sound judgment, and of undoubted veracity. The other witnesses on the first day were the seconds and the surgeon who attended the duel. On being asked whether they knew any thing of the duel between General Burton and Captain King, they declined answering the question as by so doing they might criminate themselves in a court of law.——I beg leave however to state in answer to the second assertion that the proof in support of the prosecution was not closed on the first day.——Several of the members thought that the evidence of the seconds and the surgeon ought not to have been with-holden, and as the Judge Advocate said he was not prepared for the objection, and seemed to have some doubt about it, the court adjourned an hour or two before the usual time in order to give him an opportunity of considering the matter, and of taking such advice on the subject as he might think necessary before the next morning. One of the seconds and the surgeon applied for leave to return into the court, but were told they could not be allowed to do so, as they might be wanted to undergo a further examination.——With regard to the third assertion, I shall give no opinion whether had the court then proceeded to give their decision the prisoner must have been acquitted or found guilty.——In answer to the fourth assertion: The wishes of the honourable members were certainly not that the prisoner should be acquitted for want of evidence, when it was notorious that he was guilty. Great indignation was expressed by them when the seconds and the surgeon declined answering the questions put to them, which they thought ill-judged, to say nothing more. For the honour of General Burton and for the satisfaction of the court and of the world it was material that no doubt should remain, and that a sentence should not be given contrary to truth.—— I consider it therefore to have been fortunate for General Burton, as well as an act of justice to Lieut. Col. Cooke, to the court martial, and to the public, that His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, having been informed by the Judge Advocate in general terms of what had passed in open court, not only thought it proper, but felt it his duty to put the court in possession of a letter from General Burton to His Royal Highness, in which he acknowledgedged he had sent a challenge to Captain King, and had fought him. This letter was not of a private or confidential nature, but on the contrary, such as might have been laid before the King.——I shall now proceed to the sentence of the court martial, and to the letter of the Judge Advocate signifying His Majesty's approval of that sentence.——The court martial, upon mature consideration of the whole matter before them, are of opinion, that the defendant, Major General Napier Christie Burton, is guilty of the charge preferred against him, viz.:—"That he did on or about the 27th "of November 1803, then serving as a "Major General within the North West "District, send a challenge to the Hon. "Richard King, a captain in the 6th Regi- "ment of Dragoon Guards, at that time

"under his command, and did on the 28th "day of the same month fight a duel with "the said Captain King," and do adjudge, that he be cashiered.——Having discharged this painful duty to their King and country, they with dutiful submission earnestly recommend him, the said Major General Burton, to the King's most gracious mercy for pardon, most humbly assuring His Majesty, by the oath which binds them to do justice, that had they individually been called upon by Major General Burton for his character, they should from their personal knowledge of him, as an officer and a gentleman, have given him most conscientiously the same character, as given by the many highly respectable witnesses, who have appeared in his favour.——Copy of a letter from the Judge Advocate General to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, Field Marshal, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces.——Judge Advocate General's Office, 16th January, 1804.——Sir,—Having had the honour to lay before the King the proceedings of a general court martial, holden at the Royal Hospital, at Chelsea, on the 6th, and continued by adjournments till the 9th day of this instant January, when Major-General Napier Christie Burton, Lieutenant-Colonel of the third regiment of Foot Guards, was tried upon the following charge, viz. "That he did, on or about the 27th of November last, then serving as a Major-General, within the North West District, send a challenge to the Honourable Richard King, a Captain in the sixth regiment of Dragoon Guards, at that time under his command, and did, on the 28th day of the same month, fight a duel with the said Captain King," and being found guilty, was adjudged to be cashiered, but was by the court humbly and earnestly recommended to his Majesty's mercy (a transcript of which sentence, together with the said recommendation is hereunto annexed.) I am to acquaint your Royal Highness, that his Majesty has approved the opinion and the sentence of the court martial, which his Majesty has commanded me to say, so great a breach of discipline imperiously demanded, and his Majesty has directed, that for the sake of example, the said sentence, together with his Majesty's approval, be notified in general orders; but in consideration of a faithful service during a period of twenty-nine years, and of an excellent character uniformly maintained by Major-General Burton, both as an officer and a gentleman, as testified by very many witnesses of high respectability, and in gracious compliance with the earnest supplication of the court-martial, his Majesty has been pleased to extend to the said Major-General Burton his royal pardon, and to direct, that he be restored to his command, as a Major-General within the North West District, as also to the functions of his commission of Lieutenant-Colonel of the third regiment of Foot Guards.——I have the honour to be, &c.——(Signed)—Charles Morgan.——I am so well acquainted with the noble earl's candour and liberality, that whether he has been misrepresented, which I think most probable, or whether he actually made the above assertions, he will, I am sure, thank me for coming to this explanation, and for placing the matter in its true light. In the remaining part which I have quoted of the speech, I agree with his lordship with all my heart and with all my soul. So fine a character was given of General Burton by several illustrious and honourable persons, that it was observed in court, that he was to be envied for having been placed in a situation which gave him an opportunity of showing on what good grounds his numerous friends were so firmly attached to him. And I shall conclude by venturing to give my opinion of our most gracious Sovereign in the following words, taken from Major-General Burton's defence. ——In his Majesty's royal breast there is every quality by which a British gentleman and a British soldier would desire to be judged: the charity of a true christian, the benevolence of a most worthy man, and that spirit and bravery, the characteristic of his illustrious family, which cannot but impel his Majesty to pity and to forgive, what his sovereignty must reprove. ——William Thornton, *Major-General.*——*Feversham, 24th July*, 1805.

PUBLIC PAPER.

Russia and France.——*Note from his Excellency Baron Novosiltzoff, to his Excellency Baron Hardenberg, Minister of State. Dated, Berlin, July* 10, 1805.

When his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, in compliance with the wishes of his Britannic Majesty, had resolved to send the undersigned to Buonaparté, to meet the pacific overtures which he had made to the Court of London, his Russian Majesty was guided by two sentiments and motives of equal force, with which you are acquainted, namely, his desire, on the one hand, to support a Sovereign, who was ready to make exertions and sacrifices for the general tranquillity; and, on the other hand, to procure advantages to all the states of Europe from a pacific disposition, which, from the formal manner in which it was announced, must be considered as very sincere.——The existing disagreement between Russia and France

could have placed insurmountable obstacles in the way of a negotiation of peace by a Russian minister; but his Imperial Majesty of Russia did not hesitate, for a moment, to pass over all personal displeasure, and all usual formalities.——His Imperial Majesty of Russia availed himself of the meditation of his Prussian Majesty, when he requested passports for his plenipotentiary. He declared that he should only receive them on that particular condition, namely, that his plenipotentiary should enter directly upon a negotiation with the chief of the French government, without acknowledging the new title which he had assumed; and that Buonaparté should give explicit assurances that he was still animated by the same wish for a general peace which he had appeared to shew in his letter to his Britannic Majesty. ——This preliminary assurance was the more necessary, since Buonaparté had assumed the title of King of Italy, immediately upon receipt of the answer given by his Britannic Majesty to his letter of the 1st of January; a title which in itself put a new obstacle in the way of the desired restoration of peace.——After his Prussian Majesty had transmitted the positive answer from the Cabinet of the Thuilleries, that it persevered in the intention sincerely to lend its hand to a pacific negotiation, his Imperial Majesty of Russia accepted the passports the more readily, because the French government shewed so strong an inclination to transmit them.—By a fresh transgression of the most solemn treaties, the union of the Ligurian republic with France has been effected. This event, of itself, the circumstances which have accompanied it, the formalities which have been employed to hasten the execution thereof, the moment which has been chosen to carry the same into execution, have, alas! formed an aggregate, which must terminate the sacrifices which his Imperial Majesty of Russia would have made, at the pressing request of Great Britain, and in the hope of restoring the necessary tranquillity to Europe, by the means of negotiation.—Without doubt, his Imperial Majesty of Russia would not have insisted so strenuously on the conditions fixed by him, if the French government had fulfilled the hope that it would respect the first tie which holds society together, and which upholds the confidence of engagements between civilised nations; but it cannot possibly be believed, that Buonaparté, when he granted the passports, which were accompanied with the most pacific declarations, seriously intended to fulfil them; because, during the time which would necessarily elapse between the granting of the passports, and the arrival of the undersigned at Paris, he took measures which, far from facilitating the restoration of peace, were of such a nature, that they annihilated the very grounds of peace.——The undersigned, in recalling to the recollection of his Excellency Baron Hardenberg, facts with which the cabinet of his Prussian Majesty is very minutely acquainted, must, at the same time, inform him, that he has just now received from his Russian Majesty an order, dated the 9th (21st) June, to return the annexed passports immediately, and to request your excellency to transmit the same to the French government, with this present declaration, since no use whatever can be made of them in the present state of affairs.——The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to his excellency the assurance of his respect.

(Signed) N. Von Novosiltzoff.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

Naval Victory.——London Gazette Extraordinary.——*Copy of a Letter from the Hon. Admiral Cornwallis, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Channel, &c. to William Marsden, Esq. dated Ville de Paris, off Ushant, July 28, 1805. Eight P. M.*

Sir,——I have the pleasure to enclose, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder, giving an account of his success against the combined squadron of France and Spain.——I have the honour to be, &c.——W. Cornwallis.

Prince of Wales, July 23, 1805.

Sir,——Yesterday at noon, lat. 43 deg. 30 min. N. long. 11 deg. 17 min. W. I was favoured with a view of the combined squadrons of France and Spain, consisting of twenty sail of the line, also three large ships, armed en flute, of about 50 guns each, with five frigates and three brigs; the force under my direction at this time consisting of fifteen sail of the line, two frigates, a cutter, and lugger, I immediately stood towards the enemy with the squadron, making the needful signals for battle in the closest order; and, on closing with them, I made the signal for attacking their centre. When I had reached their rear, I tacked the squadron in succession; this brought us up close under their lee, and when our headmost ships reached their centre, the enemy were tacking in succession; this obliged me to make again the same manœuvre, by which I brought on an action which lasted upwards of four hours, when I found it necessary to bring-to the squadron to cover the two captured ships, whose names are in the margin *. I have to observe, the enemy had

* St. Rafael, 84 guns. Prince of Asturias, 74 guns.

every advantage of wind and weather during the whole day. The weather had been foggy, at times, a great part of the morning; and very soon after we had brought them to action, the fog was so very thick at intervals, that we could, with great difficulty, see the ship a-head or a-stern of us; this rendered it impossible to take the advantages of the enemy by signals. I could have wished to have done; had the weather been more favourable, I am led to believe the victory would have been more complete.——I have very great pleasure in saying, every ship was conducted in the most masterly style; and I beg leave here publicly to return every captain, officer, and man, whom I had the honour to command on that day, my most grateful thanks, for their conspicuously gallant and very judicious good conduct.——The Hon. Captain Gardner, of the Hero, led the van squadron in a most masterly and officer-like manner, to whom I feel myself particularly indebted: as also to Captain Cuming for his assistance during the action.——Enclosed is a list of the killed and wounded on board the different ships. If I may judge from the great slaughter on board the captured ships, the enemy must have suffered greatly. They are now in sight to windward, and when I have secured the captured ships, and put the squadron to rights, I shall endeavour to avail myself of any opportunity that may offer to give you some further account of these combined squadrons.——I have the honour to be, &c.——R. Calder.

List of the ships of the squadron under the orders of Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder, Bart. on the 22d of July, 1805.——Hero, Hon. A. H. Gardner. 1 killed, 4 wounded. ——Ajax, William Brown. 2 killed, 16 wounded.——Triumph, Henry Inmann. 5 killed, 6 wounded.——Barfleur, George Martin. 3 killed, 7 wounded.—Agamemnon, John Harvey. 3 wounded.—Windsor Castle, Charles Boyles. 10 killed, 35 wounded. ——Defiance, P. C. Durham. 1 killed, 7 wounded.——Prince of Wales, Vice-Admiral Sir R. Calder and Capt. W. Cuming. 3 killed, 20 wounded.——Repulse, Hon. A. K. Legge. 4 wounded.—Raisonable, Josias Rowley. 1 killed, 1 wounded.——Dragon, Edward Griffiths. None.——Glory, Rear-Adm. Sir C. Stirling, and Capt. S. Warren. 1 killed, 1 wounded.——Warrior, S. Hood Linzee. None.——Thunderer, W. Lechmere. 7 killed, 11 wounded.——Malta, E. Buller. 5 killed, 40 wounded.——Frigates. Egyptienne, Hon. C. E. Fleming. No return.——Syrius, W. Prowse. 2 killed, 3 wounded.——Frisk Cutter, Lieut. J. Nicholson. None.——Nile Lugger, Lieut. G. Fennel. None.——Total. 41 killed, 158 wounded.——(Signed) R. Calder.

War in the West Indies.——*Circular Letter sent by Order of the Commander in Chief, to the Custos or Chief Magistrate of Kingston, Jamaica, June* 14, 1805.

Sir,——King's House, June 14.—The Commander in Chief, having strong reasons to expect that the enemy will make an early and very serious attack upon this island, from the accounts he has just received, from the Governor of Barbadoes, of the great increase of their forces at Martinique, consisting then of thirty-one sail of the line, and probably a proportionate number of troops; his Excellency directs me to acquaint you therewith, and to desire that you will make it public in the parish of Kingston. I am also desired to inform you, that the whole of the militia are again ordered upon permanent duty until further orders, and that the Collectors and Comptrollers of the Customs have been directed to prevent even droggers and boats from passing along the coast at present.——You will be pleased to communicate the contents of this letter to the officers commanding the corps of foot and horse militia in your parish, that they may act forthwith thereupon, in the event of their not having received orders through the general officer of the district. ——I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.—— J. Tyrrell, Sec.——The Custos or Chief Magistrate of Kingston.

Parliamentary Debates.——The 4th Volume of the Parliamentary Debates, comprising the period between the 13th of March, and the 14th of May, 1805, will be ready for delivery on Thursday next. Every debate will be found given with the greatest accuracy; but particularly those relating to Lord Melville, and to the question respecting the Roman Catholics. The Appendix contains the Eleventh Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, making, together with the Appendix of the preceding Volume, the collection of those Reports complete, as far as they have hitherto been laid before the House of Commons.—The 5th Volume, which is in great forwardness, which will close the Debates of the Session, will contain the Financial Accounts, and other documents connected with the most important of the proceedings in Parliament during the Session.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 6.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 10, 1805. [PRICE 10D.

" Whereas divers cruel and barbarous outrages have been, of late, wickedly and wantonly committed in " divers parts of England, upon the persons of divers of His Majesty's subjects, either with an intent to " murder, or to maim, disfigure, or disable, or to do other grievous bodily harm to such subjects; and, " whereas the provisions, now by law made, for the prevention of such offences, have been found ineffectual " for that purpose; be it therefore enacted, &c. &c."——PREAMBLE TO THE ACT, 43 Geo. III. chap. 58, passed 24th June, 1803.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

BOXING.——The public attention having been called to a recent, an extraordinary, and somewhat alarming decision of a Coroner's jury upon a case wherein death was the consequence of a boxing match, I cannot, consistently with the opinions I have always entertained and frequently expressed upon the subject, omit, upon this occasion, to submit to my readers, some few of those reflections that press upon my mind. The case, here particularly referred to, is, as stated in the Morning Chronicle of the 25th ultimo, as follows: " George Hodgson, " Esq. one of the coroners for the County " of Middlesex, yesterday evening at 7 " o'clock, resumed his court of inquiry as " to the means by which Patrick, otherwise " Michael, Lenon came by his death. The " Court was again held at the Cannon Tavern, the corner of Carburton-street, " Portland-road. The evidence of yesterday was repeated to the jury, and in addition to it they had the testimony of Mr. " Charles Lane, of Carburton-street, surgeon, who examined the body of the deceased in company with Mr. Reeve, of " Great Portland-street, surgeon. The substance of his evidence was, that they had " been employed about three hours in the " examination, and that, upon the most minute observation that could possibly be " made, it did not appear that there was " any injury done to the viscera of the thorax, neither was there any extravasated " blood within the head, such as would have " been the case if a blood vessel had burst. " —Upon the whole, he conceived that the " loss of life must have been occasioned " by some injury done to the nervous system, or else by a violent concussion of " the brain, which might have arisen either " from great exertion of passion or from repeated heavy falls, in which cases there " might not be any mark upon the subject " from which a professional man could " form a decided opinion. But, from the " evidence which he had heard of the fight, " which was sworn to have taken place, he " had no doubt that it was from some circumstance that had taken place during " that affray that the deceased came by his " death. The coroner repeated his admonitions to parish officers in general, to " provide a surgeon in such cases as the " present, but added, that it did not appear " to him that in the instance then before " the jury, there appeared to have been any " thing of culpability in the officers. He " then acquainted the jury, that in his opinion where there was a premeditated design between the parties to commit a " breach of the peace, and where that violation of law terminated fatally to one of " them, with the additional consideration " that it was a prize fight, in which each " had money as an inducement to do an injury to the other; in such case he thought " the act of the one man who killed the " other, was clearly murder. If they " thought otherwise, however, they would " say so. But of this the jury had not the " least doubt, and immediately gave a verdict of WILFUL MURDER, by Dennis " Dillon."——Such is the account given in the public prints. Upon inquiry I find, further, that the combatants were two journeymen in the same shop, who, having quarrelled at their shop-board, agreed to decide their quarrel by a boxing match. It is said, that the only pecuniary stake, for which they contended, was a bet of half a guinea, which bet, however, did not take place till the moment before the fight began. There was so little of what could be truly called malice, between them, that the deceased had proposed to make up their difference without fighting; and, though this was not accepted, a similar proposition was made by the survivor, during the course of the battle. There was, as, indeed, it clearly appears from the above-stated evidence, no reason to suppose the death to be occasioned by any particular blow, but merely by the effect of exertion, and the breaking of a blood-vessel, as might have happened in a race, a rowing match, a jumping-match, a cricket-match, or in any other exercise requiring, either constantly or occasionally, any extraordinary exertion of bodily strength. These being

the circumstances of the case, one may confidently hope, that this will not be the instance, in which the last blow will be struck at that manly, that generous mode of terminating quarrels between the common people, a mode by which the common people of England have, for ages, been distinguished from those of all other countries. But, though we may safely rely upon the wisdom and justice of the courts, before one of which this unfortunate boxer must finally take his trial, the occasion calls for some remark upon those exertions, which, of late, have been, and which yet are, making in every part of the country, with the obvious, and, in many instances, with the declared, intention, of utterly eradicating the practice of boxing; than which, I am thoroughly persuaded, nothing could be more injurious, whether considered as to its effects in civil life, or in its higher and more important effects on the people regarded as the members of a state, and, of course, always opposed to some other state, and therefore always liable to be called upon to perform the duties of war.——As few persons will be inclined to believe it possible so far to work, by any human laws, such a change in the hearts and minds of men as shall prevent all quarrelling amongst them, it is not necessary to insist, that, in spite of the law and the Gospel, in spite of the animadversions of the bench and the admonitions of the pulpit, there will still be practised some mode or other of terminating quarrels, some way in which the party injured, or offended, will seek for satisfaction, without waiting for the operation of the law, even in those cases where the law affords the means whereby satisfaction is to be obtained. If this be not denied, it will remain with the innovating foes of the pugil stick combat to show, that there are other modes of terminating quarrels amongst the common people less offensive to the principles of sound morality, less dangerous in their physical effects, better calculated to produce the restoration of harmony, to shorten the duration, and to prevent the extension, of resentment, together with all the evils attendant upon a long-harboured spirit of revenge. Without proceeding another step, I am confident, that the reflecting reader, though he may, for a moment, have been carried away by the cry of "*brutality*," latterly set up against boxing, will, from our thus simply stating what our opponents have to prove, have clearly perceived, that the proof is not within their power. He will have perceived, that, of all the ways in which violence can possibly be committed (and violence of some sort there must be in the obtaining of personal satisfaction) none has in it so little hostility to the principles of our religion, and that none is so seldom fatal to the parties, as boxing. He will have perceived, too, that this mode, by excluding the aid of every thing extraneous, by allowing of no weapons, by leaving nothing to deceit, and very little to art of any sort, is, in most cases, decisive as to the powers of the combatants, and proceeds, besides, upon the generous principle, that, with the battle, ceases for ever the cause whence it arose; a principle of such long and steady growth, so deeply rooted in the hearts of Englishmen, that to attempt the revival, or even to allude to, with apparent resentment, the grounds of a quarrel which has been terminated by the fists, is always regarded as a mark of baseness, whether visible in the conduct of the parties themselves, or in that of their relations, or friends.—— Instead, however, of rejoicing at the existence of a practice which is so well calculated to soften the natural effects of the violent passions, there are but too many amongst us, who seem to be perfect enthusiasts in their efforts to extirpate it. Whether, if they could extirpate those passions themselves, or could so far neutralize them as effectually to prevent their producing acts of violence; whether, in that case, they would leave us any thing whereby, and whereby alone, private injustice, domestic oppression, or foreign hostility, is to be resisted, I submit as a question to the doctors in the school of modern philanthropy; but, unless those passions can be *extirpated*, and until that great work be *completed*, I think, that every one who listens to reason in preference to an outcry, and who is attached to the substance and not the mere sounds of humanity and gentleness, will readily agree, that, to attempt the extirpation of the practice of boxing is to make an attempt, which, if successful, would lead to the frequent commission of all those sanguinary and horrible acts, by which the common people of but too many other countries are disgraced, and which, amongst the people of England, have, till of late, been almost unknown. In support of this opinion, I may, as to an argument of experience, surely appeal to the law, recently passed, and the preamble of which I have chosen for my MOTTO; and, that such a law should have become necessary, I am sure the reader, if he has an English heart in his bosom, will reflect with sorrow and with shame. What is now become of those manners which authorised the honest exultation of so many of our eminent writers, that, from the generous spirit of

Englishmen, acts of cruelty were rendered so rare in their country? Our travellers must now hold their tongues; for the world is told, and that too, by the legislature itself, who have placed the disgraceful truth upon the records of parliament, that the laws and statutes of the land, heretofore in force, are *no longer sufficient* to prevent us from committing "cruel and barbarous outrages, with "intent to murder, maim, disfigure, or dis-"able, one another." It is not till "*of* "*late*," certainly, that such a law has been necessary, and, it is not till of late, that such a general desire to suppress the practice of boxing has prevailed. The mere coexistence of this desire (and of the measures proceeding from it) with the frequency of the commission of cruel and barbarous acts, may not, indeed, be regarded as a conclusive argument in favour of the practice of boxing; but, no one can deny, that it strongly corroborates the conclusion, which reason, without the aid of experience, has taught us to draw; and, if this conclusion, thus fortified, be legitimate, it follows, of course, that we must either have *cuttings and stabbings*, or *boxing*; the former of which, as being perfectly compatible with "a godly *conversa-*"*tion*" and with the cant of humanity, it is more than probable that the Saints and Philanthropists would not hesitate to prefer.—But, it is the political view of this subject which appears to me to be most worthy of attention; the view of the effect which may, by the contemplated change of manners, be produced upon the people, considered as the members of a state, always opposed to some other state; for, much as I abhor cuttings and stabbings, I have, as I hope most others of my countrymen have, a still greater abhorrence of submission to a foreign yoke.—Commerce, Opulence, Luxury, Effeminacy, Cowardice, Slavery: these are the stages of national degradation. We are in the fourth; and, I beg the reader to consider, to look into history, to trace states in their fall, and then say how rapid is the latter part of the progress! Of the symptoms of *effeminacy* none is so certain as a change from athletic and hardy sports, or exercises, to those requiring less bodily strength, and exposing the persons engaged in them to less bodily suffering; and, when this change takes place, be assured that national cowardice is at no great distance, the general admiration of deeds of hardihood having already been considerably lessened. Bravery, as, indeed, the word imports, consists not in a readiness and a capacity to kill or to hurt, but in a readiness and a capacity to venture, and to bear the consequences. As sports or exercises approach nearer and nearer to real combats, the greater, in spite of all we can say, is our admiration of those who therein excel. Belcher has, by the sons of cant, in every class of life, been held up to us as a monster, a perfect ruffian; yet, there are very few persons, who would not wish to see Belcher; few from whom marks of admiration have not, at some time, been extorted by his combats; and scarcely a female Saint, perhaps, who would not, in her way to the conventicle, or even during the snuffling there to be heard, take a peep at him from beneath her hood. Can as much be said by any one of those noblemen and gentlemen who have been spending the best years of their lives in dancing by night and playing at cricket by day? The reason is, not that Belcher strikes hard; not that he is strong; not that he is an adept at his art; but, that he exposes himself voluntarily to so much danger, and that he bears so many heavy blows. We are apt to laugh at the preference which women openly give to soldiers (including, of course, all men of the military profession), a preference which is always found, too, to be given by young persons of both sexes. But, if we take time to consider, we shall find this partiality to be no fit subject for ridicule or blame. It is a partiality naturally arising from the strongest of all feeling, *the love of life*. The profession of arms is always the most honourable. All kings and princes are soldiers. Renowned soldiers are never forgotten. We all talk of Alexander the Great and of Julius Cæsar; but very few of us, ever heard, or ever thought of inquiring, who were the statesmen of those days. There is not, perhaps, a ploughman in England, who has not a hundred times repeated the names of Drake and of Marlborough; and of the hundreds of thousands of them, there is not one, perhaps, who ever heard, or ever will hear, pronounced, the name of Cecil or of Godolphin. When princes are not renowned military commanders, they themselves, though they leave so many and such various traces behind them, are, amongst the mass of the people, soon forgotten, except as having reigned during the victories of such or such a commander. Literary men have, almost uniformly, spoken with more or less contempt of military fame; but, notwithstanding the singular advantages which they have over soldiers, in perpetuating a knowledge of their famous deeds, within how narrow a sphere, comparatively speaking, is their fame confined! Where is the man, woman, or child, in this kingdom, who has not heard and talked of Nelson? And, does not the reader believe, that there are many parishes, in either of which the knowledge of Pope or of Johnson's having existed is con-

fined to two or three persons? Such, too, is the nature of military fame, that it obliterates all the folly and all the crimes of the possessor. The discriminating few, the criticisers of character, will, indeed, take these into account; but, with the people in general, and particularly those of the nation, to which the renowned soldier belongs, his deeds of valour only are remembered.—— Whence, then, arises this universal suffrage of mankind in favour of military heroes? Why are their deeds prized above those of all other men? Not because their profession demands more skill than that of others; not because it supposes hard study or great labour of any sort; not because it is thought to require an extraordinary degree of genius or of wisdom. Some have ascribed it to the terror inspired by military combats; but, we often admire those heroes most at whose deeds it is impossible we can have felt any terror. Others have ascribed it to the signal and extensive consequences produced in the world by the deeds of military commanders; but, the deeds of statesmen produce much more signal and more extensive consequences; and yet, these latter sink silently to the grave, and rot there, without ever being named by the common people of only the very next generation. To what, therefore, can we ascribe this universal preference of military fame before all other fame, but to that all-pervading and ever-predominating principle, the love of life, and the consequent admiration of those who voluntarily place their lives in the most frequent and most imminent danger? This principle exists, naturally, in the same degree, in every human breast; and, bravery consists, as was before said, simply in the capacity of subduing the love of life so far as knowingly, deliberately, and voluntarily to put it to risk. Hence it is, that we cannot refrain from admiring the hardihood of miners, well-sinkers, and the like; but, in them we justly ascribe a good deal to habit, to hard necessity, and, besides, we do not, in their case, see where and what is the immediate cause of their danger; but, in the case of the soldier, we clearly perceive this cause; we see him voluntarily going forth and marching on till he comes within reach of those, who, on their side, are advancing for the sole purpose of taking his life. In proportion as the readiness to hazard life exists in a country, that country is brave, and, consequently, in proportion to its numbers, powerful. How deeply sensible of this does our rival and enemy appear to have been! Amongst all the changes and chances of the French revolution, there has never been a single day, when the rulers were not careful to reward and to honour those who had distinguished themselves by putting their lives to risk. The consequences we have seen, and now but too sensibly feel. We, on the contrary, seem to be using our utmost endeavours to extirpate every habit that tended to prepare the minds of the common people for deeds of military bravery. Am I told, that there are no boxers in France? I answer, that there never were; that their exercises and their combats were of another description; I have seen peasants in France turn out into a field, and cut one another with their sabres. But, if you extirpate boxing in England, can you substitute any other mode of exercise or combat in its stead? No: and that is not the object; the professed object is, to cry down and to put an end to, every species of exercise or of combat, in which life shall at all be put to the risk, or, indeed, in which bodily opposition and great bodily strength and a great capacity of bearing bodily pain are acquired. Not only boxing, but wrestling, quarter-staff, single-stick, bull-baiting, every exercise of the common people, that supposes the possible risk of life or limb, and, of course, that tends to prepare them for deeds of bravery of a higher order, and, by the means of those deeds and of the character and consequence naturally growing out of them, to preserve the independence and the liberties of their country; every such exercise seems to be doomed to extirpation. Even the very animals, for the bravery of which the nation has long been renowned, are to be destroyed, as men would destroy savage and ferocious beasts. Every thing calculated to keep alive the admiration, and even the idea, of hardihood, seems to have become offensive and odious in the sight of but too many of those, whose duty it is to endeavour to arrest, and not to accelerate, the fatal progress of effeminacy. That many of the persons so zealously engaged in supporting the system of effeminacy (for such it may properly be called), are actuated by motives of tenderness for the common people there can be no doubt; but, while I must think, that such persons act without due reflection, I hesitate not to declare my belief, that those with whom the system originated, and who are the principal instigators of all the measures adopted for effecting the extirpation of boxing and other hardy exercises, are actuated by motives far other than those of compassion for the persons who are in the habit of being therein engaged. Let, however, what will be the motives, the consequences are, some of them, already obvious, and others it is by no means difficult to foresee. That cuttings and stabbings are more fatal than

boxing, to say nothing of the disgrace, every one must agree; and, it cannot be denied, that the former have increased in proportion as the latter has been driven from amongst the people. But, boxing matches give rise to assemblages of the people; they tend to make the people bold; they produce a communication of notions of hardihood; they serve to remind men of the importance of bodily strength; they, each in its sphere, occasion a transient relaxation from labour; they tend, in short, to keep alive, even amongst the lowest of the people, some idea of independence: whereas, amongst cutters and stabbers and poisoners (for the law above-mentioned includes *English poisoners*) there is necessarily a rivalship for quietness and secrecy; they generally perform their work single handed; their operations have nothing of riot or commotion in them; as to labour, they lose little of the time for that, seeing that their mode of seeking satisfaction is with the greatest chance of success pursued in the dark; and there is not the least fear, that their practices will ever render them politically turbulent, or bold. In fact, the system of effeminacy as it has grown out of, so it is perfectly adapted to, the Pitt system of internal politics, which, by making, in a greater or less degree, almost every man, who has property, a sort of prisoner, or, at least, an annuitant, of the state, aims at ruling the nation by its base, instead of its honourable feelings. On the selfishness of the common people, particularly the labouring part of them, the Pitt system of finance and taxation has, directly at least, no hold; and, therefore, it required the aid of the system of effeminacy, which includes the suppression of mirth as well as of hardy exercises, and, indeed, of every thing that tends to produce relaxations from labour and a communication of ideas of independence amongst the common people. Systems better calculated for preventing internal opposition to the government never were invented; but, this is not *all* that a wise statesman and one that loves his country will look to. Such a statesman will perceive, that if he destroy the feelings, from the operation of which the government might occasionally have something to apprehend, he thereby destroys the means, by which alone the government can be permanently preserved. Render the whole nation effeminate; suffer no relaxation from labour or from care; shut all the paupers up in work-houses, and those that are not so shut up, work in gangs, each with its driver: this do, and it is evident that you will have no internal commotion; it is evident, that you will hold the people in complete subjection to your will; but, then, recollect, that they will be like the ass in the fable, that they will stir neither hand nor foot to prevent a transfer of their subjection to another master. Thank God, we are yet at a great distance from a state so full of wretchedness and of infamy, and, I trust, that we shall long be so preserved. In speaking of the system of effeminacy as adapted to a co-operation with the Pitt system of internal policy, I by no means would be understood as supposing, that it has been contrived, or at all encouraged, at least wilfully, by Mr. Pitt, or by any other minister. It is, indeed, one of the many evils that have naturally grown out of the Pitt system; but, whatever other faults I may impute to Mr. Pitt, as a minister, justice to him obliges me to confess, that I have never heard of his directly favouring the endeavours of those weak, meddling, and, in many instances, fanatical persons, who are the chief instruments in the persecution of all manly and mirthful exercises; and, I confidently hope, that, if any further attempts are made at legislative innovation upon these subjects, he will be found amongst their determined opponents.

Sir William D'Arley.——In another part of this sheet, will be found a letter from this gentleman, which I have lost not a moment in laying before my readers.——Of the documents, to which he refers, being mostly in the French and Italian languages, it will be better for me to state the substance here. The first is a certificate from Cardinal Ruffo, dated at Rome, 6th February, 1801, bearing the most honourable testimony of the bravery and the services performed by Sir William D'Arley during the last war. He was, it appears, a Captain in the British marines, and was sent to communicate with the Neapolitan commanders. He was, in consequence of his skill and his bravery, appointed to take upon him the command of a principal part of the troops, in which situation, to use nearly the words of the Cardinal, "he, by his conciliating manners, greatly contributed towards putting "an end to the discord prevalent amongst "the other officers. He kept his command "till the object of it was completely accomplished: and, in the different actions, "he uniformly gave proofs of his skill and "his courage." The next document is a dispatch from General Acton to Prince Castelcicala, stating the service of Sir William D'Arley, and notifying the intention of the King of Naples (the consent of His Britannic Majesty being obtained) to bestow on him the Royal Military Order of Constantinien. The third is a letter from Prince Cas-

telcicala to Lord Hawkesbury upon the same subject. The fourth is a copy of Sir William D'Arley's commission, as Colonel in the Neapolitan army. And the fifth is a warrant of His Majesty, permitting the knighthood of Sir William D'Arley, and ordering it to be recorded in the college of arms.——I think Sir William D'Arley might have spared the hint at the beginning of his letter; for, it was by no means necessary to inquire into the "effect," or rather purpose, I had in view, when I was publishing an account of the additions last year made to the pension-list; and, though I can readily conceive, that he must have felt a little stung at the publication, I am satisfied that the public will percieve, that it is the Treasury who are to blame, and not I. Why was there not some mention of the *cause* for which the pension was granted? The cause *is stated* against several of the *other pensions*; and, where no cause is stated, we have a right to conclude, that no good and fair one, at least for public services, exists. That we, every man of us, have a right, and that, with some of us, it is a duty, to inquire into the grounds, upon which pensions are granted, will scarcely be denied. To what end, else, are the accounts laid before parliament, and *printed?* If it be improper for us to *comment* upon the pension list, what a mockery, what an insult, what vile deception, is this *accounting* to the public for the expenditure of their money! Sir William D'Arley feels as one must expect such a man to feel under such circumstances: I am ready to heal the wound: ready to do him ample justice; ready to say that he deserves a greater pension than he receives: but, I cannot allow him to call in question the *motives*, from which I have made the publication he refers to. Sir William D'Arley served his country and his king in facing their enemies abroad; and, he should have percevied, that, in commenting upon a pension-list, by which the property and labour of the nation were, in only one year, mortgaged for nearly a million sterling, in addition to the hundreds of millions for which they were already mortgaged; he should, one would think, have perceived, that in making comments on such a list, a man might be serving (with greatly inferior merit, it is true) his king and country, at home.——The observation, in the latter part of the letter, that I commented sarcastically upon a pension granted as a reward for military services, is not correct; for I professed to know, and I really did know, nothing at all either of the person, the rank, or the services of Sir William D'Arley; and, if I am told, that I should have taken care, previous to the making of my comment, to acquire information upon the subject; I answer, that no such duty was incumbent upon me, it being the duty of those who make out, who print, and who publish, the pension-list, to convey, with a knowledge of the charge upon the public, a knowledge of the grounds, if there are any beyond that of mere ministerial favour, upon which the charge is made. Nor while there is great obvious good, in making comments upon the pension-list, can there be any harm; for if, as in the present instance, the comment convey an impression not advantageous to the pensioner, how effectually is it removed, if it can and ought to be removed! And, though Sir William D'Arley modestly expresses his reluctance at being compelled to appear before the public, I cannot but hope and believe, that he will, upon reflection, think himself, in good earnest, "obliged to me" for taking him, as I now effectually have, out of the company, in which I found him.

Naval Victory.—The advices from Sir Robert Calder, subsequent to those spoken of, and, indeed, contained in the preceding sheet, have been received with much public regret, and not entirely without public discontent with regard to the conduct of that commander. There appears, particularly in the ministerial prints and circles, a strong disposition to censure him for not having been more intent upon producing destruction against the enemy, than upon *making sure* of his prizes, in order to do which, it is presumed that he suffered his fleet to fall to leward too far, and thereby enabled the enemy to make his escape. Others are, however, of opinion, that he did the best that circumstances would permit him; and, at all events, nothing can be more unjust, or more injurious to the interests of the country, than condemning commanders, except upon the result of the fullest inquiry, and the clearest evidence of their having acted upon some wrong motive. It is not quite impossible, that the ministerial writers may have in view the very honourable purpose of turning the public resentment from the ministry, by thus endeavouring to direct it against the admiral. The public should, therefore, be on their guard against the effects of this device; and should be very slow to conclude, that the admiral has neglected his duty, because he has not effectually made up for the negligence of the admiralty.——It appears, that the convoy of West-India merchantmen, spoken of, in the preceding sheet, as having been captured by the enemy, have not been captured by him; or, there is, at least, no certain intelligence

of the capture.——Before this sheet reaches the public, it is probable, that some authentic account of the fate of the combined fleets will have been obtained; but, if there should not, it may not be quite unnesessary again to caution the reader against entertaining any very sanguine expectations as to the consequences of any engagement that can take place; I mean consequences as to the duration and final result of the war; for, I venture to repeat, that the destruction of the whole of the combined fleets would, in the present state of Europe, produce but very little effect, either upon the power or the disposition of the enemy. If I am asked, "what, then, would produce effect upon him," I answer, that I do not know, and that, if we are pleased in such a wretched situation, it is the faults of those who were the authors of the peace of Amiens and of the measures which naturally produced it. In remarking (which I intend to do in my next) upon the state of the dispute between France and Russia, I shall have occasion to point out some circumstances to strengthen this opinion, which, indeed, seems now to be pretty generally entertained; but, I may here say, for it is, I am persuaded, a truth that can never be too often repeated, that, without a radical change in our system, both of internal and external policy, both in our measures of political economy and in our military and naval arrangements, we shall never, in the life time of the youngest man amongst us, know what it is to enjoy an hour's *real peace*. People do not, and they will not, perceive, that one position in Europe, and especially with regard to France, is totally *new*. The old maxims, applied to the present times, are foolishness; and, if we persist in acting upon them, our fall is certain. The plans of France for the subjugation of England are only *beginning* to be put in execution. The alarms about invasion have been premature; and, though it is not impossible that some attempt may be made this summer, it appears to be improbable. One great feature in the scheme of the enemy is *to wear us out*. He has not disguised his intention; he has calculated upon the effects of a seven year's war upon the resources of our purse and our patience; and, if we change not our system, (a change always in our power, however,) his calculation is perfectly rational. The loss of his fleets would only add to the number of years; it would make no other alteration in his plans: situated as he is and as we are, the most we can hope for (if we persist in the pernicious Pitt system), is, to defer the hour of our overthrow. At the loss of his fleets we must, and we ought to rejoice; but, the danger is, that, by placing too much reliance on the consequences of such loss, we may create for ourselves most grievous disappointment; and, which is still worse, may be induced to defer the adoption of the only measures, by which we can possibly obtain the means of permanent security.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the foregoing articles were written, the following paragraph has reached me, in the Morning Chronicle of the 7th instant. It is another of those instances, which I was desirous of pointing out to the attention of my readers. For the reasons given at the close of it, I shall leave it without comment.——"Yesterday the *peace* of the *county of Kent* was broken at Blackheath by two men who had previously agreed to dispute by force of arms which, in their language, was the best man. Old Caleb Baldwin was one of the combatants, and young Ryan was his antagonist. The Chicken was second to the former, and Clarke, a well-known assistant at these sort of feats, was the bottle-holder. Tom Jones seconded and Dick Wheel held the bottle to young Ryan. At half after eleven they set to; the old man made a deal of bustle and hit the first blow. Though the other was a larger and more athletic man, this made the bets run nearly even. But the strength and spirit of youth prevailed from that to the 8th round, when the old man made a most amazing exertion by putting down his head below the other's waist, and giving him a complete somerset over his shoulders. Though this hurt the young man severely no doubt, it seemed to be an additional stimulus to his action, for in the next round he beat Caleb quite down by repeated blows. Notwithstanding what he had suffered, the old man continued to fight with great spirit and wonderful activity; he did great injury to the young man at intervals, and though he was severely hurt himself and lost his wind considerably, he held out until the 20th round, when he fell apparently through fatigue, and young Ryan struck him either as he was falling or when his knee was on the ground, but the most general voice was that the blow was foul. Baldwin was immediately carried off by his friends, and the money for which the battle was fought, as well as the different bets depending, are still to be decided by the majority of voices among the amateurs, and no doubt, as sporting gentlemen, their decision will be honourable between the parties.——After the fight was over, there was a still greater breach of the peace: a party of the military on horseback, with drawn sabres, were seen galloping at full speed, so swift that one of the riders lost his cap by the way; they

came off the road, and swept in a semi-circular form round the multitude, who had not yet dispersed. The Riot Act was not read, nor was there so much as a constable's staff shewn, to induce or command the people to disperse by the authority of the civil law. The East London Militia are quartered at Greenwich, and having just finished exercise, many of them joined in the crowd to see the exhibition of the only mode of fighting which is peculiarly English. Some of them, as well as several other people, had hair-breadth escapes; but a fifer belonging to the East London had his jaw-bone broke and received other injury. Two noblemen and some gentlemen have given their addresses to the ringleader of the party, and Mr. M. went to a neighbouring magistrate, under whose authority they said they acted, to inquire if it was a fact that he had lent the authority of his official character to a band of soldiers to act *ad libitum*, without his presence or control, against an unarmed body of British subjects. As the affair will certainly become the subject of legal inquiry, it is too delicate a matter to describe more particularly at present."

Botley, Thursday,
8th August, 1803.

SIR WILLIAM D'ARLEY.

SIR,——In your paper of Saturday the 27th July, you have favoured the public with a dissertation on the Pension List laid before parliament; to what effect, it is not my intention to consider: confining myself simply, to that notice you have thought proper to take of the bounty which it has pleased His Majesty by the advice of his ministers to bestow on me, and to the doubts which may arise in the public mind whether it has been deservedly bestowed or not, I have only to observe, that this mark of His Majesty's grace and favour was conferred upon me after twenty-two years unremitting service as an officer, and having shared in several of the principal battles of my country by sea and land; and in particular for the more immediate and individual services I was considered to have performed during the last war, while in Italy, as certified in the inclosed official documents, the originals of which are to be seen in the Foreign Office, and to their authenticity and truth, the then ministers, the Sicilian Envoy, Lord Nelson, and Sir Samuel Hood will bear sufficient testimony if called upon.——So far, Sir, am I from being "very much obliged" for this occasion of publicity, that it is with real pain I embrace it; as the very few (as you justly hint) who [illegible] will expect a reply where so [illegible] be said, and the rest of my countrymen will, I hope, pardon an apparent egotism, which takes its rise from your animadverting in the language of sarcasm, on the reward bestowed on military enterprise, treating it as unmerited profusion.—— I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant, WILLIAM D'ARLEY.

Hythe, 3d August, 1803.

TO THE HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX, M.P. ON THE REFORM OF FINANCIAL ABUSES.

LETTER X.

SIR,——Upon the few occasions, that the people of England come forward at public meetings, to express their opinion upon great national questions, it is natural to look up to you as their champion in parliament, ready to propose those measures which ought to be brought forward in compliance with their sentiments, when generally and anxiously declared. The public opinion has never been more universally, or more loudly heard upon any subject, than it has of late concerning the delinquency of Lord Melville. The table of the House of Commons was never more crouded with petitions, containing the true and unbiassed sentiments of the nation. Nor ever was there a period, when the public approached the House of Commons, with greater expectations of redress for both proved and apprehended criminality. And yet, Sir, if they were well acquainted with, and if they duly considered the conduct of the House since those petitions were laid upon its table, they would greatly relax in the confidence, which they were at first disposed to place in their representatives.——The wisdom of the nation induced it at once to see the conduct of Lord Melville in all its different bearings. It did not suffer itself to be led astray by the indignation, which it naturally felt at the detection of a minister, next to the prime minister in rank and power, and one that had experienced the fullest confidence both of the King, and of a large majority of the people for a long series of years. Nor did it confine its views to the mere gratification of acquiring an excessive degree of punishment. But more sagaciously, it considered the proofs of criminality in one department entrusted with the management of the public money, as strong symptoms of mismanagement, if not of criminality in the other departments; and, accordingly the petitions, that were the consequences of the decision of the House of Commons on the 8th of April, did not only congratulate the House upon its vote, and demand justice in the case of Lord Melville; but they required further investigation, and the full exercise of the prerogative of the Commons House of Parliament, over the application of the pub-

lic revenues *. But how has this request of the nation been treated? Mr. Pitt, the minister of the country and the friend of Lord Melville, has brought in one bill for continuing the commission of naval inquiry, and another for appointing a certain number of gentlemen, of his own selection, commissioners to inquire into the conduct of certain military departments, likewise of his own selection. And these are the only measures adopted by the House of Commons in consequence of the petitions; and this is the manner in which even these measures have been brought forward. I will not now say, Sir, that the public opinion has been neglected, the petitions of the people overlooked, and their expectations very unwisely disappointed. But, this I will say, that if the approaching session of parliament is permitted to pass by without other more appropriate measures being taken to reform the system of conducting the public expenciture, the people will have great reason to complain of the remissness and indolence of their representatives. There are no doubt many reasons to justify you, Sir, as the leader of opposition, in not having, as yet, brought forward any measure founded upon the petitions of the people. The advanced period of the session, when Lord Melville's delinquency was declared; the numerous debates that arose out of the variety of opinions entertained as to the mode of future trial; the policy of leaving the minister to himself to chuse his own plan of meeting the public sentiment, all these are strong reasons for waving a determination upon the general conduct of the opposition with regard to the petitions. But, though they are so, the opposition would fall into a fatal error, if they judged from the circumstance of the people, not appearing to be dissatisfied at what has been done, or rather has not been done, that they really were contented. For if the people saw in the detection of the systematic plunder of the naval money, during a period of 16 years, sufficient grounds for requiring of the House of Commons an investigation of the proceedings of all the various offices concerned in the management of the national expenditure, it cannot be said, that the continuation of the naval commission, and the appointment of a military commission of inquiry are in themselves measures adequate to either the expectations or the object of the petitioners. If, even it is taken for granted, that the commissioners of military inquiry, will faithfully discharge their duty, and certainly the characters of the gentlemen appointed to this commission justly warrant such an expectation, still that great portion of the public expenditure, which is directly under the management of the Treasury, is made subject to no parliamentary examination whatever. This consideration introduces to our notice the mystery of the consolidated fund. The annual charge upon which, as it stood on the 5th of Jan. 1803, was 27,510,548l (No. II. p. 93.) Would it not, Sir, be satisfactory to the petitioners to know, that the conduct of the Treasury in the annual payment of so large a sum during these last 16 years was free from reproach. Or if, upon inquiry, it should prove to be otherwise, would it not be equally satisfactory to them to know in what instances it had been culpable, and thus to see the groundwork of reform prepared?—— Another item under the direct management and control of the Treasury, is the expense incurred for the civil government of Scotland. So far as it may be presumed that Lord Melville possessed any influence with the Lords of the Treasury, so far and in such a degree is it reasonable to surmise, that irregularities may have taken place in this particular branch of the public expenditure, and for this reason, it is one eminently fit to be minutely investigated. A third item immediately belonging to the Treasury department, is the moderate charge of near two millions per annum for MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES. A most modest, and by no means flippant method of accounting to the public for the disposal of two millions per annum of their money! What obligations must ministers be under to *that* most ingenious Secretary of the Treasury, who first discovered the happy facility of covering all jobs, and bringing all issues of money under their proper head, by the use of the two simple words MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES!!! They are, it is worthy of remark, always placed in the account laid before parliament, (No. 5) just in the line, namely, the last, where balances are usually found in an account; but, instead of balances due either by the public, or to the public, to account correctly, according to common custom, for its property, this pleasant invention supplies their place, and affords the Secretaries of the Treasury the extreme satisfaction of being able to lay before parliament, an account of the whole public expenditure of the year, without the vulgar and troublesome word "balances" once obtruding itself. Surely, Sir, it would be gratifying to the petitioners to know upon what merits, these two millions per annum

* "The detection of such malversations, in one department of the state, induces apprehensions that others may not be more faithfully and honestly administered." Petition of town of Southampton, *et cetera*.

for the last sixteen years, have been paid by the Lords of the Treasury! But there is this further reason why an inquiry into the Treasury department is peculiarly indispensible, and this is, the perplexed and delusive nature of the accounts annually presented by it to parliament. I have been able, in former letters to establish this fact, at least to the satisfaction of one, particularly well acquainted with these accounts, and eminently qualified to judge of my reasoning upon them, I mean the author of this Register. With then, Sir, at least a rational proof before you, "that the accounts, as now submitted to parliament, are useless for any purpose of checking the minister in his disposal of the public money," * and the notorious fact, that the conduct of the Treasury is directed by the minister; how is it possible, that the claims of the petitioners can be satisfied, except by the appointment of a parliamentary commission to inquire into the management of the Treasury department, and the system there adopted of stating the public accounts? You may, Sir, have felt reason to complain of the backwardness of the people, on some occasions during your political life, in declining to support your parliamentary measures, when calculated to secure them from the dangers preparing for them by the intemperance of your political rival, and all the distresses present and to come, of an unnecessary and most expensive war. But, in the instance now before you, you have the voice of the whole nation, a very few interested individuals excepted, not merely following your measures with approbation, but pointing out to you the way to secure the country from the corruption of ministers. You therefore, Sir, are even more than bound to be the advocate of those, who have so much extended the character of Englishmen, by their manly expression of indignation at the malversation of Lord Melville; and you cannot well permit the petitions of the people, upon this occasion, to rot as waste paper upon the table of the House of Commons, and the opportunity to pass by and be lost, of effecting a great and real reformation of abuse, and that upon the substantial authority of the declared and anxious expectations of the people.——Mr. Pitt commenced his political career, and acquired the confidence of the nation, by the earnestness he expressed to attain a frugal management of the public revenues, and to correct abuses. But the nation have yet to learn the method by which Mr. Pitt intended to carry his professions into practice. You, Sir, have been the true and steady friend of your country, and have acquired the character of being so, without having had resort to your powers of oratory to give credit to loud sounding and delusive professions. You have left your character to rest upon your actions; and circumstances have given you this great advantage over Mr. Pitt, that all his professions, all his dissimulation, and all his misconduct form an aggregate, placing you in a situation, that renders you competent to be that reformer of abuse and prodigality, which he professed, and, perhaps, at one time, wished to be. And you hold this situation, not as a young minister trying to gain popularity, and forcing untried and speculative measures upon the country; but as the acknowledged friend of your country, and called upon by the people to carry into effect that reformation which was promised to them by Mr. Pitt.——I have the honour to be, &c.——VERAX.——*August* 1, 1805.

* Vide Register, Vol. VIII. p. 68.

SHERIFF'S JURISDICTION AND POWER.

SIR,—Amongst the many discussions that at various times have taken place in your paper, the Political Register, I can find none on the subject of *a Sheriff's jurisdiction and power.*——This may appear, Sir, to you, a matter too trivial for consideration at a moment like the present, when things of much greater importance find places in your paper; but, at any leasure time when you can give this attention, and favour me with your opinion, I shall feel greatly obliged by your information.——The *election* of a Sheriff is made by "the Chancellor, Treasurer, Barons of the Exchequer, and the "Justice of the two Courts of Common "Law." This power of election was vested in them by the 9th Edw. II. st. 2. Upon his being elected by them and approved of by the King, he receives his Majesty's letters patent, empowering him to act in his county as the King's minister of law and justice; and, amongst other functions imposed upon him by those letters patent, he is "to attend the courts, *execute their process*, and "*make due returns thereof.*"——Hence it is, that he is termed in the language of the law, "a *patent* officer of the Crown."——Viewing him in this light, I have always considered him as bound to pay the most implicit obedience to the commands of the court; and, more particularly, as they are strengthened by always being issued in the King's name.——But circumstances having occurred, that have rendered the rectitude of this opinion rather doubtful, I have taken the liberty to address *you* on the subject.——In a case where a man recovers in a court of law *ten* acres of land, and afterwards issues what in the law is stiled a Writ

of Possession, grounded upon that verdict, when he attends the Sheriff on the day fixed for the execution of that writ, to receive the lands at his hands, the Sheriff refuses to give him possession, alleging, as a reason for so doing, that a counter-claim has been made of *one-half*; and, upon inquiry by what new opponent his claim is now to be disputed, he finds it to be *that very* identical *being* against whom he has just recovered what he now justly claims as his right.—— Neither the judgment of the court, in this case, or the King's mandate itself, are documents worthy the Sheriff's attention; and to shew his power, and as it were, sovereign contempt of them, he gives possession of only *one-half*: then, in order to fulfil his duty like a faithful "Minister," he returns to the court, that he has executed the writ as he was commanded!!!——An action, then, is brought for a *false return* against the Sheriff for damages. But, alas! here again, the unhappy plaintiff is foiled, for this is not *held to be* a false return, *prima facie*, until it has been ascertained whether the party claiming is *entitled* to the *land in question or not*; so that the very same processes may be gone through, *toties quoties*, without ever arriving any end.——I should be glad therefore, Sir, if you can explain to me the Law on this subject. By *law*, I mean only how we are to look on these *two powers* the Sheriff, and the united courts of law. And I should recommend in future, to persons who wish to recover any landed property, to prosecute their suits in the *Sheriff's court*, where *its* decision would not be subject to the opinion and controul of a superior jurisdiction; and to those, who have debts owing them under forty shillings, the most adviseable mode of recovering such debts, would be, to commence their actions in the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas.——Or, if the law on this subject cannot now be altered, I should be greatly obliged by your advice *how* a man can possibly proceed in the courts at Westminster, so as to attain *any* end; and how the poor man, in such a case, can attempt to retrieve a family inheritance, without, in the end, being obliged to leave the bone of contention to his subtle adversary, and all his trouble and anxiety being crowned with the enviable prospect of being immured in a gaol for life to satisfy the *costs of suit*.——I am, Sir, your obedient humble Servant, J. W. G.

PUBLIC PAPER.

RUSSIA AND FRANCE.——*The following Observations on the Dispute between France and Russia, are taken from the French Official Paper, the Moniteur, of the 24th of July; and dated Berlin, July 15, 1805.*

M. Novozlitzoff left this capital yesterday for Saint Petersburgh. He had a long conferrence with Mr. Jackson, the British Envoy at Berlin.—His mission was announced throughout all Europe several months before it was undertaken, which circumstance alone had a tendency to defeat its object. It very naturally furnished a topic for much discussion, conjecture, and intrigue. After having represented M. Novozil'zoff rather as the bearer of orders than a negotiator, pains were taken to set forth his mission under aspect, in order to render it no less odious. He was to treat, said report, only with the Emperor himself.—Those who circulated these absurd reports, knew very well that every sort of pretension that should deviate from that line of attention and respect which is due to a great power, would of itself have frustrated a mission, the object of which besides was far from appearing very clear. And that there was somewhat in it indefinite and obscure, is manifestly obvious from it having been successively the object of orders and counter-orders. But upon due consideration of every circumstance, the counter-order which recalls M. Novozil'zoff to Petersburgh, is probably more conducive to peace than the order which sent him to Paris.—— If it was the object of his mission to remove the coolness which had taken place between France and Russia, most likely it would have succeeded; and, indeed, what is there in common between France and Russia? Independent of each other, they are respectively unable to do one another any injury, while they are all powerful mutually to benefit each other. If the Emperor of the French exerts a powerful degree of influence in Italy, the Emperor of Russia wields a still greater influence over the Ottoman Porte and over Persia. One has a circumscribed influence which does not extend beyond discussions respecting his limits, and which makes no considerable addition to his strength. The other, on the contrary, exerts his full influence over two powers of the first order, who for a length of time held the same political rank as France and Russia, and who extend their domination over the Arabias, the Caspian and the Black Sea. If the cabinet of Russia pretends to have a right to fix the precise limits that are to bound France on all sides, it is no doubt also disposed to allow the Emperor of the French to prescribe the limits within which Russia is to remain. When with Herschell's telescope they observe from the terrace of the palace Tauris what passes between the Emperor of the

French and some petty states bordering on the Appenines, they doubtless do not require that the Emperor of the French should not see what becomes of Persia, or what becomes of the ancient and illustrious empire of Solyman; that the Emperor of the French should not observe that within these two years the whole of the Caucasees, at the mere request of a few families of the country, has been annexed to Russia; that the whole of Wallachia and Moldavia are made dependant on Russia; that Russia has seized upon the Mouths of the Phasis; that she has established and erected fortresses on that river, and that by thus obliging the Porte to suffer her usurpations, she derives great advantages for prosecuting her conquests into the heart of Persia.——Is then the Emperor of the French reduced to such a degree of weakness, that he must coolly listen to a Russian commissary, who calls him to account for what he does in countries unknown to Russia, and with whom he has no connexion, no intercourse; that he must shut his eyes that he may not see, and restrain himself that he may not answer; when the Sultan Selim reigns less at Constantinople than the mere envoy of Russia; when the Bosphorus has been violated; when the effects of the occupation of the Crimea and of the Mouths of the Phasis, are already felt in their full extent; when the cries of the Seraglio, though restrained by fear, give the signal to Europe: and where there is not a Pacha in the Morea, or a Mussulman in Constantinople, that does not daily expect to see a squadron from the Black Sea cast anchor under the walls of the Seraglio, a herald proclaim a declaration of war, and a discharge of musquetry resound through the gardens of the Grand Seignior.——But if a Russian commissary, while he came to Paris to require a diminution of influence in Italy, said at the same time that a guarantee would be given for Persia and the Porte; that the Bosphorus shall not be violated, that agreeably to the usages of all times, it shall be shut against the ships of all nations; that the treaty of 1798 shall not be renewed; that the subjects of the Porte shall no longer sail under Russian colours; that the regiments raised at a great expense in Albannia for the Russian service, shall be disbanded; that the number of ships in the Black Sea shall never be so considerable as to expose the Porte to the danger of being overpowered in her capital before the powers of Europe could be apprised of her situation; that the Phasis shall be evacuated, that the Caucasus shall be restored to the Scah of Persia, and that that extensive Empire will at length be allowed to enjoy repose, after so many years of intestine wars and calamities. It is easy to understand what would be the effect of such language, and although most assuredly we are not in the secrets of the cabinet of the Thuilleries, we do not hesitate to say, the Emperor of the French would be ready prepared for that noble transaction; he would yield, not to threats, but to the desire of establishing the independence of nations, and the happiness of the human race. Whatever sacrifices it might make for the independence of the Porte and of Persia, he should still be a gainer by them. Posterity, for whom he labours, would acknowledge him for their benefactor, and would remark that sagacity that enabled him to foresee the Russians oppressing one day the whole world, as they now oppress the North, and arriving at that universal monarchy, with which Europe has been so much alarmed, and which has so long been represented to be the ambition of the French people, who have every thing at home, who can see nothing preferable to what they enjoy at home, and who can never be dangerous to the independence of other countries.——If the Russian plenipotentiary came as bearer of propositions from England, who but sees the difficulties, the inextricable embarrassments which the new instructions, the new pretensions of Russia must introduce into the negotiation? Whatever may be the nature of the objects respecting which France and England are divided, can these two nations be so reduced as to await the decision of their differences from a distant country, to whom the interests of both are so little known?—When the British cabinet smiled upon the mission of M. Novoziltzoff, her joy arose from the hope not only of engaging Russia in their quarrel, but also of drawing over, through her means, Austria or Prussia. For the British cabinet is well aware that the concurrence of Russia alone would not embolden them to dwell upon those frantic projects of partition which they do not cease to dream of in their delirium. When the British government wish for peace, they will feel that a French note must be answered by an English note. These two languages are more easily translated than any other, and the introduction of a third idiom would only perplex the negotiation.——Can M. Novoziltzoff be supposed so entertain precise and accurate notions of such complicated affairs? Did he know that at the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, that the Mysore empire was not yet entirely annexed to the British power; that since that period, the Mahratta empire has been destroyed; that England has doubled her dominion in India; that no European vessel can henceforward appear in

those seas? Did he imagine that France would renounce for ever all commerce with India? Did he moreover see that it was not commerce with India only that was to be attended to; that what Catharine never would consent to was obtained for England by the battle of Copenhagen; that what France will never allow, was obtained by Nelson from Russsia, in the Gulph of Finland; that since that treaty, so injurious to the rights of which the least proud nations are jealous, continual extensions have been given to the right of blockade; that whole rivers have been blockaded; that one hundred leagues of coast (Portugal had been blockaded; that Cadiz was blockaded even when our squadron was superior in the Gut; that Genoa is blockaded, though for six months she has not seen an English ship, although for six months she has not seen a neutral vessel, the result of the strange condescension of the respective powers? At Venice, at Trieste, at Lisbon, in the ports of the North, from the moment when the blockade of Genoa was announced, every order for that place was revoked.——Did this plenipotentiary come to tell us that Russia has obtained the liberty of India, and the freedom of commerce with India, the acknowledgment of the common sovereignty over the seas, the renunciation of all extension of the right of blockade, restricted hereafter to countries attacked and in danger of being taken, and, according to the definition of the word blockade, surrounded on all sides? Did he come at the same time to require that the crown of Italy should be placed upon another head, and that possession should be renounced of some scraps of territory beyond the Alps?——Had this been the case, the Russian plenipotentiary would be welcome; he would have met with no obstacle, and success would have crowned his undertaking. But if, approving what is done by England, acknowledging her right to examine every ship, to place in a state of blockade whole empires, applauding the immense increase of her power in India, he came at the same time to propose to France to evacuate Parma and Genoa, to renounce the crown of Italy, it was France that was sought to be oppressed, it was France that was proposed to be brought back to the time when the partition of Poland was effected without its consent, when a degenerate race had been terrified for the purpose of divesting them of a sense of their dignity, and of the disposition to defend themselves from oppression.——France has means, has courage, has armies; and whatever coalition the English ministers may be able to renew, France, still deploring the influence of British gold upon the Continent, will untie this new gordian knot, as she has the two that have preceded it. Whenever any interposition shall be made to reduce England within just and proper bounds, France will make any sacrifice; but when it is intended to press upon her alone, she can discover in such designs nothing but hatred, jealousy and insult; and surely, it would betray an ignorance of the calculation of strength, and of the position of things, to expect ever to succeed.——Poland was partitioned; it became necessary that France should have Belgium, and the Banks of the Rhine. The Crimea, Mount Caucassus, and the Mouth of the Phasis, &c. have been seized on; and it became necessary that France should have an equivalent in Europe; her self preservation required it.——Is it a general congress of Europe that is desired?—Very well! Let each power place at the disposal of this congress, all that it has acquired for the last fifty years; let Poland be re-established, let Venice be restored to the Senate, Trinidad to Spain, Ceylon to Holland, the Crimea to the Porte; let the Phasis and the Bosphorus be renounced, let Caucasus and the Georgia be restored, let Persia be allowed to breathe after so many calamities; let the empire of the Mahrattas and Mysore be re-established, or let them not continue the exclusive property of the English; France may then confine itself within its ancient limits, and it would not be France that would lose the most. Whence then arise these outrageous cries, those provocations to a crusade against a power, that for fifty years has profited less than any other by the vicissitudes of states, and the changes of the world; which, ever victorious, has never retained any part of its conquests that was not necessary for a just compensation.——Europe had felt dreadful shocks, social order was reviving, the peace of Amiens had settled anew the universal system. A weak minister, and an unparalleled arrogance, have rekindled the war, and thrown the tranquillity of all nations again into a state of uncertainty. That prince, upon the Continent, who shall first associate himself in this project of general overthrow, who shall first give the signal for war, will be responsible for all the disasters that will result from it, and merit the maledictions of the present generation. All men of sense think that the consequence of a new continental conflagration will be to augment the power of France. They think also that she never will have the folly to evacuate numerous provinces, from the pure sentiment of generosity, or in the vain hope of advancing the interests of humanity, and the repose of the world.——It is the fashion to accuse th

ambition of France.—Yet, if she had been inclined to retain her conquests, one half of Austria, the States of Venice, the kingdom of Naples, Switzerland and Holland would still be in her possession. The limits of France are in reality the Adige and the Rhine? Has she passed the Adige? Has she passed the Rhine? If she took not the Salsa and the Drave for her limits, was she compelled hereto by force of arms, or was she influenced by a noble moderation? It is natural for such men as the Woronzows, the Thugutts, the Actons, in whom Europe has witnessed as much incapacity as hatred against every thing great and liberal, whose consciences are enslaved by English gold, to employ their whole influence to propagate or to bring back the scourges of war. The happiness of nations has allowed the downfall or diminution of their credit; it is also a happiness for princes. There are some who have ceased to reign from having listened to them.——The calamities of a continental war would not fall either upon Russia or England, since the scenes of battle would be in Italy and Germany. And what interest then have the French, the Italians, and the Germans, in the interference of powers, who would take advantage of the moment when the most dreadful blows should be struck, to complete the ruin of Constantinople and of Ispanan? The policy of the powers of the North has ever been to excite wars, from which they had nothing to fear. It was thus, that Catharine kept Prussia and Austria for many years at war, by constantly promising succours, which did not prevent the French armies from arriving at the gates of Vienna. It was thus that the late Emperor prolonged the calamities of war, by promising succours, which never arrived till the moment, when Austria had gained some successes without them; which retired on the first reverse, and in the midst of a campaign, left their allies to support singly, the burthen which they had promised to bear a share of.——In a word, France and Russia have nothing to gain by their misunderstanding; they cannot do each other any injury by war, and whatever may be the policy of the one or of the other, they can derive nothing but advantages from being well with each other. We have asserted, and we repeat it, that if Russia shall evacuate the Bosphorus, Caucasus, the Phasis, Georgia, &c. &c. France will consent to any arrangements that may be desired in Italy. But unhappily it is but too well known that such sacrifices are not palatable to any party; France must therefore be allowed to indemnify herself for the advantages which the other powers procure for themselves.——As to England, the treaty of Amiens exists; it has been made with coolness, and after a long investigation of the respective interests, it has been unexpectedly violated, and on vain pretexts. Let its stipulations be re-established, and peace will be re-established between the two states. But if England insists on new conditions, if she wished to interfere in the discussion of the limits of France in Italy, let her admit France to a share of the states of the Mysore, of the Mahrattas; let her, in fine, adopt maxims consistent with the independence of other powers. But, say the English, "perish rather than recognise the principle that the flag covers the merchandize, that each vessel is accountable for its cargo, and what happens on board, only to its own Sovereign; that the East Indies are not our exclusive property, or that any power, has a right to interfere with our dominion in India." Do not expect that France shall enter into discussion with you on questions that do not concern you, or do you consent to enter with her into a discussion of questions connected with the sacred interests of all nations. She is sensible of the value of peace; but she is bound to make war, if it be necessary to maintain the glory of her flag, and the preponderance which she has acquired, and to insure for herself, that in whatever part of the world a Frenchman may be, he should have no reason to blush either for the insults or the pretensions of England.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

WAR IN THE WEST INDIES.—*Proclamation issued by His Excellency the Governor of Barbadoes, proclaiming Martial Law. Dated May* 18, 1805.—L. S. SEAFORTH.

Whereas there is the most undoubted intelligence that the enemy were seen in great force upon the coasts of this island last night and this day; and whereas from those circumstances, the knowledge we have of the great strength of the enemy lately arrived in these seas, added to the most awkward circumstance of there being no existing House of Assembly, it becomes necessary to the existence of the colony that effective and vigorous measures should be instantly adopted: I do by and with the advice and consent of his Majesty's council make use of the power and authority vested in me by his Majesty, and for such cases provided, and I hereby declare this island to be under martial law from the morning of to-morrow, till the evening gun firing on Tuesday next; declaring, during the above space of time, that this island is under, and liable to the laws and usages in similar cases customary in his Majesty's colonies; of which all con-

cerned will take due notice, under pain of the usual penalties; and for no longer a space of time is martial law, on any pretence to prevail, unless from the continuance of the circumstances above, I shall see fit to renew this my proclamation.——Given under my hand and seal at arms in council chamber at the town hall this 18th day of May, 1805, and in the 45th year of his Majesty's reign. God save the King! By his Excellency's command, Jos. D. Husbands, Dep. Sec.

Martial Law continued, &c. &c. &c.

Seaforth,—Whereas the circumstances of danger attending this island, which caused me to issue my proclamation of the 18th instant, are so far from being diminished, that they are rather increased:——I do hereby, by and with the advice and consent of his Majesty's council, continue my above-mentioned proclamation in full force until gun-firing on Saturday evening next: and it is hereby continued in full force, of which all concerned are required to take notice.——Given under my hand and seal at arms, in council chamber, at Pilgrim, this 21st day of May, 1805, and in the 45th year of his Majesty's reign. God save the King. By his Excellency's command, Jos. D. Husbands, Dep. Sec.

Batavian Flotilla.——*Report of Admiral Verhuel to the Secretary of State for the Marine Department of the Batavian Republic, Dated Dunkirk, July 26.*

High and Noble Sir,——In my letter of the 18th July, I had the honour to send you a short account of my arrival at Ambleteuse, with a part of the Batavian flotilla; but the circumstances of my voyage, in which the Batavian colours have been crowned with so much bravery, deserve to be more fully known by your lordship, and I have, in consequence, the honour to give you a more detailed account of it. For these two months past, I have kept a considerable part of the flotilla at anchor at Dunkirk, ready to sail at a moment's notice for Ambleteuse. On Wednesday, the 7th July, the wind being N. N.E. I went directly with the officers of my staff, on board the yacht Bantam, and made, at half past four, the signal for sailing. In a few moments after, I gave the signal to four French praams and thirty-two Batavian gun-boats to weigh anchor and set sail, they being at that time the only vessels ready to put to sea. The strong N. N. West winds had previously compelled me to send into harbour the transport ships, and the same state of the weather still prevented them from coming out. At six o'clock in the afternoon, the ships being drawn up in a line of battle, in two divisions, we sailed in the following order. The Colonel and Captain of the Navy, Gerbrands, leading the van; the Colonel and Captain of the Navy, Carpentier, the rear; and myself on board the gun-boat, No. 39, Lieutenant of the Navy, Bodel, commander, in the centre. The four praams ranged themselves in the outer division, one in the van, two in the centre, and one in the rear. As soon as we got under sail we descried an English brig in the N. W. steering westward, and firing signals to ships in that quarter. As soon as we got sight of Gravelines we discovered nine of the enemy's ships, five of them three masted, frigates, and corvettes, and four brigs, laying to within half a mile of the shore. I made the signal to prepare for battle, the enemy still remaining at anchor, until we came nearer, in order that they might attack us with the more advantage. A quarter after nine o'clock, having come athwart of the enemy, which we now found to consist of fifteen ships, they tacked and engaged our van and centre within gun shot. They then extended their line so as to comprehend our rear. The action became warm, and the enemy closed us, keeping up a constant fire until we came near to Calais, when they sheered off, and left us in possession of the field of battle. We arrived in the harbour of Calais between eleven and twelve at night, where we cast anchor, although we might have continued our voyage, as we wished to give an opportunity to the ships in the rear to join us, and we then put the fleet again in sailing order. I was also particularly anxious to sail with day-light, that the enemy might see and follow us, and thus leave the passage clear for the ships still to come from Dunkirk, which were not so well equipped as those under my command; and were not, of course, able to make as good a resistance. The result has proved, that I succeeded in my object. The following morning about five o'clock, we drew up in line of battle, and saw in different stations 19 ships of the enemy, consisting of two ships of the line, 11 frigates and corvettes, and six brigs, who approached us, and, having rallied, attacked our line. The enemy came far within gun shot, and made great use of their mortars, which threw many bombs in the middle of our ships, but luckily not one of them did any damage. The batteries on shore had a great share in the action, and assisted the heavy fire of our ships in forcing the enemy to sheer off again. At eleven o'clock in the morning, five Batavian gun-boats arrived at Calais, eleven transports, and three French pinnaces, which had sailed from Dunkirk after us, who had

meeting an enemy. These ships I ordered out of the harbour, and made a signal to give me a return of the damage sustained by the gun-boats, and was informed that eleven gun-boats were rendered unserviceable, and unable to proceed farther. I accordingly sent them into the harbour of Calais. I went on shore to settle with the French commandant of the navy, for the repair of the vessels. At Calais I met Marshal D'Avoust, general in chief of the army, who had come on board the last division from Dunkirk, and wished to proceed with us, and in the afternoon I returned with his excellency and three other officers on board. Notwithstanding I was aware that the nineteen ships with which I had been engaged in the morning had sailed to the west, and were in our course, I determined not to lose the opportunity, as, from the courage and bravery evinced in the late engagement, I had the fullest confidence in our vessels. At three o'clock in the afternoon, I made signal to weigh anchor, and got under sail, to twenty-one gun-boats, and three praams, including the division last from Dunkirk. I instantly formed the line of battle, myself in the van. When we arrived off Cape Blancenez, we discovered twenty-two English ships, including two ships of the line, six frigates, thirteen brigs, and one cutter. They kept at a certain distance, beyond gun shot of our ships, until they had formed into line of battle. The action commenced about five o'clock in the afternoon, and soon became extremely warm. Meanwhile the two ships of the line came so near that we fired our musquetry, by which the enemy must have suffered a great deal. We did not suffer so much, as most of their shot passed over us. The coast, by the care of Marshal D'Avoust, was lined with artillery and bombs, by which we were much assisted. Before we arrived off Cape Guisnez, the enemy's squadron was encreased to forty-five sail, including a great many frigates. All these ships being close together, our flotilla was covered, which were answered from our side with great spirit. Some of the enemy came within pistol shot of us, particularly two English brigs, which attacked my vessel with great fury, perceiving us to be the signal vessel. Notwithstanding this, we doubled the Cape in the most regular order in line of battle, very close to each other, fighting our way, although we had to pass a bank, over which three vessels could not sail a-breast, and that with great difficulty. At seven o'clock we arrived off Ambleteuse, in good order, where I suffered the ships to lie at anchor, in order of battle. Some English ships that had been stationed off Boulogne, perceived their squadron, and joined in the action: but they were all forced, at length, by our fire, and the heavy fire of the batteries, to put to sea again, and about eight o'clock the several actions of the day were at an end. I feel great gratification in giving to your lordship an account of the business of the day, and to assure you, that in the four actions, all very warm, the Batavian flag has been defended with the greatest bravery. We have had an opportunity to shew that the Batavian courage is no less than it was in former times, when we were so often victorious on the seas. We have shewn, that when the French Emperor, the great Napoleon, gives an order, the same can be executed; as certainly many may think the passage which we effected impossible, as on that day ninety-five sail of the enemy were to be seen off Cape Grisnez, of which we fought forty-five. The damages sustained by our vessels is not considerable, and will be soon repaired. We have in all ten killed, and sixty wounded, French and Dutch. I feel the greatest pleasure in being able to speak to your lordships in terms of the highest praise of all the officers. They shewed the greatest attention in the execution of my orders, and shewed the greatest ardour to attack the enemy. As proof of this it may be sufficient to state, that several vessels, carrying only two twenty-four pounders, fired 250 shots. The French officers, the crews, and officers of the schooners conducted themselves in the most exemplary manner. In a word, a commander may consider himself happy in having such brave men under him. Both did the greatest honour to their respective nations. [Here follows a list of the officers, whom he recommends to the notice of his lordship, and the names of the gun-boats damaged and left behind at Calais for repair.] After this enumeration, the letter thus concludes—"Lastly, I have the honour to inform you, that since my arrival, 46 gun-boats, and 11 transport ships have arrived here, under convoy of four gun-schooners; and I have farther the pleasure to state, that all those gun-vessels, by the indefatigable activity of the captain of the navy, A. A. Buyskes, chief of my staff, came safe from Dunkirk. I had left tha, officer behind, with orders not to omit any opportunity of sending off the vessels, after I had brought off the enemy to the west. He has ably supported me in the different manœuvres. I thought it proper to send Lieutenant Franken, an officer of my staff, with this report, who will be able to give your lordship a fuller account of the same I have the honour to be, with the highest esteem. (Signed) VERHUEL.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 7.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 17, 1805. [PRICE 1OD.

" it" [Mr. Pitt's crouching to Catharine in the affair of Ochsakoff] " passed off, very quietly, in this " country; but, the effect of it abroad was long felt; and, I verily believe, that it has had an influence " upon all the events, which have, of late years, taken place in the North of Europe. If, then, Mr. Pitt's " friends will still upbraid the present administration for want of firmness, of wisdom, of talent, for " having made an inglorious peace, I fear not to challenge a comparison; and to defy them to shew me any " thing, in the peace of Amiens, half so inglorious, so disgraceful as this. Let any impartial person " pronounce by which of the two transactions the national honour has been most tarnished. It will be " found, at least, that, if all which the friends of Mr. Pitt say be true, that this administration" [the Addington] " is not the only one that has yielded up the true interest, the glory, of this country to popular " clamour, and to the desire of keeping their places."——PLAIN REPLY (a pamphlet imputed to Mr. Bragge,) p. 93.

FALL OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY.

SIR,——There is no interesting period of civil society, that at first sight seems to present so many sources of general and authentic information respecting it, as the progress of the French revolution from July, 1789, to the fall of the revolutionary government. The multitude of public assemblies, in which every part of public affairs and every public measure was canvassed, the number of state trials in which not only the subalterns, but the leaders of all the parties were led to the scaffold, the variety of writers who had themselves been actors in many of the convulsions, are unexampled in the same space of time. But on a closer examination their value is found to be small. Great part of the debates of the states general, the legislative assembly, and the convention are preserved, but they are not only subject to the reserve common to all public discussions, but it was seldom, that in them the real power resided, or in them that public measures actually originated; it was in assemblies of various descriptions, of many of which none of the proceedings, and of the others very little remains. Among the state trials, in which it might be expected that the conduct of the actors and the transactions in which they acted must be explained, there are few in which the accused were either tried or convicted for the real causes for which they suffered. Of the writers, the memoirs of the monarchical annalists of the court, are little more to the purpose than the anecdotes of the former levées or coteries of Versailles; in the productions of the Rolands, the Brissots, the Louvets, &c. instead of the internal movements of the revolution, nothing is to be found but the details of their own persecutions, with assertions that they and their friends were the only pure patriots, and that all their opponents were traitors and villains. Of the Dantons, the Robespieres, the Billauds, the Collots, no memoirs are known; if to this be added, that the revolution intercepted the means of private intelligence, there is reason to fear, that unless some yet unknown Davila or de Retz, who may have escaped the sanguinary rage of all the factions, should appear, the real history of that tempestuous period will be lost, not only to the present age, but to posterity; by history, I do not mean a chronological table of incidents, but a living picture, in which may be seen the share that chance, general principles, and the actors had in the events as they passed. I am far from pretending to be able to draw aside the veil with which it is covered; but when ferocious animals have been discovered, who have torn one another to pieces, although it may not be possible to satisfy the man of science by presenting them alive, it may, perhaps, be sufficient for most useful purposes, by collecting the inanimate fragments to endeavour to ascertain their nature, and form some estimate of the mischief that they might occasion.——The transactions at Paris, and the submission of the King operated like an electric shock through the nation: the populace broke loose in almost every part of the kingdom; in the towns they attacked whoever was obnoxious to them, in the country they destroyed the houses and property of the noblesse; and, it was observed, that those who had shewn their dependents the greatest tenderness, had no better fate than those who had treated them with harshness and severity. In some places they marched in such bodies that a kind of civil war commenced; in the Lyonnois several hundreds fell in some rencounters; and skirmishes frequently happened, in which many lives were lost. From the first they shewed a disposition to bloodshed: at Paris they led the governor and keeper of the Bastile to execution, and murdered Mons. Flesselles upon suspicion, with marks of savage barbarity; a few days after M. Foulon and M. Berthier, on merely a rumour underwent the same fate. The instances of their excesses

in the provinces were without number, they insulted the laws and the principles of humanity, a parricide was liberated at the place of execution, and an officer was torn to pieces for demanding from his soldiers some civic or revolutionary medals that had been distributed among them.——The citizens of Paris sent an invitation, which amounted to a command to the King to visit them; he was met by the Mayor M. Bailley, with the keys of the city, who presented them with the well known address, which afforded a good specimen of the meekness and urbanity of philosophers in the exercise of newly acquired power: he was then led in triumph to the town house, where after being exhibited to the victorious citizens, he was carried back to Versailles.——From the time of the King's visit to Paris his name had rarely been mentioned, and how long he might have remained in oblivion is impossible to divine, if he had not sent a message to the national assembly that he had chosen a ministry which he hoped would be agreeable to their wishes. Had they from the first instant after the 15th of July, exerted themselves to restore an efficient government, and to render it free by guarding against abuses, it is doubtful if it was not then already beyond their reach; instead, however, of attempting it, they had been bewildering themselves in inexplicable definitions of the rights of man. It has been insinuated, that the warmth with which the King's message had been received, had not been diminished between the morning and evening session of the 4th of August; in the latter, a member of the noblesse made a motion for renouncing some, and the redemption of other feudal rights; the principle was no sooner broached, than there was a general struggle who should be foremost with motions for levelling all distinctions of order or rank; they were adopted by acclamation without debate or discussion: that session laid the foundation of the destruction of all the privileges of the noblesse, the abolition of tithes, and the confiscation of the property of the clergy. When they had had time for reflection, many members of those orders shewed an inclination to recal their hasty prodigality, but they then found that reflection had come too late. Without an aristocracy there can neither be freedom nor stability of government; it is a powerful and hereditary aristocracy which distinguishes the western nations from those of the east, it is to that that the former are indebted for the mildness and stability of their monarchies, while the latter are buried in despotism and torn by eternal revolutions: an aristocracy is no less necessary to a free government or even to a republic, than to a simple monarchy; it was on the ruins of the aristocracy that the despotism of Rome was erected. The abuses of an aristocracy have been felt all over Europe, they have been great, but they have never equalled those of despotism, or of what is the prelude to it, the domination of popular factions: they were considerable in France, but in abolishing instead of correcting it, they destroyed the foundations of order and freedom.——In subverting the basis of government, the national assembly were so warmly applauded by the populace, that they fancied or acted as if they fancied that they actually possessed the power of the state. They did not think it necessary to consult the King in respect to their proceedings; they carried their decrees to him and required his assent, when and in whatever manner they pleased. But though they intended that their powers as regenerators of the nation should be unlimited, they resolved, and had the folly to suppose, that they could fetter their successors as they chose. Among the preliminary articles of the projected constitution, it was a subject of keen debate, whether the King's assent should be necessary to the enactment of laws. Their being able to deliberate upon and determine that question, shewed that it was of little consequence; they, however, decided in the affirmative. The account of this resolution no sooner reached Paris, than it produced a considerable fermentation, and the groups of the Palais Royal proceeded to such lengths as to send threatening letters to the national assembly. Of no transaction that forms an æra in the French revolution, has less been discovered of the real causes, than of the violence offered to the King and the Royal Family on the 6th of October, 1789. It was the subject of a long inquiry before the Chatelet, and of another by a committee of the city of Paris, some members of which, probably knew, but did not chuse to divulge them; it was afterwards discussed in the national assembly, yet nothing was publicly established respecting the real origin of it, for the plot of the Duke of Orleans was evidently the fabrication of the day; it is therefore, necessary to resort to circumstances to endeavour to ascertain it. When these threatening letters were brought to the assembly, the monarchical party who were then a majority, seem to have perceived that their power rested on a very uncertain foundation, and to be sensible that they stood nearly in the same situation that the King did on the 14th of July. They moved that the city of Paris should either

become responsible for the safety of the members, or that the assembly should remove to some of the provinces. Though this motion was set aside by the order of the day, it is probable that they had come to a determination of attempting to form an efficient government upon their own principles, which had some affinity to those of the British constitution, and that the King and the then ministry had joined in the scheme. The change in the tone of the assembly, their resolution to repress the disorders, the application of the municipality of Versailles, where no extraordinary disturbance had happened, for troops, their being immediately ordered, their reception by the court on their arrival, some mysterious expressions that passed in the King's presence between the president of the national assembly and the keeper of the seals, the latter becoming immediately after so obnoxious to the popular party, the little deference that the city of Paris shewed to the national assembly after they had got possession of the King's person, and the dread that the members of that party shewed of the city, all strongly indicated that something of that nature had been in contemplation. It is likewise highly probable, that it had either transpired or was suspected in Paris, for the insurrection was not accidental, or the caprice of the moment as was industriously propagated, but proceeded upon an arrêt of the district of the Cordeliers, signed by Danton and published on the 4th. After the King was carried to Paris, the assembly desired that measures might be taken to secure the safety of the members, to which the municipality returned for answer, that they were not desirous that the assembly should remove, the assembly themselves were averse to it, and it was only in compliance with the King's request, that they at last resolved to follow him to Paris; a few days after that resolution, several members were threatened on the road between Paris and Versailles, upon which some of the principal members of the monarchical party retired from the assembly.—The city of Paris was not insensible of the essential part they had acted in the revolution. It had been divided by M. Necker into sections at the time of the elections; the sections did not themselves elect the members for the national assembly, but chose electors who again joined in certain numbers for that purpose. The sections during the insurrection of the 14th of July, likewise chose deputies under the name at first of a committee, but afterwards of the provisional municipality or common council. Under all these forms Paris appeared not only in particular transactions, but took under consideration the laws and constitution, even often assumed a legislative authority, and what was still more formidable, led and conducted the insurrections of the people. M. Necker had been recalled immediately after the revolution; one of the first acts of his administration was to solicit a general amnesty, but he applied for it neither to the King, whose minister he had returned to be, nor to the national assembly which he had called together to regenerate the nation, but to the city of Paris; it was immediately granted, but as immediately recalled when opposed by some of the sections. Early in the revolution the national assembly was divided into two parties, one which preceded the revolutionary spirit and pushed it on, the other which endeavoured to retard it: the same was soon seen in all the public bodies; or, to adopt the language of the revolution, the constituted authorities. Hence the common council, the electors and the sections of Paris, were frequently at variance upon many points; the sections often differed among themselves; except in some great insurrections they were rarely unanimous or nearly so, and upon several occasions they were on the point of entering into a civil war within the city itself. While the national assembly had been employed in framing a constitution for the nation, the provisional common council of Paris had been composing one for itself; it included almost all the powers of government, and made it nearly a state within itself: the national assembly would not sanction it. But, however much these two bodies might have differed, the actors of the 14th of July and the 6th of October, shewed so little respect to the authority of either, that the national assembly had been only a few days in Paris, when the common council solicited them to repress the excesses of the people. When the national assembly found themselves supported by the common council, they passed a law resembling our riot act, which they stiled martial law; in consequence of which a trifling mob was dispersed without opposition; the murderer of a baker, who had been hanged, probably from private pique, but for the ostensible reason of having a few loaves in his possession; the butchers of the mayor of Treyes who had been dashed to pieces, because he did not resign his office at the request of some blackguards, and the assailants of a commissary who narrowly escaped the same fate, were punished, produced a momentary calm, and the law was then nearly forgotten. When the national assembly arrived at that part of the constitution which

relates to the organization of the municipalities, many of the sections insisted that the plan of the government of Paris should be left to them; the national assembly on the other hand, to break the power of the city which they dreaded, wanted to change the government of it entirely, and to divide it into separate departments and districts; but that was so strenuously opposed by many of the sections, that they thought it prudent not to persist; the municipality then demanded an extensive jurisdiction beyond the city; a compromise at last ensued, the provisional municipality was dissolved, and a new one chosen; the assembly resolved that the sections should meet only for elections; the leaders of them had been so exorbitant in their demands, that they had outrun the public opinion, finding themselves not supported, they did not oppose it, but they never failed to assemble when it suited their purposes, and their right was seldom afterwards contested.——When Mirabeau moved the remonstrance to the King for removing the troops before the revolution, he had moved as part of it, that the citizens of Versailles should be armed to preserve the peace; that part of the motion was not carried, but it was put in execution in Paris during the insurrection; and, of the citizens who offered themselves, forty eight thousand were selected under the name of Paris Militia, afterwards changed to that of National Guards; they chose Mons. de la Fayette for their commander, who as might be expected was confirmed by the King. The municipality applied to the national assembly for a decree to regulate and embody them; that assembly returned for answer that they had devoted themselves to the labours of the constitution, and they only deprived it of so much of their precious time, as to publish an address to the people requesting them to return to order. The national guards were imitated by the towns over the whole kingdom: those of Paris took upon themselves all the military duty that related to the police or the internal government of the country, but they neither enforced the laws, nor did they submit to subordination themselves: the murders that followed the 14th of July were perpetrated, notwithstanding the prayers and intreaties of M. de la Fayette; they marched with him to Versailles, but they permitted the populace to kill some of the body guards on the 6th of October, and to carry off the King and the Royal Family prisoners to Paris. Those of Versailles took from the regular troops, the duty of guards to the King and the national assembly; even the French guards who had served the revolution faithfully, were so much disgusted that they marched off and joined their own regiments. After the 6th of October, by the removal of the King and the national assembly to Paris, both the executive and legislative authorities fell into the hands of the citizens. The national guards of the provinces were not long in perceiving the influence that the city of Paris and their brethren there had acquired from possessing them. Soon after the national assembly removed to Paris, the national guards in part of Dauphiny and the Vivarrais, entered into an association, the ostensible object of which was to support the constitution: that association was joined by great part of the southern, and afterwards of the western provinces; they desired to associate with their brethren in the capital, which was granted, and not long after terminated in a general confederation at Paris, on the anniversary of the 14th of July. The association extended so rapidly, and became so active through correspondence, deputations, and congresses, that it was feared that they would become the most powerful body in the kingdom, and it is very difficult even to conjecture what might have been the consequence, if their views had not clashed with those of the city of Paris. The confederates after the 14th of July, instituted a club at Paris, and expressed a desire to compose part of the guard of the King and the national assembly, but this was very coolly received in the metropolis.——The army as well as every other department of the state, had felt the effects of the revolution; discipline had been greatly relaxed, but no general symptoms of disobedience or separation from their officers appeared, till after the general confederation had been in agitation; the soldiers had evidently been tampered with to join in it, the measure was brought forward by one of the sections of Paris, and the King or his ministers did not think it prudent to refuse his consent. At the same time that the minister of the war department, notified to the national assembly the King's permission for the soldiers to send deputies to it, he informed them that a dangerous insubordination had appeared in some regiments, and that they had established permanent committees, who passed judgment upon their officers. It could not be expected that the effects of so dangerous a precedent could be prevented, except by the most vigorous measures at the beginning; but the assembly, instead of proposing such to the King, passed it over by thanking him for the communication, and referring it to their military committee. The pantomime of the confederation had been acted only two or three weeks, before

the same minister requested that they would immediately use means for restoring the discipline of the army; informing them that every messenger brought an account of a new mutiny, that the committees increased every day, both in number and audacity, that their deputations came to him and intimated haughtily the resolutions of their constituents, that the subjects of almost all those contentions were pecuniary claims, and that they erected themselves into judges of their own demands, that the same spirit threatened to infect the whole army, that a correspondence was carried on between them, and that they were on the point of forming military congresses. The assembly then did take it into consideration; they passed a decree, which was so far from being in the spirit of military discipline, that it was rather a censure upon the officers. Under every weak and inactive administration abuses are permitted; they are dangerous to government by affording a just reason of complaint, they are still more dangerous when any disturbance arises, as they either compel the government to infringe the principles of justice, or to yield at the moment that it ought to exact implicit obedience. It is to be doubted if the funds of the French regiments were always strictly administered, but when they were not, I believe, in time of peace at least, that it was generally the treasury, not the soldier that suffered. That decree could have reached Nanci only a few days, when the garrison completely mutinied and seized the military chest. The national assembly, instead of subjecting them to a court martial, declared them guilty of high treason; however, the King was requested, or rather empowered and ordered to suppress the mutiny; the officers whom he sent were arrested, and M. Bouillé was obliged to march against the mutineers with a large party of troops and national guards; an action ensued in which several hundreds were killed. Although no other terminated so fatally, breaches of discipline as great were almost innumerable: the soldiers were received with open arms by the populace, and the blame was thrown upon the officers, who were stigmatized by the revolutionary and barbarous term of aristocrat.——The choice that the King had made of his ministers on M. Necker's return, gave at that time general satisfaction, but the 6th of October had not been long past, when it was seen that their popularity was already in the wane. Like all the prevailing parties that succeeded each other in the French revolution, they no sooner came into office, than they wished to restore order and enforce government, while it was in their hands: this by no means suited those who were in pursuit of the same object. An attack was begun upon the ministry, and their administration was treated with little less asperity than had been formerly shewn to that of the old government. For some time these accusations met with little countenance in the national assembly, but in the city of Paris they were more favourably received, and the oppositions continued to increase till the time of the affair of Nanci. That though a single was so strong an effort to restore authority, that it inflamed the popular party; a vast crowd collected and demanded the dismission of the ministers; their rage was particularly directed against the minister of the war department and M. Necker, whom they threatened to seize. The consequences of falling into their hands were sufficiently known: the latter had been for some time so much disgusted with the little attention that had been paid to his plans for restoring order, either in the finances or the government, that it was supposed he was then on the point of resigning; on the movement of the populace he fled in fear of his life from that city, which he had entered little more than twelve months before for the second time, as the idol of the people, and the saviour of the nation. This minister, who had had France at his devotion was arrested on his journey, and wrote to the national assembly, who ordered his release; when at liberty, instead of going to Plombières as he intended, he hastened to Copel, and did not think himself safe till he was beyond the frontiers of France: he furnished one more example, if more had been wanting, of the instability of popular favour. He too placed this change in respect to himself to the account of the popular writers, nor seemed to perceive how much he had himself contributed to prepare the soil for the growth of principles which they had merely assisted to propagate. M. Necker had not been long gone before the question respecting the ministry was brought on in the national assembly; the decree of censure was still lost by a small majority, but the sections of Paris commenced a warfare against them, on which three more of them retired; the Archbishop of Bourdeaux boldly demanded the charges that could be preferred against him, but the King ordered him to deliver up the seals, and appointed an officer of the common council of Paris in his place. M. de Montmorin still remained in office.——The ministry were no sooner removed than the same party directed their efforts against M. de la Fayette. Though he was no longer

the popular favourite of the 15th of July, he still had considerable influence over great part of the national guards. With them he had not been able to prevent the commotions, but he had often moderated them. The citizens to save themselves from duty, had taken into pay six thousand, the greatest part of whom were deserters and vagabonds; instead of dispersing the mobs they had frequently joined them; he had mustered the citizens and prevented many excesses; nothing more was necessary to make him an object of vengeance. The popular leaders at first endeavoured to make him resign; they harrassed him by perpetual rumours of insurrection, and encouraged and supported some of the commanding officers of the districts in refusing to acknowledge his authority; but, when they found that he remained firm at his post, they had recourse to means of another complexion. A mob proceeded to Vincennes with the declared intention of levelling the castle; M. de la Fayette followed them with the national guards, where, while he was arresting some of the most active, a report was brought that the Thuilleries was to be attacked; he immediately marched back, and was very near being assassinated on his return. It is to be doubted if any thing was really intended against the King at that time, but upon the first rumour of it a large party of his friends hastened to his defence; it was soon known that they had arms, upon which the King ordered them to be delivered up, and in them were surrendered the last arms that appeared in his defence. Some weeks after when the King prepared to go to St. Cloud, the populace collected to prevent his departure. M. de la Fayette arrived with the national guards, and was exerting himself to open a passage for the King, when a grenadier of the national guards called out to the populace that they would tear the red flag, the sign of military law, and would not fire upon the people, upon which M. de la Fayette resigned. He had no sooner resigned than a great majority of the national guards joined in requesting him to resume the command; he repeatedly refused, and did not at last consent till they engaged implicitly to obey his commands. The department of Paris with the Duke de la Rochefoucault at their head, took this opportunity to inform the King, that the jealousy of the people arose from his keeping suspected persons, especially recusant clergy about him, upon which he dismissed the dignified clergy that he had at that time retained in his service.——If in [illegible] the leading principles, and distinguishing characteristics of the present times, it were not necessary to keep the attention steadily fixed on subjects so superiorly interesting, there occur at almost every step secondary objects, which in any other circumstances would be held to be of the first importance. Among these the fate of the parliaments and the clergy, from their intimate connexion with the revolution, strongly attract observation; the former were the principal actors in bringing on the revolution, they were among the first that it annihilated, and almost all the most active members of them afterwards perished on the scaffold, while Mons. Maupeou and Mons. de la Brienne died quietly in their beds; the latter were the first that broke the union of the orders, and led the way to the success of the revolutionists; they were despoiled of their property, were accused of being the authors of all the distractions of the kingdom, became the objects of execration, involved religion itself in their ruin, and were at last subjected to a persecution that furnished more martyrs than the persecution of all the Roman Emperors. *.—— When the King was brought back from Varennes, he became without disguise what he had been in reality since the 6th of October, a prisoner of state; he was interrogated like a common criminal, and the royal authority suspended. While he thus remained a prisoner, the national assembly debated whether by the constitution his person should be inviolable; whatever licence they might themselves take in that respect, they resolved that it should be so to their successors. Their voting him a negative to the proceedings of future assemblies, had made him a prisoner, and brought themselves under restraint; their resolution of his inviolability, though of little consequence in itself, had nearly produced another crisis. A petition against that decree was made use of as a pretext for calling together an immense concourse of people in the Champ de Mars.

* Widely as the French clergy may have differed in many respects from the Irish catholic clergy, instructive lessons may be drawn from studying the conduct of the Gallican church, for a considerable time before and during the French revolution. After a full consideration, it may perhaps, be the opinion of most reflecting men, that our administrations have been unpardonable, in not having long since begun a radical change in the catholic clergy of Ireland, and that till that is accomplished, there is little hope that they can be incorporated either with the protestants or the government of this country.

The national assembly were aware of the danger that awaited them; upon two unfortunate wretches who had concealed themselves to hear what passed being discovered and put to death by the populace, they ordered them to be dispersed by force. The national guards were called out; several of the sections had opposed Mons. de la Fayette's being again invested with the command; but the submission that they had been obliged to make, before he resumed it, added much to his authority, and what operated still more powerfully, they were received by the populace with a shower of stones; a skirmish ensued, in which the mob was dispersed with considerable loss, and martial law was proclaimed. This act of vigour was very ill supported: the assembly ordered a prosecution against the authors of the tumult; the place that the officers of the courts of justice chose for arresting Danton, was the electoral assembly; they were then themselves arrested for presuming to interrupt an elector in the exercise of his duty; a report of this was made to the national assembly, who though they condemned the conduct of the electoral assembly, to get rid of the affair referred it to the courts of justice, whose authority had been insulted, and who were unable to command redress. The whole was probably a juggle between Danton and the officers, and shewed in the strongest light how little authority the national assembly really possessed: it notwithstanding had more effect than all their decrees, for they were allowed to finish the constitution without further opposition. When it was finished, the most difficult part still remained, how it should receive the King's free and unconstrained assent. The device they made use of was equally ingenious and satisfactory, with the rest of their proceedings; they removed the suspension of the royal authority, permitted the King to go to Fontainbleau or Rambouillet, provided he was carried there by the Parisian national guards; at the same time they informed him, that they had divested themselves of their functions as government makers, and that he must either accept or reject it without addition or alteration: he very wisely preferred staying in Paris, to being led a few miles from it by the national guards; and gave his assent, saying, that he thought many parts of it might, and he hoped would be afterwards changed for the better. The national, or, as it was afterwards stiled, the constitutional assembly, in contributing their part to annihilate the former government, that they might have free scope for framing a constitution of their own, acted like a man who should kill a living animal because it had faults and imperfections, that he might make one to suit his own fancy, and who vamped up a figure which pleased his eye, but which was devoid of life, solidity and motion, and was soon thrown aside as useless lumber.——The constituent assembly from a desire of courting popularity, by shewing a puritanical spirit of self-denial, had declared their own members ineligible to the next or legislative assembly, by which means the nation was again abandoned in a very precarious state, to another set of men totally unacquainted with public affairs. However unequal the former had been to the task they had undertaken, the latter were inferior to them in every respect. The members to whom they at first shewed some deference, were dabblers in literature about Paris, and the first of their proceedings, were to shew so great marks of disrespect to the King, as to give offence to the public, and they were obliged to return upon their own steps. Even the populace of Paris were at no loss to appreciate their character; for a few months after their meeting, the popular part of the sections presented a petition, the principal object of which seems to have been to shew them their motto, the *beaux esprits* and the blockheads all want to be free; and the emphatical manner in which they referred to it, soon proved that they intended it as an analysis of the assembly itself. When such were their opinions, it was not to be expected that they would shew them much respect. Not long after, a great crowd, apparently to show their strength, desired permission from the assembly, to file through the hall with their motley arms, which the assembly did not dare to refuse.——The assembly occupied themselves almost exclusively, with a persecution of the emigrants, and the refractory clergy: the former soon involved them in disputes with foreign powers where the emigrants had taken up their residence, and in some places had collected in considerable numbers. The ministers who had been appointed to succeed the monarchists were popular at the time they entered into office, but from the progress of the revolutionary spirit, they soon found themselves in the same situation with their predecessors. They underwent the same process, they were attacked by the minority of the assembly, buffeted by the populace, at last all impeached, and most of them perished in the subsequent massacres. The new ministry decided for an immediate declaration of war, against the Emperor and empire, to which the King assented, and which was highly applauded by the leaders

of the assembly. The troops were ordered to enter the Austrian Netherlands, but were every where repulsed, and some of them attacked and put to death their own officers. The party generally known by the name of the Gironde or Brissotine party, were the most active in the assembly; they were republicans, and had evidently been driving more at the destruction of the remaining phantom of royalty, than acting from any views of national interest, in the measures that they had urged. They spread a report that the King had still a secret council, who were the authors of all the disasters of the campaign; to render them more odious, they stiled them the Austrian committee; they inflamed the populace, and prepared them for the most desperate purposes. The minister of the war department propo-ed to the assembly, to collect an army in the neighbourhood of Paris; it was highly agreeable to the citizens, who intended that it should be composed of their own volunteers: it was likewise warmly supported by the Gironde party, with the hopes of being able to form it of the confederated national guards of the different departments, to secure themselves against the city of Paris, or perhaps to subject it: it was adopted by the assembly, and they likewise passed a decree for the transportation of the clergy who would not take the oaths to the present government. Mons. Dumourier who had a share in the administration about this time, has thrown a gleam of light upon this part of the revolution. It is not easy to say whether the captious, sullen, blind obstinacy of the popular party in their course; the utter ineptitude of the automatons who rendered the appellation of minister contemptible, or the infantine ignorance of the unfortunate remnant of a court, in the management of popular assemblies, and a popular government, after three years of severe experience, is the most surprising part of the scene. M. Dumourier, who was not deficient in a just perception of public business, and had all the dexterity of the old court under which he was educated, had probably, become a revolutionist that he might become a minister; when he had arrived at that station, it is to be expected that he would have served the King faithfully; active and sanguine, he seems to have thought that with proper conduct the revolution might have been led; it is to be doubted, but the King could not have been more unfortunate, if he had reposed confidence enough in him to have tried the experiment. The King made use of the negative that was allowed him by the constitution, and refused his assent to both decrees. When that was known, an immense crowd, part of them armed and preceded by some of the national guards with cannon, marched to the assembly, filed off before them, and proceeded to the Thuilleries. The King's guard appointed by the constitution, had been disbanded without consulting him; the national guards upon duty said they had no orders; when the mob threatened to force their way, to avoid the effusion of blood they were permitted to pass, they burst open the doors and filled the apartments of the King and the Royal Family, who were for some time in the greatest danger; he notwithstanding steadily refused to sanction the two decrees. From that day the city was in perpetual commotion, the alarm bell was frequently sounded, and the populace were often on the point of proceeding to extremities. The galleries of the legislative assembly had for some time indecently expressed their opinions of public men and public measures, they then began to overawe the proceedings of the assembly, and the deposition of the King was often and freely discussed. Detachments of the national guards arrived from several parts of the kingdom, and at last a party of those of Marseilles, who had without any authority, been giving law by force of arms to the southern provinces, entered Paris; they were caressed by the violent part of the citizens, their ferocious appearance and savage manners struck terror into the rest of the inhabitants, and they attacked with the loss of some lives those who had shewn any sympathy for, or afforded any protection to the Royal Family. It is said, that there was a secret meeting of the principal leaders of the Gironde party, with some popular members of the assembly, in which the 10th of August was arranged; whether there was such a meeting or not, there is reason to think from the conduct and expressions of Danton, that the essential part of it had been previously determined in the city. It is probable that the King had some intimation of it a considerable time before it happened; for, it is likewise said, that he had private conversation of importance with the Swiss officers, which in the state that affairs then were, it may be presumed was upon that subject. The situation of the King was deplorable: unless the Parisian national guards joined in his defence, there was little chance that any resistance he could have made would have been effectual; they were wavering, and whether they would have supported him, if he had himself acted a more decided part, is a problem that can never be solved; it is at least doubtful, considering the enemy they

had to oppose. He did not put them to the test, but withdrew to the assembly, as he did on the 15th of July; unfortunately, circumstances were much changed, the assembly far from being able to afford him protection as they had then done, when acting in concert with the populace of Paris, were themselves degraded into a tool of the insurgents, and were ordered to sign their own dissolution. All the competitors for power had united to efface the last remains of the old government; however small the real power and influence of the crown might then have been, it was a considerable clog upon all the parties; because, while it was in existence, it was the medium through which the functions of government must generally pass; but the King was no sooner deposed, than two powerful factions which had been distinctly pronounced before, openly entered the lists for superiority. The one was the city of Paris, who had possession of the King and the assembly, with a strong party in the latter, though a minority in their favour; the other was the party of the Gironde, with a majority of the assembly, and who had in their interest the confederated national guards, especially those of the other departments, who were by no means satisfied with the presumptuous pretensions of the city of Paris. The new common council which the sections had chosen for the 10th of August, insisted upon having the entire charge of the Royal Family, and acted more like a legislature, and as having the supreme power of the state, than as a council of police.

(To be continued.)

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL COALITION.——It is generally useless to speculate upon a subject like this, without having official documents to proceed upon; and, even now, when we have before us the official note of the Russian minister, Baron Novosiltzoff (see p. 188), and the demi-official answer of the French government (see p. 213), I should be inclined to pass over them in silence, did not the exultations, in the ministerial papers, seem to call for the few remarks, with which I purpose to trouble the reader. Ever since it has been understood, that Novosiltzoff, who we now find was destined to enter upon negotiations with the French, in consequence of the overture made to England, by Napoleon, in January last; ever since it has been understood, that this minister was, or was about to be, recalled, previous to his entering on any negotiation at all, the Pitt newspapers have discovered strong symptoms of satisfaction. At what, one could hardly guess, especially when it was recollected, that the Russian minister was, as it was then said, and as has now appeared to be the case, sent *at the request of his Britannic Majesty!* Considering this fact, one could hardly guess at the cause of the minister's joy, that the messenger of peace was about to return without having reached his journey's end; but, when we came to see the note of Novosiltzoff, and to find, that, by the effect of recent events, Russia had been induced to assume a language becoming an intended principal in the war; then we could discover a reason for exultation, because such a circumstance was calculated to feed those hopes, which the immediate interest of the minister leads him to endeavour to keep alive. No sooner did the note of Novosiltzoff appear, than the ministerial press began to sing triumph; not triumph over the enemy, at least, the foreign enemy, but the enemy in St. Stephen's chapel. "Here," said the Pitt writers, "you insisted that "none of the powers of the continent would "form alliances with Mr. Pitt; now, ye "Foxes and Winthams hide your dimi-"nished heads!" Neither upon the moderation nor upon the originality of this sentence will we stop to remark; but, as to the fact, which it expresses, we must be indulged in a few words. We never said, that Mr. Pitt would find none of the powers of the continent to form alliances with him against France; for, which of us did not know, that there never was that subsidy yet offered, which did not find some one ready to receive it. But, what we did say, or, at least, what I said, I will now repeat, and shall be very much inclined to leave the reader to judge, (without any comment as to what has since taken place), whether I was right, or wrong. I said, that, at the instigation of Mr. Pitt, no coalition, upon such a principle and such a scale as were necessary to restore the liberties of Europe, or even to check the power of France, would ever be formed; I said, that it was very doubtful whether Russia would take an active part in the war, and that, if she did, it would be totally useless, with regard to England, unless Austria or Prussia, or both of them, joined her, and heartily co-operated with her in the war; and, upon its being somewhat ill-naturedly observed, that, if Austria and Prussia joined Russia in the war, we should then say, that it would be quite useless, unless Mr. Pitt could gain the Mohawk Indians also; upon this observation being made, I said, that the Mohawks were not necessary, but that money was, and that all I should, in case of a

co-operation of the three great powers abovementioned, require of Mr. Pitt, would be to find *guineas* (for his paper-money would not serve) to support the expenses attendant upon such a coalition for the space of five years, or, if that were too much reasonably to expect, I would content myself with three years. From this re-statement of our opinions, and which re-statement the reader will, I think, pronounce to be correct, he will easily judge of the fitness of the present triumph, on the part of the ministerial writers, who, at the most, pretend to make *sure* of Russia only; and venture to extend even their *hopes* no further than Austria.——In order to judge of their wisdom in placing so implicit a reliance on the active co-operation of Russia, we should peruse the several documents relating to the dispute between Russia and France, the progress of which dispute, with references to the several documents thereunto appertaining, will be found in this work, Vol. VI. p. 990.——The disposition of Russia, as pretty clearly indicated by the footing upon which she chose to remain, with respect to France, was before remarked on; and, surely, such a rupture, on the part of a great and leading power, was never before heard of in the world. That the chief cause of her anger with Napoleon was his apparent, his evident, resolution not to suffer her to interfere in the affairs of the South of Europe, particularly Italy, every one must, one would think, have been then convinced. It is, therefore, quite natural, that she should now be more seriously angry with him than before; but, power to hurt does not always accompany anger; and, in the present case, such a power certainly does not exist, and will not exist, unless the aid of either Austria or Prussia can be obtained by Russia. That the aid of Prussia will be obtained there does not, at present, any hope appear to be entertained; and, if Austria joins Russia in the war, without Prussia, I think, for the reasons which I have before stated, that the overthrow of the House of Austria is at much less distance than many people seem to imagine; for, in the case of such a war, the peace we should reasonably have to look to, would be a peace, in which France and Russia would both be gainers: who the loser must be is evident.——It is, of course, without any pretensions to superior sagacity, that I offer an opinion upon such a subject; but, it is an opinion I have long entertained, and more than once expressed, that, to divide Europe into two great empires, the EASTERN and the WESTERN, would not be very uncongenial to the politics of the two powers, of whose disputes we have here been speaking; and, I will leave it, entirely for the reader to judge, whether something very nearly approaching to such a division would not be a possible, not to say a probable, consequence of such a coalition, and such a war, as those, for which the ministerial writers appear so impatient, and at the prospect, real or imaginary, of which they give such demonstrations of joy.——That such a consequence of the war would, to say nothing more, add to the already great dangers of England, no one will, I should suppose, be inclined to deny; and, therefore, we ought very seriously to reflect upon the probable consequences of a war, in which, at this time, Austria should become a part. If, indeed, Russia had stepped forward for the *sole*, and the *openly avowed*, purpose of replacing the Bourbons upon the throne of France, there would have been ample security for Austria; but, after all that we have seen, who amongst us, even us common men, does not know pretty well to what to ascribe the declaration in the Russian note, that the negotiation should commence, if at all, without acknowledging the new title of Buonaparté. No one will be unmindful of the advances towards the overthrow of Austria, that Buonaparté might make, and, perhaps, is making, *in peace*; but, it will take him long to arrive at Vienna in peace; not so, probably, in war; and then, let it be recollected, that there will be nobody for him to *negotiate* with but Russia! For the result of such a negotiation what friend of Austria must not tremble! In short, though there appear great dangers to Austria from remaining at peace with Napoleon, the progress of his power unchecked, there appear, under the present circumstances, greater dangers to her in a war, in which she should be joined, upon the Continent, only by Russia; and, as the preservation of Austria is of great importance to us, her being now plunged into such a war, ought, if my opinions are correct, to be a subject of sorrow rather than of joy. ——Let us now see what a figure *we* exhibit in this scene. Our Sovereign receives from Napoleon an overture to treat for the restoration of peace. He is advised to answer, and does answer, that he cannot negotiate without first consulting with those powers of Europe, with whom he has "confidential communications." He is then advised, as we are now informed by the Russian Envoy, *to request the Emperor of Russia to send a person* "to meet the pacific overtures," which Napoleon had made *to the Court of London*; and, it is singular enough, that in

casting about us for a mediator, and a bearer of our pacific views, we pitch not only upon a power at enmity with France, but a power who had chosen *a cessation of all diplomatic intercourse* as the means of giving proof of that enmity! Russia, whether in consideration of Lord Mulgrave's being our foreign minister, or for some other reason equally cogent, perhaps, yields to our solicitation, and sends an Envoy, not to Paris, but to Berlin, there to ask the mediation of a third power, in the important matter of obtaining passports for the person sent in our behalf. The Court of Berlin obtains the passports; but, just as the Envoy is setting off, he is stopped, not by the request of England, but by the fresh umbrage which Russia has taken at the conduct of Napoleon, whereat the English ministry express *their joy!* If any thing was ever more puerile than this, better calculated to expose the first mover to the contempt of the world, it has not yet reached my ear, or presented itself to my imagination. But, as we shall see more clearly in the sequel, it ought not to surprise any one, who has had an opportunity of observing the expedients, the miserable shifts, which have constantly marked the Pitt system of external policy, according to which, the interests and honour of the nation, and the dignity of the crown, are as nothing, when weighed against the place of the minister. The minister, one of whose eyes is constantly fixed, as I have frequently observed before, upon the City of London and the other upon the Chapel of St. Stephen, found that it would be expedient for him *to do something*, in consequence of the French note of January last. To send a negociator to Paris he could not, without hazarding his influence at court, or without exposing himself to the mortification of being compelled to return to the peace of Amiens and all its stipulations, while France conceded nothing to him. In short, he saw, in a negotiation with France, great danger to the duration of his power; and, therefore, he chose the round-about measure that we have just been contemplating, a measure which he regarded as sufficient to furnish him with a justification both with those who wished for a continuation of the war and those who wished for peace. The *absurdity*, therefore, which the demi-official French writer seems to impute to the measure exists only when the measure is considered as to its effect amongst the different nations concerned; and, that writer ought to have known, that such is not the light in which Mr. Pitt ever considers any of the transactions, in which he is, or has been, engaged with foreign nations. The question with him is not, whether a proposition to treat, whether a treaty itself, will produce good or ill to his country; but, whether it will produce effects favourable to the duration of his power; whether it will add to his majorities in the House of Commons; and, M. Hauterive (to whom the French demi-official paper is ascribed) certainly does him great injustice ascribed) certainly does him great injustice in imputing to him projects for dividing the French territory; for, his projects of dividing, Mr. Hauterive may be well assured, extend not an inch beyond the opposition benches of the House of Commons, which projects will, too, no longer succeed with him. Certainly, "when the English ministry wish for peace, they will feel that "a French note must be answered with an "English note." Certainly: as to the business of restoring peace, there could not be the least necessity for obtaining a Russian channel of communication, especially after Napoleon had made the overture. It was, besides, degrading in the extreme; and, the question of Hauterive, whether France and England could be "so reduced as to "await the decision of their differences "from a distant country, to whom the in-"terests of both are so little known," is very pertinent But, though there were these, and many more objections to the mode of proceeding adopted upon this occasion, all these objections were overbalanced by the mighty consideration above-mentioned: and thus it is, that we suffer, that we are punished, that we are burdened sometimes and disgraced at other times, for the purpose of gratifying the love of rule, the haughtiness (for I will not call it ambition) of a minister.——As to the *recrimination* contained in the French answer to the Russian note, it is, indeed, a tough morsel. I should be glad to hear it replied to by the Russian cabinet, on the one hand, and by Mr. Pitt and Lord Wellesley on the other. It is true, that the people whose countries have been over-run, who have been rendered either the subjects of, or tributary to, Russia and England, are, generally, a feeble and contemptible race, and that to defeat them in battle is little more than defeating a flock of sheep or a herd of swine; but, will Lord Wellesley or the hero of York Town say this? No: we have *boasted* of our eastern victories as glorious to our arms; we have boasted of our eastern conquests; we have boasted of our "*Empire* in the East." The makers and defenders of the peace of Amiens, when told of the acquisition of territory made by

France, and left in her hands, failed not, in the fullness of that "discretion," for the want of which they were reproached, to remind us, and to remind the world too, of our acquisitions in the East, acquisitions which, they asserted, were sufficient to balance against those of France; and, let it never be forgotten, that that wise man and most discreet gentleman, Mr. Pitt, in his speech of the 3d of November, 1801, scrupled not to say, that our conquests in India had given a perfect consolidation to our strength. Indeed, from the whole course of his reasoning, it appeared, that he considered, or, at least, wished his hearers to consider, our conquests in India as more than equivalent to the conquests which the treaty of Amiens had left in the hands of France; whereat the kind-hearted, the generous souls, that listened to his harangue were ready to blubber with exultation. Now, however, they find the inconvenience resulting from such a boast; they find that they have to suffer from the force of an argument founded upon that boast, or, at least, which that boast renders fair, and, by the English ministry, incontrovertible; they feel the effects of a minister's acting upon a system of expedients, and having in view no other object than the preservation of his power. Such a minister never looks beyond the present moment. He is always in trouble of some sort or other. His place is continually in danger, in a greater or less degree, and he is continually thinking of the means of obviating that danger. When he was defending the preliminaries of peace, and boasting of the effects of our eastern conquests, the danger to his place (for, in fact, he still held it) arose from the statement of his adversaries, that he had left France in possession of an acquisition of territory that would render her the mistress of all the west of Europe, and that would, consequently, greatly hazard the safety of England. This pressed, all that he sought, or wished for, was, something wherewith to meet this statement; and out came the boast about our victories and acquisitions in India. We may condemn his conduct, we may curse the hour that committed our interests and our honour to "prudence" such as his; but, no one can blame the French for availing themselves of the argument with which he has furnished them, and which neither he, nor any one of the present ministers, can, without the most palpable inconsistency, without giving proofs of insincerity the most scandalous, attempt to controvert. They have boasted, they have officially come forward with an annual boast of their Indian conquests; and, who does not know, that a very few months have elapsed, since the two Houses of Parliament, after having solemnly resolved, that Indian conquests are unwise and unjust, passed a vote of thanks to a person who had sent home an account of his having made more Indian conquests. In short, is it not notorious to the whole world, that we have, in the East, over-run nation after nation; and that, either as subjects or as tributary states, we have compelled, by one means or another, more than twenty millions of people to submit to our will. As to the description of those *means* I will not attempt it. The reader will himself easily determine, whether they have been more or less unjust, more or less cruel, more or less insulting, more or less violent and fraudulent, than the means employed by the French in their European conquests and annexations; but, I am sure he will agree with Mr. Burke, and will keep the fact in mind; that "fraud, "injustice, oppression, and plunder, in In-"dia, are crimes of the same blood, family, "and cast, with those that are born and "bred in Europe."——It may, indeed, be said, and I am ready to say, and think myself able to prove, that our conquests, that our "Empire in the East" and our tributary states there, not only do not tend to strengthen, but that they tend to enfeeble, and have actually enfeebled the power of England, while they afford the means of sapping the foundation of her constitution and of vitiating the manners of her people. This the French know, too: but will our ministers dare assert it? Have they not asserted the contrary? Will they not persevere in those assertions? Does not their system in a great degree require such a perseverance? And who, then, are to blame, who reasonably can blame, the French for profiting therefrom?——As to the argument, that the powers of Europe have no right to interfere in matters relating to India, that country coming under the description of *colonies*; what, in answer to this, has Napoleon to do more than to consider Italy, Switzerland, and Holland as colonies? Such an argument is worth nothing; and, if we resolve, that the law of nations shall not be appealed to as a rule of conduct for us with regard to India and the twenty millions of people there our subjects or tributary to us, what right have we to appeal to the law of nations as a rule for the conduct of France with regard to her neighbours? Our plea, the constant and the only plea, of our ministers for their encroachments in the East, is, *necessity*; the necessity of subduing, or annexing, such or such a state, in order to secure our *own* do-

minions, and to preserve the tranquillity of India. And, is not this the plea of Napoleon? Has it not been the plea constantly set up by all the invading and encroaching rulers of France? Does not Napoleon insist, that the annexation of Genoa, for instance, is necessary to the security of France and to the preservation of the tranquillity of Europe? Most falsely he so insists, I am ready to allow; but, is our plea in India founded in perfect truth? Granted, that Napoleon's is "the tyrant's plea;" but, is ours the plea of justice and moderation? And, if the *press* at Paris is a slave in the cause of oppression, is the *press at Calcutta* at perfect liberty to comment upon the motives whence conquests and encroachments are made in India?—— The *partition of Poland* forms another ground of justification of the conduct of France; and here, too, have we to smart for Mr. Pitt's love of power and place. It had often been asserted, that it was owing to his miserable policy in the year 1791, that all confidence in England was lost upon the Continent, and that the North of Europe, in particular, became suspicious of us; but, the grounds of this charge were never fully stated, in print, at least, till the first open rupture between the Pitts and the Addingtons induced these latter formally to prefer the charge, in the pamphlet from which my motto is taken, which pamphlet has always been ascribed to Mr. Bragge, and which I shall now quote somewhat at length, first reminding the reader, that, though the author endeavours to implicate Lord Grenville in the transaction, and, indeed, to throw on him great part of the blame, his Lordship did not come into the cabinet till the series of measures drew to a close. "Let "me now," says he, "come to a transac- "tion which I before hinted at, and let me "in my turn inquire a little more particular- "ly into the claims of the *late administra- "tion* to superior wisdom and vigour in their "negociations with foreign powers." [We must just stop here to remark upon the extreme candour of this Addington advocate, who, whenever commendation is to be bestowed upon measures adopted in the early part of the Pitt administration, takes care to remind the reader, that Lord Spencer and Mr. Windham did not then make a part of it; but, when censure is the object, he is as careful not to remind the reader of that circumstance.] "I shall carry back my "reader to a period, it may be said, so re- "mote; it is, however, what I be- "lieve has had more influence upon the "conduct of Prussia, and has contributed "to its base desertion". [Your *prudent* Addingtonian can be venemous, upon occasion, and rude too], "and the turn which affairs "have taken in the North, more than all "that this ministry has done, or could do, "if they were even as wicked and as fool- "ish as Cobbett represents them to be. "What I allude to is the Russian armament "in 1791. Will it be believed, that this "*same administration*" [still appearing to suppose that Lord Spencer and Mr. Windham made part of it], "which is cried up "as so exclusively wise and penetrating, "and, above all, so firm and vigorous, "should not only have exposed itself to *ab- "solute derision and contempt*, but com- "mitted a *deliberate breach of faith?* That "it shrunk from engagements which it had "contracted, out of *pure fear lest a war "should be unpopular;* lest (shall I say it!) "a clamour for peace should *shake them in "their seats?*" [Oh, yes! say it! say it, by all means; for, rest assured, that it is a truth which will be very useful to the nation, if it can be once thoroughly impressed upon their minds.] "Every Englishman will "easily enter into the feelings of Lord "Whitworth upon this occasion. Never "was mortification more complete. He "had, by direction from our court, held the "most high and threatening language, and "protested that war would be the immediate "consequence of his remonstrances not "being attended to. Relying, however, "upon the assurances given by the gentle- "men on the other side, the Russian cabi- "net stood firm; and our great, our mighty, "our vigorous negociators gave way. They "did, indeed, show some delicacy for "Lord Whitworth: they did put it in his "power to shut himself up, as he did, for "six weeks; and sent Mr. Faulkner to "make their apology to the Empress, and "assure her, I suppose, of their readiness to "receive her future commands. Mr. Fox, "and his friends, backed by Mr. Wilber- "force, will, perhaps, still insist, that "Ochakoff was not an object for which we "ought to go to war. Be it so; but, where, "then, was the wisdom of Lord Grenville "and Mr. Pitt to commit the country for "such an object? Or, why persist in it till "they involved the nation in disgrace. The "fact is, and, though not generally known, "is *now* no secret, that our interposition "respecting Ochakoff was only part of a "system connected with the late King of "Prussia, for the express purpose of *pre- "venting the partition of Poland*. Most "certain it is, and it was the opinion of "Stanislaus himself, that it was owing to "*Mr. Fox's opposition* that he was stripped

" of his kingdom. In retracting as we did, " we left nothing for Prussia to do, but to " take her part of the spoil: we gave her " also an example of desertion, upon which " she has amply improved." After some further remarks, not much to our present purpose, the author concludes in the memorable words, which are contained in the MOTTO to this sheet, and to which I beg leave to refer the reader.——So, Stanislaus himself thought that he owed the loss of his kingdom to *the opposition of Mr. Fox!* Would not this unfortunate prince have been more correct, if he had imputed the loss of his crown to the political selfishness, to the love of domination, or, as the Addingtonian expresses himself, to the *fear of losing place*, in Mr. Pitt? Observe, that the system, which is now known to have been concerted between this country and Prussia, for preventing the partition of Poland, was never communicated, and was not known, to the nation or to the parliament, and, perhaps, to nobody but the cabinet, at the time when Mr. Fox opposed a war with Russia, and which war, as far as any one not in the secret could judge, had for its object nothing but Ochakoff. But, be that as it may, the expression put into the mouth of Stanislaus has a meaning with nobody but the members of THE FAMILY. Mr. Pitt wished to preserve the crown of Stanislaus, thinking that preservation necessary to the balance of Europe and the interest of England; but, Mr. Fox compelled him to abandon his scheme for preserving it, by rendering the intended war unpopular, and thereby exposing Mr. Pitt to the loss of his place if he persevered in it; and, as *the keeping of his place was absolutely necessary*, the abandonment of Poland followed of course, as a consequence of *Mr. Fox's opposition!* One would think, that Stanislaus, from his manner of reasoning, had some of the blood of THE FAMILY in him; and, in that case, one can easily believe, that the loss of his place must have gone near to his heart. Outrageously insolent, however, as this mode of reasoning is, it is that upon which Mr. Pitt has uniformly acted, and that his adherents, with all the coolness imaginable, have as uniformly employed in his defence. Not upon one, two, or three, but upon fifty occasions, when the folly and mischief of his measures have been made apparent, the answer of these abject followers has been: " very true; but how " could he help it; the Opposition were so " violent; the people were so prejudiced; " and, sometimes, the King was so deter- " mined." In short, the conclusion always is, " he was compelled to do so, or so, *or lose his place;*" which latter is what they never appear to think it possible for any one to wish him to prefer. To this mode of reasoning, and to the measures proceeding from it, we may fairly attribute nearly all the calamity and disgrace, which has befallen this nation in the course of the last twenty years. In illustration of the truth of this position, numerous instances will present themselves to the mind of the reader; but, we will take the one of which we have been speaking. If Mr. Pitt had been under the guidance of political *principle*, if he had preferred his measures to his place, he would have adhered to his agreement with Prussia. Mr. Fox might, perhaps, even when he came to be fully informed of the real object of the war, have still opposed it; and he might have succeeded to supplant Mr. Pitt by the means of that opposition. But, what would have been the consequence? Either Mr. Fox would have fulfilled the engagement entered into with Prussia, or he would not. If the former, the partition of Poland might have been prevented; and, if the latter, though a breach of national faith would have been committed, it would not have been committed by the same minister who had made the agreement; and, at worst, there would have been a *chance* of preventing the partition of Poland. So, of the late war with France. If Mr. Pitt, regardless of his place, when put in competition with political principle, had resolved on a war explicitly declared for the House of Bourbon, and solely for the House of Bourbon, without any mixture of suspicious motives or measures, he might, probably, have lost his place; but, the consequence, likely to arise, would have been, either that Mr. Fox would have succeeded by his pacific system, or, that he would have been obliged to give way to Mr. Pitt and a war in the cause which Mr. Pitt had declared for. By one or the other of these courses, the present state of the Continent and the present dangers of England, might have been prevented; but, by the pursuing of neither; by the adopting of nothing decisive; by shifting backwards and forwards with the ebb and flow of popular opinion; by wrapping himself up in indefinite expressions, like that of " indemnity for the past" and " security for the future;" keeping, in short, his eye constantly fixed upon the Opposition instead of upon the enemy, and being much more solicitous about defeating them than defeating him, nothing worthy of the motion was accomplished, even victory itself served only to

heighten disappointment; and, a war of shifts and expedients was, at last, terminated in a peace of "experiment."——Already has the minister again made considerable progress in the tortuous course. The rupture with Spain began not in an act of *war*. It was neither war, nor reprisals, but *precaution*. Napoleon makes an overture for a negociation for peace: he receives an answer neither in the affirmative nor the negative: we are ready to treat with him, and yet we wish not to treat: we are to consult with another power, and that power is neither in alliance with us, nor quite not in alliance with us. In returning, for a moment, previous to my conclusion, to the subject of Novosiltzoff's note, the reader may be assured, that the request, "the "pressing request" of the English minister was intended for no other purpose, or, at least, that it had no other great purpose in view, than that of providing the materials of a statement in answer to those who should be disposed to accuse the minister of having neglected the opportunity, afforded by Napoleon, of giving us a chance, at least, of peace. And, as to the *coalition*, that coalition with the hopes of which the ministerial papers amuse their besotted readers, I am the most deceived of mortals if the endeavours to effect it, and the demands of subsidies to support it, have any other object in view than to produce a clashing of opinions amongst the members of the Opposition in parliament, and, of course, a division of their strength, without which it is pretty evident, that the Pitt ministry cannot long exist, unless some circumstance or other should give more than ordinary facility to the system of "accommodation," some few of the facts, relating to which, have, of late, come to light. Mr. Pitt will certainly fail in all his endeavours to divide the Opposition. I can, for my part, perceive no means that a coalition upon the Continent, or the subsidies inseparable from it, would furnish for giving a chance of producing a difference of opinion amongst the members of the Opposition; for, whatever difference of opinion might exist amongst them as to coalitions or subsidies during the last war, all the circumstances are now changed; and, even if they now differed in opinion as to the expediency of a coalition against France, and as to the subsidies to be granted in consequence thereof, they must all agree, that not one penny ought to be trusted in the hands of the present minister for that purpose. They have seen him at the head of coalitions; they have seen him making war and making peace; they have seen him in all situations, and engaged in all sorts of measures, with regard to foreign powers, and they have always seen him fail. Upon looking back over his twenty years administration, they have seen the country fall lower and lower at every step which he has conducted her, till, at last, instead of being one of the very first of the first-rate powers of Europe, she quietly takes her place as a second-rate power, and seems not very confident of retaining even that. Not only have they seen this; but they have seen the cause of it; and that cause they have found to be inseparable from his possession of power. To reject all applications for subsidies, what other reason, therefore, do they want, than that he is to have the distribution of them, and to be the principal contriver of the measures, to which they are to give effect? Not a shilling; no, not a single shilling, would I vote, to be placed at his disposal, as a subsidy to any power, or to all the powers of the Continent, supposing them willing to join us in the war; for, I am thoroughly convinced, and for the reasons which I have stated, that, under his management, no coaliton will ever be productive of good to England.

Invasion.—The sagacious person, who, for the entertainment of the "fashionable "world," writes, about every three days, a couple of columns, in the Morning Post newspaper, upon the subject of invasion, has lately given it as his opinion, that the invasion will take place immediately, and for the following curious reason. "Buonaparté," says he, "is now convinced, that a power-"ful coalition, upon the continent, will "speedily take place, and be brought into "operation against him; and, the frantic "tyrant, in a fit of *despair*, has resolved to "attempt an invasion of this country, in "*hopes* of obtaining a victory that may in-"timidate Russia and Austria."——The reader was duly apprized of the sagacity of this political preceptor of the "fashionable "world," and, therefore, I shall trouble him with very few remarks upon the passage here quoted. I cannot, however, refrain from observing, that whatever admiration I may feel for the politics of it, its philosophy is much too profound for me; for, I cannot, for my life, conceive it probable, that a man, from feelings of *despair*, should engage in an enterprize in *hopes* of meeting with signal success! To say the truth, the nonsense written about invasion, if the periodical threat of invasion produced no other effect, would be a very serious evil. It is add-

grace to the country, to the common sense of the country, to see and hear, what we daily see and hear upon the subject. To give opinions is useless, but, I cannot help repeating mine, which is, that no real attempt at invasion will be made for a year or two yet to come; and, my reason is simply this, that the interest of the enemy evidently is to keep us as long as he can in expectation of it, before he actually makes it. In an invasion, at this time, he would meet with many difficulties, which time would remove; and, whatever opinion I may have of his heart, I have a very high opinion of his head.——Amongst many other things that have been removed out of the way, from the coast, it is with great satisfaction that every one hears of the removal of the Colonel of the Cinque-Port volunteers; for, however widely men may differ as to other matters, they seem to be unanimous in thinking, that the greater distance he is from the scene of danger, the less that danger will be.—— There can be no doubt of the correctness of the official statement given by Lord Harrington to the troops under his command, that there has been "an embarkation of a "considerable number of troops in Hol-"land; that a fleet of men of war is ready "to sail thence; and that there are in-"creased preparations at Boulogne and in "its neighbourhood:" but, if I knew that a hundred thousand men were actually embarked, I should not, merely on that account, believe, that the attempt at invasion was about to be made. The object, at present, is *to harrass us*; and, that object is not *now* to be accomplished without *strong indications*. Whoever has taken the pains to examine the present French plan of warfare against England, and has paid much attention to the operations of the enemy, will, I am certain, have expected to see the indications which he now sees, and to see them grow stronger and stronger, in proportion as our apprehensions, or rather our alertness, diminishes; till, at length, the flotilla will come almost to our shores, before we shall seriously think of turning out to resist the invaders. The French know, they well know, the nature of a volunteer force; and, we may be assured, that every part of our system, which is not of a permanent nature, will prove perfectly useless in the resisting of invasion.——We should, nevertheless, be constantly upon our guard. All those whose immediate duty it is to be instrumental in the defence of the country, should keep constantly at their post; and, those whose immediate duty does not so call upon them, should neglect none of the means that are within their power to afford aid to the military, in case of need. For, when the danger comes, it is useless to stand inquiring about *the cause*; when an opposer of the Pitts and Dundases feels the yoke of foreign slavery about his neck, the reflection that he has been zealous in endeavouring to shorten the duration of their power will be very little consolation to him. The French are no respecters of persons, or of parties; and, therefore, while we slacken not our endeavours to obtain for our country a wise and incorrupt administration within, let still greater exertions and greater perseverence mark our resolution to resist the enemy from without.

FAMILY QUARREL.——The reader will not have forgotten the statements and observations, upon this subject, contained in p. 161, *et seq.* And I have only to add thereunto, that it is now about tweive days, since they were submitted to the public, and that no denial of the facts they contain has been made, in any of the public prints. The "NEAR OBSERVER," from whose pen came the inundating articles in the Times, has become silent, perfectly dumb; and, in one additional article, which has recently appeared in that paper, from an apparently new hand, the fact respecting MR. BOND and his sought-for promotion so explicitly stated by me, is not denied. All mention of it is, indeed, avoided, and a general declaration is made, which may, or may not, be intended to include the case of Mr. Bond and the Judge Advocate Generalship. An attempt, in some very poor reasoning, is made to palliate other parts of the conduct of the Addingtons; but the writer has thought proper to take no notice whatever of the statement as to *the time* when, and the *circumstances* under which, Mr. Bragge put a stop to the practices of Mr. Trotter.——I have no wish to perpetuate resentment against the Addingtons; but every man, putting forward claims to public favour, and especially if his views evidently extend to political power, ought to be seen in his *true light*; and, I shall not disguise, that the exposition above referred to, and which exposition has, I trust, produced its desired effect, was, in some degree, occasioned by the lofty pretensions set up for Lord Sidmouth and his friends by writers evidently familiarly connected with them, if not writing under their dictation.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 8.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 24, 1805. [PRICE 1OD.

"The disparity is so striking and extraordinary, both in the navy and commerce of the two countries, that "it must be attended with the effects which I wish to point out. It has, indeed, been said, and I doubt not "the fact, that France will use all her means for reuniting her navy. But, whatever her efforts may be, "there are two points in the arduous contest that are well worthy of our consideration. The first is, the "number of years she must be employed in building ships to make her naval establishment equal even to "what it was; and the second is, the number of ships necessary to be built, in order to enable her to enter "into a competition with this country. All those, who examine this subject thoroughly, will have no "objection to give to France a great many years, and afterwards to take the chance of a war with her France "will, no doubt, make great exertions during peace; but, if a war should take place in the course of eight "or ten years, I am confident, that, whenever it does take place, we shall be enabled to renew it with "more advantage than we began the late war."——LORD HAWKESBURY'S Speech, 3d Nov. 1801.

FALL OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY.

(Concluded from p. 241.)

Of the six ministers who had been chosen after the 10th of August, three were of the Gironde party, and who had been dismissed by the King, before he refused his assent to the two decrees; of the others, Danton, who from his violent principles, and bold and turbulent disposition, had in the first stages of the revolution been excluded from all the constituted authorities; but, from the progress of the revolution, had not only been admitted into them, but from his influence in the sections had great weight, was chosen one, and one to which it might have been supposed he was least adapted, the minister of *justice*. It was, probably, at his instance, to get rid of the confederated national guards of the departments, who were a check upon the city of Paris, that the ministers or executive council, requested them to proceed to the frontiers against the common enemy. The Girondes had understood the real intentions of that request; for, a few days after, they obtained a decree of the assembly to dissolve that common council, and to order a new one to be chosen. The citizens, however, were not so easily defeated; the common council met, and ordered every man either to march to the frontiers, or to resign his arms to one who would; and, on this resolution being laid before the assembly by Danton, they still felt their situation on the 10th of August so sensibly, that they confirmed it on pain of death. Thus the Parisian national guards, who appeared doubtful on the 10th of August, and on whom the leaders of the sections could not depend, were disarmed, which opened the door to the massacres of the 2d of September; and, in fact, put an end to the importance of the national guards; for they never were afterwards perfectly re-established, nor did any man of property continue in them. The confederates from the other departments were not so complying; they resolved to stay in Paris to restore order, instead of marching to the frontiers. A large detachment came from Marseilles to join them, who were, at first, well received by some of the citizens; but they had not been long arrived, before the city of Paris declared against them, and to compel them to remove, allowed them to want every necessary in their barracks. They, however, were not to be driven from their purpose; upon which the Parisians, not chusing to attack such sturdy antagonists by force, entered into a new confederation with them, which, it was soon seen, was a device such as they had practised at the beginning of the revolution; they insinuated themselves among them, and debauched them individually, which threatened their dissolution so completely, that two battalions of those from Marseilles marched home, even when refused rations upon their march: the citizens succeeded so perfectly by this means in sapping the power of the confederates, that they never after were formidable, or had any great influence.——As the convention was to exhibit the singular phenomenon of a great people, unbiassed by prejudice, and unawed by authority, constructing a government, which was to be a model for other nations, and for future ages; the greatest latitude was allowed both in respect to the electors and the elected. To the former there were few exceptions; of the latter a part had been members of the constituent assembly; but, of those who had been either very little, or not at all known, many had been members of the last assembly, a small number were foreigners; and, of the rest, many were in still humbler, and less respectable situations in life, than even the members of the legislative assembly. One of the first acts of the convention was to abolish royalty in France. This, however, did not satisfy the populace, they were bent upon having the King brought to trial; to acquire popularity, the leaders of the differ-

I

ent parties in the ... endeavoured to surpass each other in pressing on his execution. If in that they could have extirpated the house of Bourbon, and the principle of equality to the Crown, they would have had at least, the plea of expediency to urge in their favour; but, as there was a numerous succession of claimants to the throne, it was a wanton act of cruelty. There is every reason to think, that a great majority of the convention wished to save him; for, notwithstanding the populace made use of every means of intimidating the members, he was sacrificed by but a very small majority.——The 10th of August was no sooner effected, than the party of the Gironde, who had been very active in preventing it, like all their predecessors when they thought they had acquired the ascendancy, began to declaim against anarchy and the disorders in the nation, and insist upon enforcing obedience to the laws; like them, too, they drew upon themselves the same consequences; they immediately became obnoxious to the city of Paris, and the minister of the interior, whose office led him to oppose, or rather harangue against, the popular commotions, for he could not repress them, soon found his situation so disagreeable and dangerous, that he resigned. No serious attempt, however, was made to crush the Brissotine faction in the convention, till after the departure of the Marseilles confederates; a discussion respecting a pillaging mob, then brought on a debate in the convention, on dismissing or returning the confederates of the western departments, who were still at Paris. The style of debate, and temper of discussion which then had an ascendancy about this time, may be gathered from a decree of the convention; that if any member shall hereafter call any of his colleagues, incendiary, traitor, villain, rascal, &c. he shall be immediately expelled: their members were at the same time so violently hooted by the galleries, that one of them justly observed, that if such things were permitted the convention was no better than a machine in the hands of a faction, for passing decrees: a decree, however, was passed, ordering the confederates home, which part of them obeyed. A few days after a considerable movement took place in the city, and a deputation demanded of the convention the arrest of several persons. Not long after another deputation from a majority of the sections led by the mayor, demanded the arrest of the principal members of the Gironde; instead of complying, they passed a decree of accusation against Marat, who was an active agent in stirring up the people against them; he was unanimously acquitted by the revolutionary tribunal, and marched back to the convention in triumph. This famous tribunal had been instituted a long time before. A court had been appointed after the 10th of August, for trying all state crimes; but, it did not satisfy the impatience of the people for blood: very soon after the departure of the confederates, Danton, who had resigned his office as minister, on being chosen a member of the convention, under the colour of instructing the citizens respecting their march to the frontiers, procured a decree of the convention to send commissioners to each of the sections of Paris: instead of any thing relating to the armies of the frontiers, the commissioners brought back a demand for erecting this bloody tribunal. Another deputation from the popular sections soon followed, who made use of the harsh language to the same party, the members of it were reviled by the galleries, deputies from some of the sections, who had declared in their favour, were assaulted and wounded; a deputation from the citizens of Versailles was insulted, and the convention broke up their meeting in terror. Other deputations and other insults followed, which were only a prelude to the 31st of May, when the city of Paris in a state of insurrection, persisted for three days in demanding the arrest of the leading members of that party. The convention made a longer resistance than the former assembly; but, at last agreed that these members should remain under arrest in their own houses, which was, in fact, signing their proscription.——By the 31st of May, the French revolution was carried to its height: the principles of the nation had increased under the legislative assembly; after the execution of the King, a considerable part of the western provinces had revolted: after the 31st of May, a great part of the southern provinces followed their example, from the indecision of the confederation with which the Gironde party had acted. The events of that day were achieved chiefly by the lowest of the populace; by the subjugation of the convention, they actually commanded what government there was in the state, and set free themselves from all control: they for some months met in tumultuous assemblies, and sported with all political and religious institutions and opinions, that have been revered by mankind. It was during this time that the new calendar, with the festivals and ceremonies relating to it, were decreed; that profane processions appeared in the convention, of which they not only were passive spectators, but shewed some marks of ap-

profligation; and, that atheism was openly professed. But, while the people were indulging themselves in all the caprices of the wildest licentiousness, a power was silently forming, that not long after subjected both them and the rest of France to one of the most severe and unrelenting tyrannies that has ever existed. Popular commotions are terrible in their explosions, but transient in their exertions; after their labours the people often fall into a sleep, from which they are long in awaking; and sometimes into a lethargy, from which they never recover. For a short time after the 31st of May, the sections of Paris did dictate to the convention, and to such executive power as there was in the state. It appears probable, that Danton, who acted a principal part in conducting them to their present elevation, had formed the design of establishing some solid and lasting power through their means; for, not long after, he moved in the convention, that the whole authority of the state, by the name of a provisional government, should be vested in the committee of public safety: it was referred by the convention to that committee itself, whose report, to the astonishment of, I believe, all the by-standers, gave it a negative; but, the members of which, judged more correctly, for it was not supported by the sections. As their authority over the convention was still great, it is not improbable, that they had perceived the drift of that motion; for about this time Danton's popularity received a shock, which it never after recovered in spite of all his endeavours to regain it. Some time after, the city, in consequence of a scarcity of provisions principally occasioned by the absurd law of the maximum, demanded of the convention that a revolutionary army should be formed, which should travel with a guillotine in its train, to compel the rich to support the poor: the convention did not dare to refuse it. Notwithstanding the convention submitted so often to the sections, the committee of public safety, and the party connected with them, rapidly extended their power. On the motion of Danton forty sols a day, had been granted to the poor citizens, while attending the meetings of the sections; but, the convention tacked to the decree a clause, restricting their meetings to twice in a week; some of them presented a petition against that clause, but it was refused, and not long after it was decreed, that their meetings should be reduced to once in ten days.——The convention had been called to form a constitution; the first constitution had employed the constituent assembly more than two years, the convention dispatches them in little more than as many months. Whether any of the great parties ever intended that it should be put in practice is to be doubted; for, no sooner had some of the members suggested, that the object of their meeting was fulfilled, and that they should dissolve themselves as the constituent assembly had done, than addresses were procured requesting them to continue at their post, which they so readily complied with, that they resolved not to abandon it, till the dangers of the revolution were past. Not long after the revolutionary government was decreed, on the motion of the prevailing faction. It was, in fact, the same as that moved for by Danton, but the power fell into other hands. So much had the face of affairs changed in so short a time, that an arrêt of the council of Paris, declaring themselves the center of the existing revolutionary committees, was then annulled, and the constituted authorities ordered, under severe penalties, not to assemble them.——Among the importations of the Anglomania into France, was that of clubs. Clubs are a plant of English growth: notwithstanding the factitious manners of the present times, the national character operates so strongly, that they still tend to diffuse the unconstrained ease of social intercourse; and, in those of a political nature, to soften the asperity of party; but, in France, where the habits, the manners, and the taste were formed for living in a crowd, they were merely debating societies, and only heightened the virulence of faction. There were several clubs in France before any of the dissentions that led to the revolution began; they then gave umbrage to the government, and were ordered to be suppressed. Among the various clubs produced by the revolution, was that of the friends of the constitution, better known by the name of the Jacobins. That club was at first a meeting of some of the members of the *tiers état* of Brittany, where the disputes between the noblesse and them, had been more marked than in any of the other provinces. I believe, the principle by which they were distinguished at first, was, that they decided upon every question as it occurred, upon its own merits alone, without fettering themselves by any forms, or considering it as part of any predetermined system. Another club, which did not give so great latitude to their opinions upon every occasion, or, who were, in short, more attached to some general principles of government, at first opposed them, and for a short time had great weight in the constituent assembly; but, the tenets of the Jacobins were so congenial with the principles and progress

of the revolution, that they soon acquired a great ascendant in the assembly. Many persons, who were not members of the assembly, were admitted into the society: though the original members had been inclined, to what were at that time the most popular opinions, they were soon outstripped in that particular by the foreign members, if that expression may be used; and, not long after their institution, the members of the assembly made a secession, with an intention of again constituting themselves the club on its original footing; but, it was then too late, the foreign members were so great a body, and so far retained the weight of the society, that the original members thought it prudent to return to them. From that time most of the questions that came before the assembly were discussed there, and in a few months their influence over it was so great, that petitions and applications were made to them respecting legislative, and sometimes executive affairs. Societies on the same principles were formed in almost every part of the country, with which that in Paris corresponded, and the opinions and resolutions of the parent, had considerable weight with the affiliations. The Jacobins, however, far from directing, had hitherto had very little share in any of the great movements that were æras in the French revolution; they were not connected with any efficient force, that could give effect to their resolutions. They detested the confederates. Though some of the principal movers of the populace or sections of Paris, were members of the society, as a body they had very little if any influence over them. As they both had the same object in view, to level all distinctions and all authority but their own, they generally acted in concert, but they were sometimes at variance. The 6th of October was passed before the jacobins were known; the 10th of August was so little their work, that all the members who had taken an active part in it, except those who were at the head of the sections of Paris, were immediately after proscribed by themselves; and, the 31st of May was planned, not among the Jacobins, but in the electoral assembly of Paris. What share they had in forming the public opinions is difficult to say; but, that they did not direct, it is evident. When Barnave, Lameth, &c. thought that the road to distinction was by courting the populace, and took the direction of the club from Chapelier and the other founders of the society, they outran the public opinion, and the Jacobins were obliged to assume the character of friends of order and government, to recover their influence; the same happened after the 28th of February, when they declared in favour of the sections of Paris; they were then obliged to do a longer penance of the same sort. Like every other part of the nation, they were themselves subjected to every great change in the state: there were several secessions from them: by a scrutiny after the 10th of August, the Girondists with many other persons were expelled; by another, after the revolutionary government was decreed, they expelled many of the most popular members belonging to the city of Paris. After the members of the constituent assembly, and those connected with them, had either seceded or were expelled, the jacobins might be defined, a body of political adventurers who hampered every department of government which they did not direct, and who would engage in any political enterprise from which they could derive power or advantage. In addition to those who were members of that club, there was at Paris a vast collection, not only of natives, but of foreigners of desperate fortunes, who were ready for any undertaking, and who became the instruments of the revolutionary government. Before that government was declared, the convention for the ostensible purpose of quelling revolts, and enforcing the requisitions of men and provisions, sent commissioners of their own members into many parts of the country, who assumed an unlimited power, changing the constituted authorities, and arresting whomsoever they pleased; after that government was established, they exercised the same power every where. So sudden and so great are the changes that depend upon popular opinion, that if it had not passed almost before our eyes, it would hardly have been credible, that from the extreme of licentiousness, a nation should in a few months, bow their necks to a tyranny so despotic and so sanguinary, as rarely to have had an equal. Without the compulsion of any great armed force, they allowed themselves to be seized and dragged to execution by thousands, not only upon slight pretences, and upon an unfair trial, but upon the mandate of a commissioner, which but a short time before they had treated with contempt. This tyranny did not bear only upon the partisans of the old government, the leaders of the different revolutionary parties that preceded it, or even the founders of the Jacobin club, who almost all perished under it; but, at last extended likewise to the populace themselves, who had overthrown the throne, the noblesse, and the clergy. I think it was not till the reign of Caligula, for a short

from memory, that the despotism of Rome began to act upon the populace; so rapid was the progress of a tyranny erected upon anarchy, compared to that of despotism, that in less than five years it arrived at the same point, which the other had required near three centuries to attain. The revolutionary government disbanded the revolutionary army attached to the sections of Paris, brought some of their leaders who had been most active in the late licentiousness to the block, as well as many of the members of the convention who had given them offence. Even Danton when he ventured to object to the restrictions imposed on the clubs, sections, and popular societies, found himself in circumstances so hazardous, that he lost his manhood, and made the most humiliating concessions. The tyranny of a popular faction is the most intolerable of all tyrannies, because its persecution extends to every situation and every rank in life; the village, nay, the country, has its petty tyrant, who is not only intolerant in his public opinions, but makes use of his power to gratify his private malice; even the city afforded no asylum, for the inmost recesses were haunted by reptiles of informers, or invaded by arbitrary domiciliary searches. Revolutionary committees were formed in the towns, and pervaded the country, who lodged informations against every person who was obnoxious to them: they found no difficulty in getting their malice satiated by the revolutionary tribunal, or by arbitrary executions. Their indiscriminate massacres are unexampled since the civilization of modern Europe; so regardless were they of human life, as hardly to be conceived: in their numerous executions by the musket, and sometimes by canon, some of their own officers or attendants have been found among the dead, from neglecting to give them proper notice to retire; when there has been a form of trial, a different person whose name bore some resemblance, has been condemned and executed for another, although to the former the facts and evidence could have no relation. So dreadful was this tyranny, that the horrors of it could not pierce through the gloom. The massacres of Nantes and the Loire were not known at Paris, till after the 9th of Thermidor, and were then discovered in some measure by accident. The revolutionary committee of Nantes had sent more than an hundred persons, whom they had arrested, towards Paris, with instructions to the guard to put them to death by the way; the 9th of Thermidor intervened, and part of them who had not perished by the treatment that they had experienced on their march, arrived safe; when they were examined, they gave information, which it is asserted, ascertained that Carrier during his mission in that quarter, had put to death thirty thousand persons, in the most wanton and barbarous manner. A member of the convention who returned some time after the 9th Thermidor, from a mission to the southern provinces, averred, that a commune of 500 houses had been burnt, because a tree of liberty had been cut down in the night, and the inhabitants could not discover the authors; that he himself ordered a trench to be filled up in which were 500 dead bodies; and, that he likewise ordered six more to be filled up, which were intended to hold 12,000 victims. Many other instances, that were likewise before unknown, though not of equal magnitude, yet of equal audacity, were afterwards brought to light. After the force of the revolutionary government was spent, and it ceased to be an object of terror, the people of the southern provinces rose, and took a severe revenge. The convention was subjected to the same despotic sway: the powers of the committee of public safety were repeatedly continued, without a murmur being uttered, and at last prolonged indefinitely. After the scrutiny of the jacobins had purified them from every thing that was not attached to the ruling faction, their club became the real place of discussion of public affairs, and often the organ of their execution. The reign of terror has been generally denominated the reign of Robespierre, but for what reason I know not, except that he was the only member of it who had ever enjoyed any great degree of popularity. Respecting those dark times every thing ought to be received with caution, unless confirmed by authentic documents: several traits of individuals, who have been too well known in those scenes, that were supposed to be derived from the best sources, have been found to be without foundation. The piece of villainy that was published of Lebon the assassin of Arras as notorious, that he compelled the wife to submit to his desires to save her husband, whom he immediately after shewed her bleeding on the scaffold, was on examination proved to be fabricated: many circumstances that were propagated with equal certainty respecting Robespierre, are now known to be false. The character of Robespierre was totally unfit for conducting affairs that required firmness and decision: he was devoid of courage, and, far from acting a commanding part in critical situations, he either failed to appear, or if he did appear, always seemed to be feeling round for the

strongest party, that he might either join, or at least not give offence. Barrère, and his testimony is strongly corroborated by Robespierre not being absent at that time, declared, that so far from being the author of the revolutionary government, he opposed it; but, that when it was adopted, he filled as many of the departments with his creatures as he could. That he was a man of blood, who shed it without hesitation, when that could promote his views, there can be no doubt; but, he on many occasions made attempts, I mean such feeble attempts as were suitable to his character, to stop the wanton effusion of it. He hinted at saving the Princess Elizabeth; when the revolutionary axe began to fall on the populace, he suggested that it was necessary to lop off only the highest heads. After he was executed, the remaining members made use of the apothegm of Barrère, that dead men tell no tales, and threw all the obloquy of the bloodshed upon him; but, I know of no reason to think, that it was the tyranny either of him or any other individual, but of a gang of hardened and unprincipled adventurers, who dealt destruction both individually and collectively, on every thing that gave them umbrage.——The club of the Cordeliers was but little known, till after the execution of the King; composed chiefly of the leaders of the sections of Paris, it then arose into consequence. Had the revolutionary government been carried into effect, when it was first proposed by Danton, it is probable, from the murders in the beginning of the revolution, the massacres of September, and from the revolutionary tribunal being created at their instance, that the sections would not have been more merciful than the Jacobins, into whose hands it fell. Resenting, however, the success of the latter, and feeling the pressure of their power, a plot was some months after formed for overturning, or more properly, taking it out of their hands. The Jacobins were alarmed, and sent a deputation to the Cordeliers, offering them the fraternal embrace, and to become thereafter friends and brethren; the Cordeliers were the dupes of these professions; it was the kiss of Judas; the ferment was no sooner allayed, than the most noisy members of the Cordeliers were arrested; the sections taken by surprise, far from attempting to relieve them by force, sunk under the terror of the revolutionary tribunal; even Danton and the rest of the leaders declared against those that had been arrested, who were immediately tried and executed: they were no sooner disposed of, than those of greater consequence, and Danton himself shared the same fate. Thus far the principal members of the revolutionary government appear to have acted in concert, but, having then overcome all opposition, a contest for power arose among themselves. The possession of the revolutionary government was contested by Robespierre, Couthen and St. Just on one part, and by Billaud, Collot, &c. on the other; for Barrere was merely a weather-cock to point out the strongest side. While the popular leaders of Paris were in existence, Robespierre and his party were at variance with the constituted authorities of the city, but after they had fallen on the scaffold, he insinuated himself into the confidence of the common council, he had a majority of the jacobin club in his favour, he had likewise secured the revolutionary tribunal, and the commander of the armed force of Paris, whose obedience that commander thought he could answer for; but, they were far from being popular among the sections, because they had been active in cutting off the principal members of the Cordeliers; the latter party were at the head of the other departments of the government. The convention had been so long a passive instrument in their hands, that no important business was there agitated, unless brought forward by members or connexions of the committee of public safety; but an incident occurred which alarmed the members for their own safety, and induced them to take a decided part. The committee of public safety had procured a decree, by which they were empowered to arrest all suspected persons, and bring them before the revolutionary tribunal; but, either from an exception in the law, or from practice, they had only arrested the members of the convention whom they chose to include in the number of the suspicious; but had not brought them to trial without a decree of accusation from the convention. In the beginning of June a decree was passed, granting them the same powers, in which no mention was made of the members of the convention. That decree appears to have had the approbation of both those parties; and, probably, was intended by both to be made use of against their antagonists, when they found it practicable. Though the members of the convention did not chuse to dispute with them the lives of the rest of the nation, they had some regard for their own. Next day, when several zealous revolutionists required that the members of the convention should be expressly exempted from being brought to trial, without a decree of accusation; a decree to that effect was passed. Robespierre by hints in the in-

decisive manner peculiar to himself, shewed that he wished to be supported in designs against those members, but meeting with no encouragement, that only formed a determined party against him in the convention. Billaud acknowledged afterwards, that he and his friends had watched for some time for a favourable opportunity of attacking him; and, it is probable, that the friends of Danton had not been idle among the sections; for, on the anniversary of the revolution, they held public feasts and meetings, which they had not dared to do for some time before; nor did Robespierre's harangues receive that applause from the galleries, which had always before followed them. He was so little sensible of a change in the public opinion, and of the approaching consequences of it, that to recover his popularity, he declaimed vehemently upon increasing the activity of the revolutionary government. A speech of his on this subject in the convention, was evidently intended to prepare them for exerting it against his antagonists. It was moved, that instead of being printed and distributed as usual for the speeches that were highly approved, it should be referred to the committees for their report; the motion met with support, and discovered that his enemies had increased both in numbers and boldness; it was, however, negatived, and the speech ordered to be printed. In the evening he made a motion in the Jacobin club for a new scrutiny, which his opponents both in the convention and the committee, knew was intended as a proscription. St. Just began a report next day, preparatory to an accusation against them; he was immediately interrupted by the members who thought themselves most in danger. Billaud, Collot, and their party, made such a tumult that Robespierre could not be heard; and, at last, carried a decree of arrest against him. So satisfied was he of his own strength, that when he found he should not be permitted to speak, he insulted the president and the convention. Instead of carrying him to confinement, the officer who had him in custody led him to the common council, who were assembled to support his cause, and so equally were the parties matched that day, that several persons were arrested, delivered, and arrested others; that night the affair was brought to an issue; the convention passed many decrees of arrest and attainder, but their decrees would have been of little avail, if some of the members who had influence in the sections, had not hastened to arm them, and immediately proceeded to the common council, before the force that they had ordered was collected.

There are accounts, and I believe them to be well founded, which say, that if Robespierre had been possessed of that active and daring disposition in which was necessary for the part he had undertaken, and, instead of loitering among the common council, had, as soon as the proceedings were arranged, gone to assist in raising the armed force, he would have anticipated his antagonists, and secured success before they could have been prepared. If such had been the issue of the 9th Thermidor, the fate of the two parties would probably have been exchanged, his opponents would have died by the hand of the executioner, and he would have visited the Banks of the Sinamary.——After the death of Robespierre, the remaining members of the committee seemed to flatter themselves, that the same powers would be continued to them, and there was no appearance that they would have been used more mildly than before; for, in the first two days about an hundred of the municipal officers of the city of Paris were guillotined. But, however much the revolutionary government might be detested, the energy of it was such, that it did not fall at once, as the old government had done at the revolution. The first step towards it was, although indirectly opposed by the remaining members, to fill up the vacancies in the committee of public safety, and at the same time, to provide that a fourth part of the members should be renewed every month. About ten days after, it was moved to continue the revolutionary government, by which was understood, though not expressed, the system of terror; in the debate none of the members declared against it, but the motion was not carried, nor were different plans proposed for new modelling it, referred to the committee of public safety, but to a deputation of all their committees united. These circumstances were so little favourable to that system, that its adherents thought it necessary to make an effort to restore it. A decree had been passed enabling the committees to release all the patriots who had been imprisoned; in consequence of which, some hundreds out of seven or eight thousand prisoners in Paris, had been liberated; a motion was made that they should be again arrested; the impression that it had left was still so strong, that the motion was not negatived but evaded; and some members having joined in preferring an accusation against Billaud, Collot, and five more of the principal actors in that system, it was rejected by a great majority; they however, finding upon the next change that their influence was at an end, resigned their seats in the committee of public safety. While

some of the members of the convention went on the 9th Thermidor, to raise the sections. Legendre, the friend of Danton, chose, so much were the galleries changed, a few men from the galleries, marched with them to the Jacobins, dispersed their meetings, and brought the keys of their hall to the convention. They never recovered their former consequence; however, in a few days they again opened their club, and it became as before the center of the system of terror. While they retained their influence in the convention, and that system was only a little mitigated, they were not intemperate in their conduct; but, when they found that both it and their power were upon the decline, their violence increased. Not recollecting, or not perceiving that their success, previous to the revolutionary government, had been owing to their acting in concert with the sections of Paris, they avowed their intention of reviving the reign of terror at all hazards, and threatened both them and the convention. On the first relaxation of that system, some of the sections of Paris began to be again in motion; but, when the Jacobins threatened to renew it, they joined the convention against them: the wounding of Tallien, and the discovery of the atrocities of Carrier, happening about this time, the name of Jacobin became as much an object of hatred, and their persons of insult, as they had ever been of terror. The convention ordered a scrutiny of the society, in which they prevailed so far as to expel the most violent of the members. When Carrier was brought to trial, being determined to save him if possible, they threatened to excite an insurrection, upon which the club was shut up, their correspondence with most of their affiliated societies was cut off, and after long perseverance a decree of accusation was at last carried against the principal existing members of the old committee of public safety.——During the time that the proceedings against Billaud, Collot, &c., had been in agitation, a member made a motion that a committee should be appointed to arrange the manner in which the constitution of 1793 should be carried into effect. That constitution being the production of those who were running a race for popularity, few were excluded from the right of voting, the elections were vested in the people without intermediate electors, and the primary assemblies were not only thus to become the immediate electors, but they were in many cases, and might be in all deliberative assemblies, which as there was no efficient government in France, would seem so many petty legislatures, [illegible] councils.

The revolution had still continued to follow the new course that it had taken; the arbitrary mode of proceeding of the revolutionary tribunal, had been much restricted; some of the principal actors in the system of terror, had been condemned and executed; others were ordered for trial; seventy members of the convention who had protested again, the 31st of May, and had been a year under arrest, were first released, and afterwards allowed to take their seats; even those who had been attainted, soon after recovered the same privilege; and, in a short time, one of them who had fled to the royalists in La Vendée was admitted. Such a motion or such a constitution, by no means accorded with the spirit that dictated those measures; nor did the convention, now it had acquired some authority, seem willing to resign it; though often mentioned in the convention that it was time to put an end to the revolutionary government, it had been still maintained, but with various modifications. That constitution, however, was so agreeable to the popular sections of Paris, that they immediately began to move in support of it; and, the remaining Jacobins, resumed the part that they had acted before the 10th of August, and fomented the popular commotions. That there was not a real scarcity was proved by the committee of subsistence, who declared that one-third more flour was at that time issued, than had been consumed in Paris before the revolution, and the great emigrations that followed; but, there was a difficulty in procuring necessaries, from the immense quantity of paper money in circulation, and the little value that was set upon it: there was no great connexion between that and the constitution of 1793; however, a tumultuous meeting marched to the convention, demanded bread and that constitution, made a riot, and assaulted many persons before they were dispersed. They were supported in the convention by the jacobin members; the convention did not refuse their demands flatly, they appointed a committee to prepare the laws for organizing that constitution, and they named a day for fixing the time of the meeting of the primary assemblies; but, when that day came the order was discharged. A more considerable commotion then arose, the people again demanded bread, and the constitution of 1793: the next day, the 12th Germinal, it increased the convention was surrounded by an armed mob, General Pichegru being then at Paris, was ordered to take the command of the force to oppose it; and, it was not till after insulting many, and wounding some of

the members, that it was at last suppressed. During the commotion the convention decided summarily the fate of the accused members of the old committee of public safety: a decree was passed, directing them to be transported to Guiana; their departure from Paris met with some opposition from the populace, but they were taken out of their hands, and sent forward to their destination. Barrère, however, escaped before their embarkation. Far from abandoning their purpose from the defeat they had experienced on those two days, the popular sections only increased their activity; about a week after they projected another insurrection, which was discovered and prevented; several other unsuccessful attempts were made. The convention had deprived the revolutionary government of its great force, by restoring the former administrations of the departments; but, to give activity to the general administration, they again concentrated the principal functions of government in their committee of public safety; this leaving no expectation of seeing the constitution of 1793 carried into effect, a very formidable insurrection took place on the 1st Prairial. The convention that day exhibited a singular spectacle; it was an epitome of the revolution, and a striking picture of an ochlocracy. The sections sounded the alarm early in the morning; they sent a deputation to the convention, demanding the meeting of the primary assemblies on an early day, and the arrest of their own members. A decree was hardly passed against them, before the galleries were filled by a mob, who reviled and insulted the convention, it was with great difficulty that they were cleared; soon after the insurgents forced their way in, and were repulsed in the hall itself; they made another attack, again forced their way in, drove off the guard of the convention, and killed one of the members. The Jacobins had continued silent, waiting the issue of the contest, thinking themselves then sure of victory; they rose, demanded the repeal of all the laws that militated against the system of terror, and the release of its adherents: the convention were too much under the impression of fear to oppose them; four of the jacobin members were chosen as a new committee of public safety; they were leaving the hall to take possession of the government, when they were met by a large body of the other citizens, and persons of various descriptions, armed in support of the convention, who attacked the insurgents, dispersed them, arrested the intended committee, by a decree of the convention, they were tried by a military commission and executed. It was several days before the insurrection was entirely suppressed, and in some of the sections it was more by persuasion than by force, that it was at last extinguished. Notwithstanding all the humiliations and depression that the jacobins had suffered, it was probably through their means that corresponding insurrections were excited in many parts of the country, both on the 12th Germinal and 1st Prairial. The popular sections although again defeated, did not yet give up the point; they begun a scrutiny among themselves, with an intention of disarming all those whom they did not think true to their cause; but the convention opposed it, and the popular rage being spent, they submitted.——The insurrections of the 12th Germinal and the 1st Prairial, determined the convention to put an end to the revolutionary government. The committee they had appointed was declared to be for the purpose of digesting the preparatory laws of the constitution of 1793, but it produced the directorial constitution. It was in the course of discussing the latter, that a question was first asked, which might have been put with equal propriety, every day, except during the reign of terror, since the 15th of July, 1789, where was government. Untaught by six years continual convulsions, they still spoke with ineffable contempt of the sources of government, the principles of civil society, and of the longest period to which they had hitherto protracted the existence of nations; instead of considering a free government as a majestic oak, that requires ages to extend its roots, but which, can then, while uncorrupted, bid defiance to the tempests of heaven, that is invigorated by the collisions of party, and cuts off the sources of faction, but which must be subject to decay, and at last must yield to the efforts of time: they still regarded it as a parasitical plant that could be raised up in a season, and that when they decreed the form, they created the substance; they still fancied that they possessed the political philosopher's stone, by which they could animate it by their fiat; that they could banish the contentions of interest, and enable it to resist the approaches of age: nor was this the language, nor these the opinions of the speculative, but of the practical legislators of that day; for the Abbé Sieyes, whose influence on the revolution, notwithstanding all that has been said of it, I know not where to find, produced, in opposition to that constitution, one of his own, which, in many parts, was the same as the one since adopted; it was thrown aside, and his illus-

tration of it openly ridiculed as metaphysical jargon.——After the victory of the 1st Prairial over the popular sections and the Jacobins, many of the citizens of Paris shewed their aversion to the latter. Among other circumstances, they would not permit the performance of the popular airs of the middle period of the revolution at the places of public amusement; this occasioned some playhouse riots, which were converted by the Jacobin members of the convention into a royalist conspiracy; so great was still their antipathy to royalty, that they immediately ordered the arrest of a great number of the young men who had been concerned in them; and, so much were they alarmed, that upon the Jacobins saying that it was folly to send the rioters to be tried by a jury, who must likewise be royalists, and would certainly acquit them, the convention remitted their case to a committee of their own members. The sections to which they belonged strenuously supported their cause, and made use of very strong language to the convention, accusing them by such arbitrary proceedings, of reviving the system of terror.——After the directorial constitution was discussed, the convention declared that it was not safe to trust the people with renewing the whole legislature at once, least they should return one composed, either of royalists, or of the adherents of the system of terror; they therefore, decreed, that two-thirds of the members of the convention should be re-elected or continued. The committee of constitution had proposed, that the elections should be made by the primary assemblies, as in the constitution of 1793; but the convention in revising it, decreed that there should be electoral assemblies, as in the first periods of the revolution; for an efficient government, electoral assemblies would probably be fatal both to its energy and freedom, by interrupting the immediate action of the people, in the state that France then was, they could only add intrigue to anarchy, but they were certainly less unfit for deliberation, than indiscriminate meetings of the people: the convention reversed it, they deprived the people of the elections, and they submitted to them the consideration of the constitution. When the convention recovered from their panic, they had released the rioters, but the animosity that the proceedings against them had excited in the sections, had not ceased when the constitution and the decrees for the re-election of the two-thirds came before them. The constitution was approved by a great majority, but the decrees condemned by a still greater number, and many of the sections resolved to oppose them, as depriving them of the right of choosing their own representatives. After the 1st Prairial, the convention thought it prudent to collect a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Paris: after the riots, under the cover of marching troops to La Vendée, they made a considerable addition to them: the sections sent to fraternise with them, which threatened to produce some defections; dreading the consequences, it is said, that the convention ordered picked men from the armies, to march in small bodies to Paris; and, with more regard to their own safety, than to the principles of civil liberty, they sent the constitution very expeditiously to the armies for their approbation. The agitation became great in many of the sections, they gave frequent alarms, and were several times on the point of breaking out into open insurrection, but it did not actually take place till upon the eve of the elections, when they rose and attacked the convention; some individuals of the military joined them, but the great body of the troops remained faithful to the convention, killed a considerable number of the insurgents, and easily defeated them. The popular sections had been overcome on the 12th Germinal and 1st Prairial, the other party of them on the 13th Vendémiaire. The weighty influence of the city of Paris on the revolution, had begun to decline soon after the 31st of May, but it was not till the 13th Vendémiaire, that it was decidedly reduced, and with the revolutionary government finally merged in the directorial constitution.——Never perhaps, was the power of public opinion, shown in so strong a light as in the French revolution. It proceeded in a continued progression till it attained its height, or till the utmost dissolution of government; then like a projectile arrived at its greatest elevation, it declined into a different direction, which it pursued with the same irresistible force. While it advanced, the court, the constituent, and legislative assemblies, the convention, clubs or individuals, who attempted to retard its progress, were either forgotten, compelled to follow it, or were annihilated; whoever outran it, sections, Jacobins, legislatures or confederates, were obliged to return and re-enter its atmosphere; the same opinions which they had been obliged to recant, were in a few months received with applause, and they again soon became obsolete. When it entered on its new course, the jacobins and the revolutionary government tyrannised over the whole nation; the jacobins were subjected in their turn, the revolutionary government was abrogated, and the conven-

tion, few active members of which had not at some period or other been the objects of contempt and abuse, triumphed over those by whom they had been commanded and despised. Its influence extended with equal force to the armies; the generals who attempted to resist it, were either forced to fly or dragged from their victories to the scaffold: while it advanced, no armed force that came to Paris to oppose it, but was drawn into its vortex; when it began to recede, they acted against the same principles, and part of the same men to whom they had formerly deserted. Surprise may abate, when it is considered, that in the first elections for the constituent assembly, when the fermentation in the city of Paris was to appearance extreme, it is said, that of between seventy and one hundred thousand voters, not three thousand ever gave their votes; and, that at no period of the revolution, even when assisted by terror, did ever more than five thousand appear at any of the elections there. Of these an infinite majority must have been merely followers and retainers; in the most turbulent of their convulsions, it was a constant complaint that of the constituted authorities, which consisted of no great number of members, but a very small proportion ever attended. Allowing this, as I believe it to be, just, surprise can only give place to astonishment, that so insignificant a number of active and enterprising individuals, could excite so violent movements in so immense a machine.——In turbulent times those who are seen in high stations, are generally men of superior minds, who break through the bars of adventitious destructions, burst from obscurity, govern circumstances, and place themselves at the head of affairs: not so in the French revolution; the Mouniers, the Clermont Tonneres, the Chapeliers, the Barnaves, the Lamettes, the Berthiers, the Brissots, the Dantons, the Billauds, the Robespierres, the Talliens, the Boissy's, rarely if ever directed the stream, they floated on its surface; though most of them appeared with the first of the revolution, they were unheeded and unknown until they retailed the prevailing opinions of the day; they were dangled their scene upon the stage by an invisible agent, who then consigned them to their original obscurity, from which few of them ever again emerged. Mirabeau was no exception, for early as he died in the revolution, he had already outlived his political influence.——The imagination of man has converted the pastoral life; a life rude, tedious, and full of hardships, into a life of ease, pleasure, and refinement; it has likewise figured to itself, that what innocence and simplicity is to be found upon earth, is to be found in the humbler paths of life. By whom were the assassinations and devastations of France perpetrated in the first stages of the revolution; was it by the noblesse and the dignified clergy? It was by the peasants of the country, and the populace of the towns. By whom were the massacres and atrocities of the after periods committed? Was it by the Montmorencies, the Talleyrands, and the Rochefoucaulds who took a part in the revolutions? It was by the Dantons, the Brissots, the Collots, the Robespierres, the Billauds, the Carriers, the St. Justs; it was when what authority there was in the state came to be vested in the hands of the lowest retainers of the law, the meanest followers of literature, pastry-cooks, players, tavern keepers, and their offspring; the farther the revolution advanced, or, in other words, the lower the power descended in society, the more sanguinary, profligate, and ferocious it became. All the vices of the city, the court, and the palace, exist in the hamlet, the hovel, and the garret; they exist, and they exist in greater deformity, and in greater intensity too; the vices of the higher ranks, proceed oftener from imbecillity of character, than from depravity of heart. He never knew vice who has not known it unrestrained by a tender regard to character, unsoftened by a liberal education, and unfettered by the principles of honour more imperious than the laws of the state. For all classes of men the salutary control of government is necessary, but doubly so for those in whom the restraints imposed by manners are less powerful. In a revolution which professed to diffuse a degree of freedom, yet unknown among men, and to realise the happiest dreams of the imagination, we naturally look for a large share of that sacred fire that burns upon the altar of liberty, directed by a considerable portion "of that etherial spirit which descends from "heaven to enlighten mankind;" we look for it, but we look for it in vain. Instead of perfecting a venerable fabric, which partook of the dark ages in which it was raised, and repairing the ravages of time, they with sacrilegious hands tore down the pillars of the temple, yet expected that the edifice was to stand; when laid in ruins around them, they could devise nothing to substitute in its place but masses of unconnected materials, which fell to the ground before they were completed. The grandeur of the scene that opened before them, almost irresistibly impressed the higher virtues and elevation of mind, yet nothing is to be seen but the fury

of contending factions, the savage gazing with delight on the quivering members of his victim, or the Vandal exulting over the shivered monuments of ancient Rome.——

CAMILLUS.

TROOPS IN THE WEST INDIES.

SIR,——The situation of Europe being entirely changed, more numerous forces than heretofore must be employed in defence of the West Indies, and every means to preserve their health is always desirable.——Great Britain daily increasing in wealth and refinement, may be compared to Rome in her declension, when her Italian subjects, dissolved in voluptuous ease, had utter repugnance to foreign service.——Many obvious causes tend to the destruction of troops in the West Indies; but, there are other causes, which perhaps are not so well understood.——It is notorious, that, in all situations, the health of troops more or less depends on the capacity and humanity of the commanding officer of the regiment. If he partly combines Roman discipline, with almost parental solicitude, he will highly contribute to the health and happiness of those under his orders; and, surely, the character of such officer is most enviable; for it is supreme felicity, to possess beneficence of heart, with the power of employing it for the happiness of many.——It is a melancholy truth, that too many officers detest the West India service; seem miserable until they quit it; and, perhaps, are not concerned at the reduction and drafting of the remains of their regiments into other corps. This too often takes place, in one or two years after the arrival of such regiments in the West Indies; and always insures the return of the officers to Europe. Such officers do not imagine themselves criminal; for they pretend to attribute this common catastrophe, altogether to the climate, which unhappily presents a very plausible apology for their inhuman inattention to their troops.——It is indeed, admitted, that too many officers perish in the West Indies by the climate, by INTEMPERANCE, and by that misery generated by their vehement desire to return to England. But, it is to be carefully remembered, that the number of officers so lost, are not nearly proportioned to the soldiers who perish there; for those brave unreflecting men, if unrestrained by wholesome discipline, rush with facility into daily intoxication, which speedily terminates in their destruction. Unfortunately, in this instance of national misfortune, the delinquent, instead of severe censure, receives a high premium, by the gratification of his most ardent desire to return to his country; whereas, the attentive and humane commandant, whose generous bosom glows with beneficence, virtue, and patriotism; who loves and regards his fellow soldiers as humble friends; who preserves them for their King, country, and families; is, perhaps, constrained to unusual length of service, in a climate which in seven or eight years saps or destroys his constitution.——If moral evil is not inherent, is not inseparable from human nature, such delinquents merit indignation, as warmly as the humane commander claims our esteem and affection. If civic honours were decreed to him who saved one citizen, what honours ought to decorate him, who saves the lives of hundreds committed to his charge! Men so essential to the defence of the invaluable possessions of his country. Men who in these luxurious times are raised and sent to the West Indies, at such vast expense. Surely, the consideration of these important national concerns, merit the attention of the beneficent Sovereign, and of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief. Never, perhaps, was a regulation better devised, than that court martial, to which every captain of the royal navy is to submit, who loses one of his Majesty's ships or vessels; and no commander of his Majesty's land forces ought to be displeased to have his conduct investigated, previous to the remains of his regiment being drafted into another corps. It therefore, is most ardently to be wished, that his Majesty may be graciously pleased to direct, that a board of inquiry may be instituted in every colony, where regiments become so reduced as to be drafted into other regiments; that the governor or commander in chief, be president; that previous to embarkation of the staff, the said board be empowered to call before them all officers, non-commissioned officers, or others, capable of giving testimony in the premises. That the proceedings of such board be immediately transmitted to his Majesty's advocate general, to be laid before his Majesty, who will decide thereon, in his known equity and wisdom.——But, if it is alleged, that such inquiry is useless, because such indiscipline as speedily would reduce a corps, could not escape notice of the colonial commander in chief; it is replied, that in sundry instances, regiments are cantoned distant from head quarters; that the officers for various obvious reasons, will not be forward to announce incapacity in their superiors; particularly, as it militates in favour of their being returned to Europe. And such advantage the naval commander on trial for the loss of his ship, cannot expect,

as his officers are independent of him.——Such officers as meritoriously preserve their troops, highly merit of his Majesty; and notwithstanding the superior strength of their regiments, never ought, except in extreme urgency, to serve longer than usual; for in such event, their exact discipline, and exemplary conduct meeting with no attention, would not by example stimulate succeeding regiments to such meritorious duty and conduct.——Troops never ought to serve longer in the West Indies than five years, (emergencies excepted) and such knowledge of their certain return, would strongly tend to promote the health and comfort of the troops, and operate powerfully as an antidote to that discouragement, with which officers and men embark on that service.——If it is observed, that an extraordinary expense would be incurred by removing the troops sooner than usual; it is to be observed also, that such paltry considerations ought to shrink before the humanity, justice, and policy of the measure in question. Enlightened minds can readily conceive, that many things, which forty years ago were expedient, are at present become inexpedient; and this, perhaps, is not inapplicable to the mode of drafting the remains of regiments into other regiments, by which they are doomed to almost extermination. This mode, though long sanctioned by custom, is repugnant to justice, humanity, and policy, and ought to be abolished.——A. B.——*August* 1, 1805.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

COMBINED FLEETS.—Against the disappointment, so evident in the public, and so loudly proclaimed by most of the newspapers, at the result of the operations of these fleets, a timely endeavour was made to guard the readers of the Political Register. It was, from what ought to have been concluded from Sir Robert Calder's first dispatch, but too probable, that nothing further was, for the present, at least, to be expected from the efforts of the squadron under his command; and, though that dispatch was not so circumstantial as it might have been, it by no means appears, from any thing yet published, that the commander, or any commander, could have done more than he did. Nothing is easier than to cry out coward and traitor; but, let us hope, that such a cry will never affect the life or fortune or fame of any man, until he be fully and fairly convicted of the crime laid to his charge: let us hope that neither the persons nor the reputation of our commanders will ever stand upon so slippery a foundation as that of the hopes or fears of the babbling and unreflecting swarms of the metropolis, who always unite criminality with want of success, and who never inquire into the means by which success is accomplished, or into the consequences whereunto it leads; who are now reproaching the admiral because the combined fleets have got into Ferrol, but who seem to have forgotten, that it is to be attributed entirely to the *dollar-war*, in the success of which many of them, so much exulted, that there was a combined fleet at sea, and that Ferrol was open to receive it. To the decision of such judges let us hope, that the conduct of our commanders is never to be subjected. Not a word do we hear from the 'Change against the conduct of those ministers, by whom we have been exposed to our present dangers; owing to whose war with Spain, and to whose subsequent management of our naval force, our colonies have been plundered or laid under contribution; a considerable convoy has been captured; and that the naval force of the enemy, the despised naval force of the enemy, has compelled our squadrons to fall back one upon another. Not a word does Lloyd's say upon this subject, while its sooty walls re-echo with reproaches against the admiral, who with fifteen sail of the line, captured only two out of the twenty that he engaged! But, admirals give no "accommodations" to loan-jobbers: admirals have none of the public money to lend, without interest: admirals possessing none of the means by the overflowings of mercantile avarice or mercantile trepidation are kept within decent bounds. It is not meant here to cast a slur upon the mercantile *character*; and those who choose to understand it in that way, must take their resentment for their pains; but, when we hear, from the city, such loud expressions of disappointment, such clamourous accents of censure on the admiral, and hear not, from the same quarter, a word against the conduct of those, of whose measures the present lamented events are the natural and *certain* consequence, to refrain from an exposure of the inconsistency, would be to merit a full share of the contempt for which it calls.——When unfortunate events have taken place, it is perfectly useless to sit down with folded hands and repine. This is not what the leaders of the French have done. Every new embarrassment, with them, and with all other men who have extricated themselves from greater dangers, has ever given rise to new and extraordinary exertions, and, amongst such exertions has been that of getting the better of the prejudices and

their errors. The season of misfortune is, with a nation destined finally to triumph, the season for reflection also, upon which principle it is that I have now, in the selection of my MOTTO, endeavoured to recall the minds of my readers to the opinions held, or, at least, expressed, by the present ministers, in their defence of the Preliminaries of Peace with France; I say ministers, because the reader will find, by a reference to the debates, that the Pitts and Dundases, every one of them, joined in the sentiments of Lord Hawkesbury, upon which sentiments the present situation of affairs precludes the necessity of any comment; nor, is it at all necessary to remind the reader, that sentiments exactly opposite, and foreboding precisely what has now taken place, were repeatedly pressed upon the country by Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, and, indeed, by all those who opposed the peace; that peace, which Mr. Pitt defended, which he applauded, which he described as a subject of national pride and exultation, and as meriting, to the ministers who made it, the praise and the lasting gratitude of the country. "Well," some Pittite will exclaim, "and did not Mr. Fox too approve "of the peace?" Yes: but it was upon the ground of *necessity*. It was because the war could, in his opinion, be carried on no longer, without risking the very existence of the nation as an independent body. It was because the peace put an end to those, as *he described them*, hypocritical professions upon which the war was conducted. But, to Mr. Pitt belong the peace, the previous war, and the present war. All these three are to be viewed together; and all of them as the measures of the Pitts and Dundases; for, I repeat it again and again, that Mr. Addington acted constantly under their advice, not to say their controul.——To return, then, to their opinions, the hopes they held out to us, to the promises they made us, at the peace, and a specimen of which is given in the extract, the question we have to put to ourselves is, "have we any ground of reliance upon "such men?" Let us not be told, that this is no time for asking such questions. It is the proper time. It is the time when alone it is perfectly proper to ask them; because it is a time when we have the means of obtaining a solution. It is for want of wisdom in rulers, and foresight, in them, is the proof of wisdom, that nations suffer calamity and disgrace; and the degree of foresight possessed by Mr. Pitt and his colleagues may be easily ascertained by their opinions, compared with subsequent events. The truth is, that, if they possessed wisdom in the highest degree, they are too much taken up, and have been too much taken up, with *self*, with the important business of defending themselves, to attend to the business of the nation, which is with them, a matter of secondary consideration; and, agreeably to the main principle, upon which they and their adherents proceed, we may expect to hear the insufficient state of our navy, the apparently total want of authentic communication between the different squadrons, and the consequent escape of the combined fleets; all these, and the invasion of Ireland, were it to take place, we may expect to hear ascribed, not to the want of wisdom or integrity in the ministers, but to the *hampering and shackling effects of the motions and speeches of the Opposition!* And, if we reply, that, the Opposition being so strong is a good reason *for the ministry being changed*, your true Pittite will not hesitate a moment to declare us insane. Nay, a person of that description will, as to these very observations, object, that they are, in whatever degree they are likely to produce effect, calculated to add to our present dangers, by *compelling* the ministers to employ, in the preservation of their places, some more of that time, the whole of which ought to be devoted to the preservation of the country. A ministry so weak, so feeble both in mind and in the number and character of their supporters, possessing so very little confidence amongst the people, and, if possible, still less abroad, never can retrieve affairs such as ours now are. Nations, like individuals, are prone to shut their eyes to their dangers, especially after they have been some time upon the decline, and when the declining circumstances come pretty regularly one after another. Yet, one would think, that, whoever reflects upon the state of the public mind at the conclusion of the Preliminaries of Peace; whoever reflects upon what would have been, at that time, said of Mr. Windham, if he had predicted, that, in less than four years from that day, they would see the navy of France arrived at its present pitch; would see that navy laying several of our West-India islands under contribution; capturing or destroying all the ships in their harbours; first capturing and then burning a rich convoy of our merchantmen; and in such force upon the coasts of Europe as to compel our squadrons to sheer off from its presence: whoever reflects upon what would have been said of him; whoever reflects upon the bitter invectives, the

vile misrepresentations, the malignant imputations, which such a prediction would have brought from the hirelings of The Family, joined by all the base and selfish crew of dealers in funds and paper-money, whoever reflects on this, and who, at the same time, perceives that the present resentment of the public is confined merely to the conduct of an Admiral, who, at most, has only failed in the amount of a ship or two captured or destroyed, must, one would think, be satisfied that we are, though silently, going rapidly down. Already do we patiently hear the Pitt newspapers express a hope, a "*fond* hope," it is in the Morning Post, that the combined fleets are not "too powerful for the force which Admiral Cornwallis *will soon have* to oppose them." This we are already come to. We hear it *with patience*; and from such a state of mind men are not far removed from a disposition to "make the best of a bad matter;" or, in other words, to submit to disgrace without anguish, and almost without reluctance. Such, however, is so naturally the effect of the *defensive* system, that it would be matter of wonder if we did not now see it exist. You never yet saw a country conquered that did not, for some years before, act upon a system of self-defence; I mean pure self-defence; and this system inevitably arises out of an excessive commerce and its constant attendants, an excessive love of wealth, and a corresponding dread of all hazardous or arduous undertakings. All this our enemy is well acquainted with; and, not to profit from his knowledge, was never amongst the number of his failings. In India, where the fighting is carried on without any danger to us, and, for the most part, by foreign troops, we are not content with a system of pure defence. There, indeed, we find conquests "necessary to preserve what we already possess;" but, here, at home, our maxim is "to keep ourselves to ourselves;" and we complain of, nay, we abuse, with the tongues of worse than fish-women, all those who discover a wish to disturb us; and the ministerial prints, the Morning Post in particular, has seized the occasion of the combined fleets being in Ferrol to reproach Buonaparté with all the crimes he has ever committed, and which crimes, would he but give security that his fleets should be destroyed, this same Morning Post would as loudly defend; a task the more easy, seeing that it has already defended them. This was, perhaps it will be said, when Buonaparté was friends with us, and when his every expression about the "two great nations" was faithfully retailed to us through the columns of the Morning Post, and the other Pitt newspapers. Let it never be forgotten, that, when a little previous to the peace of Amiens, it was reported that Holland and Spain made objections to the cession of Ceylon and Trinidad, the ministerial papers, particularly the Sun and the Morning Post, *exultingly* told their readers be assured, that though those powers might "*grumble*, yet they *must submit*." Well, then, why do these prints now revile Buonaparté for having a Dutch and a Spanish navy in his service? Is it laudable in him to exercise despotic power over those nations, does he deserve praise for exercising it over them, when the object is to aggrandize us; and does he deserve abuse, nay curses, for exercising it when the object is to annoy us? Such sort of justice may correspond with the opinions, or, rather, the feelings of the thoughtless and enervated tribe, on the humouring of whom such prints as the Morning Post rests its hopes of the only species of success which it has in view; but, we may be assured, that it corresponds not with the notions of those amongst mankind whose opinions are of any weight in determining the fate of nations.——Before we take leave of this subject, it may not be improper to notice, generally, the indications of public indignation uniformly shown in all wars, previous to those of the Pitts and their associates, at any apparent neglect in the department of the navy; and, for a particular instance, let us take one, where Mr. Pitt himself made a conspicuous figure; I allude to the inquiry, moved for, in the House of Commons, by Mr. Fox, in 1781, into the conduct of Lord Sandwich. At the beginning of that war, France, or rather the House of Bourbon, was equal, if not superior to us in maritime force. Previous to the epoch referred to, Holland had joined in the war against us; and, it is well known, that the coast and harbours of our revolted colonies kept constantly occupied a fleet of not less than twenty sail of the line, besides great numbers of frigates and sloops of war. Yet, under such circumstances, did the loss of Saint Kitt's, and some other comparatively trifling reverses, produce so great a degree of indignation in the country as to render it impossible for the first Lord of the Admiralty to hold his place. He did not, indeed, hang on like one of The Family; but, if he had been so disposed, there is every reason to suppose, that he would not have been able. Upon that occasion Mr. Pitt was amongst the foremost of the accusers; and it may not be amiss to hear a

little, only a very small part, of what he said, upon the tardiness of the Admiralty to produce the papers called for by the House of Commons: "I must," said he, "beg "leave to differ with my right hon. friend, "in his observation, that the House, re- "marking this conduct of the Admiralty, "will be fatigued and give up the pursuit "in despair. *God forbid!* No: they will, "on the contrary, view it as a silent symp- "tom of conscious guilt; they will, if they "see that there is a design to overthrow "that by management, which cannot be "resisted if fairly met, consider the Ad- "miralty Board as labouring under the con- "viction of delinquency; they will say, "that it carries with it strong symptoms of "dark, latent, lurking guilt, which covets "concealment. That, after all the sound- "ing, proud boasts, challenges, and de- "fiances, they sink into mean and wretched "pretences, hoping to secure themselves, "for a time, from the *infamy* of that de- "tection that must come upon them at last. "Nay, that they are so *fond of place*, that, "for the sake of another week's life, they "will fall so low as to *practice a little ma-* "*nœuvre* on the House, and live upon the "precarious and temporary acquiescence of "parliament." Such was his language with regard to Lord North and his colleagues. Such was his tone; such the style in which, when out of place, he arraigned the conduct of the "*King's government*," of "*his Majesty's confidential servants!*" Whether his conduct (for as to that of the old gentleman at the Admiralty, whose name I have forgotten, that is out of the question) will become the subject of an inquiry is more than I can say; but, if it should, the passage here quoted from the reports of Debrett, 28th January, 1781, may be not altogether without its use.

INVASION.——This was the word last August; it was the word the August before; and it will be the word every August, as long as the Pitt system exists. There may be a year, or, perhaps, a couple of years, when, in consequence of a peace, we shall be less alarmed at the dangers of invasion; but, as long as that *system* remains, let who will be minister, we shall never again know a really tranquil month of August. Am I again told, that I say this, because I predicted, nearly four years ago, that such would be the consequence of the disgraceful conclusion of the last war? I answer, that, whatever may be the motive, from which I repeat this saying, it certainly is not rendered less true, nor less worthy of attention, by the circumstance of its having been, thus far, fulfilled by events. Before I proceed to offer a few observations, which appear to me as likely to be useful in leading to a somewhat settled opinion as to the mighty event, which now again occupies so large a portion of the thoughts of the public, it seems proper to notice the manner, in which the diurnal prints are speaking of it; and, for reasons which will, as we proceed, become obvious enough, I shall quote the MORNING POST and the ORACLE, the two prints so amply quoted last year (Vol. VI. p. 570, et seq.) upon the subject of Mr. Pitt's and Lord Melville's decisive victory gained over the French flotilla by the catamarans. The Morning Post is not remarkable for a pithy style. Of words it is seldom sparing. What it has said upon the present occasion might, perhaps, have been expressed, full as well, if not better, in three sentences; but, in order to possess a complete view of the state of the writer's mind, and of the mind of the far greater part of his readers, we must take him as he lies before us; of the advantage of doing which we have an instance in the passage last year quoted from him, and which we shall presently have occasion more particularly to refer to. He begins, as the reader will perceive, with an opinion that the enemy *is coming*, and concludes with expressing a wish that he may *make good his landing*. But, let us hear him; patiently, if we can; and, at any rate, let us hear him out. "An attempt was *certainly* "made by the enemy to put to sea on Sa- "turday last, but a sudden change of wind "frustrated their intention. They con- "tinue, however, in a perfect state of rea- "diness to sail, and no doubt is entertained "of their determination to avail themselves "of the first favourable opportunity to carry "their design into execution. From the "French coast, similar intelligence has been "received, relative to the preparations and "designs of the enemy in that direction; "and government, we repeat, *entertain no* "*doubt* of the desperate attempt being "*shortly* hazarded from different quarters. "——To those who have minds capable of "being gratified with the sight of public "virtue, the efforts which are making by "our brave countrymen in arms to prepare "themselves for the threatened blow, and "the ardour which they manifest to meet "the unprincipled and implacable threatener, "must afford the *highest possible enjoy-* "*ment*. But one sentiment pervades the "numerous ranks of our gallant defenders. "*Let, then, the enemy come;* let them try "whether the British bayonet, the force "of which in other countries they have so

"frequently and so fatally experienced, will "be pushed with less vigour on British "ground. For our own parts, we contemplate the approaching contest with *calm confidence*; convinced, as we are, that the "day of combat will prove a day of glory "to Britain. There are, doubtless, individuals who regard this *patriotic* spirit, "and the exertions to which it stimulates, "with the sneer of self-sufficient sagacity, "and who congratulate themselves on their "superior wisdom in *having avoided the "fatigues and inconveniences to which they "see their neighbours cheerfully expose "themselves.* We do not envy such men "the torpor of their feelings, although we "are willing to attribute it to an erroneous "estimate of *the danger to which the country is at present exposed.* Sorry, indeed, "should we be, could we for a moment "bring ourselves to suppose, that there "were a hundred voices in the island capable of echoing the declaration of a certain "factious demagogue, "that *the country "was not worth defending.*" No; we are "convinced, that the contrary is too firmly "established; we are convinced that there "never existed a nation more sensible of "the blessings which we enjoy, or more "unanimously determined to guard them "against the attempts of an assailant, of "whom it may with truth be said, that "havock, and spoil, and ruin, are his "gain." Had we not assumed our present "attitude of defence, no one will be senseless enough to contend, that the armies "of France would not, long since, have "been poured upon our shores. To many "(and many to whose opinions and feelings "we pay the highest respect), the possibility that our undismayed aspect may deter "the haughty threatener, is a subject of "satisfactory contemplation. For ourselves, "we have no hesitation in avowing, that "the moment when we learn *he has made "good his landing*, will be to us a moment "of *exultation.* Relying, with the utmost "confidence, on the patriotism, on the "bravery, and, we will add, on the skill of "*our* brethren in arms, we entertain not "the slightest doubt that the result would "prove to the world the hopelessness of "any future attack on a country, the inhabitants of which are so closely and cordially united in the defence of every thing "dear to them, in the defence of every "thing for which existence is desirable."

Taking the several parts of this "patriotic" effusion in the order, in which they present themselves, we have first to observe on the opinion that the enemy is *certainly coming*, that it is supported neither by fact nor reasoning, and that, to all appearance, it has no foundation in truth. —— Of the "calm confidence," with which this "patriotic spirit contemplates the approaching contest," a tolerably correct judgment may be formed from the confusion of ideas, and the contradictory positions, so obvious through the whole of his remarks. ——Fright is generally, if not always, accompanied with anger, partly arising from a sense of danger and partly from that of the shame of appearing to be afraid; and, the objects of such anger are, those who cause the fright and those who are the witnesses of its effects. Accordingly, we see, that this "patriotic spirit" falls about him, and that, too, without much rule or reason; for, at a moment when he was calling upon his readers for unanimous exertion, was it wise, was it "patriotic," to talk of persons, "who "*congratulate* themselves in having *avoided* "the fatigues and inconveniencies, to which "they see *their neighbours cheerfully ex-"pose themselves?*" Was this wise? And is the charge just? I am persuaded the reader will agree with me, that it is an insinuation totally groundless, and arising solely from the base feeling above described; and, if it could, coming through so contemptible a channel, produce any effect upon the public mind, it would be that of setting men on to reproach, and, perhaps, to murder one another. We have, we have been told a hundred times, 70,000 men in arms. Our whole population does not afford more than three times that number, capable of bearing arms; and yet, are we to be reproached, because we do not enough expose ourselves to fatigues and inconveniencies? And, is the proper person to reproach us, he who "patrioticly" expresses his wish to hear, that the enemy "has made *good his landing?*" ——Not less malignant, nor less false, is the imputation against Sir Francis Burdett, whose words, that "the country *was not "worth defending*," are placed within marks of quotation, as if extracted from some authentic report of a speech of his; when the fact is, as I have before shown, that he did not utter any such words, upon the occasion alluded to, and that, in all the other public prints except this very Morning Post, his words conveyed quite a different sentiment, which was this, that, when the people were called on for money, or for extraordinary exertions of any sort, it was a proper time to redress their grievances, and thereby make them feel that their money would be useful to themselves and that their country was worth defending; a sentiment,

which, though perfectly constitutional, it might not, in very critical times, be prudent, in every situation, to express; but, will any one say, that it was a sentiment severely to be censured? And, I am sure no man, whose good opinion is worth having, will deny, that it has been, in the above-quoted paragraph of the Morning Post, most basely misrepresented. But, suppose there to have been no misrepresentation at all: suppose Sir Francis Burdett to have uttered, two or three years ago, the sentiment here falsely imputed to him: was there any thing "patriotic" in reviving, at a moment like this, the remembrance of his indiscretion, or, if you will have it so, of his disaffection? What is the object; what can possibly be the use, of seasoning all these alarms with insinuations against some part or other of the people?——The propriety of this question will become the more evident, when we have read the passage alluded to in the ORACLE, the print, as the reader will not have forgotten, under the immediate control of the UPSTART. This print, after stating, with confidence equal, at least, to that of the Morning Post, that the enemy may be hourly expected, makes some remarks upon the means of defence provided by the ministers, and throws out some pretty broad hints, that the volunteer system has been found inefficacious, and that the volunteers are not very eager to assist in executing the wise intentions of "his Majesty's confidential servants," who compose "the King's government." These remarks are well worthy of public attention. They are the reproaches proceeding from ministerial disappointment and chagrin. "In this situation of things, the measures which have been adopted shew, that the administration of the country is in the hands of men who are not afraid to look danger in the face, but who, at the same time, are not so presumptuous, overweening, or negligent, as to omit any measure which may be necessary for rendering our security doubly secure.——The measures which have been adopted in regard to the volunteer system, are in a particular manner to be looked upon as dictated by *imperious necessity*. It is not owing to the want of public spirit in the people, nor to any national effeminacy, as the malignant and ill-disposed" [*name* them! name them, UPSTART!] "would insinuate that *any relaxation in the efforts of our volunteers* is to be attributed. They were brought together by a sense of the impending dangers of this country," [joined to a dread of the [illegible] *long* retained in their duty by the same cause; and, it was only when they judged their country secure, that their efforts *began to relax*. When they know, that this danger is *not yet over*; that the inveterate enemy of their country is about to make a desperate effort for its destruction, it is not to be *doubted* that these brave men will *again rally* round the standards of their country, and will make every effort to acquire that perfection in military discipline, on which the safety of their country, and their own glory must depend. If, indeed, *there be defects* in the volunteer system which might have been avoided; if *it be* not so well compacted, so firm, and so vigorous as might have been, this cannot be attributed to the *present* administration; but to that *feeble* and *inefficient* set of men, by whom the volunteer system was, at the commencement, adjusted. It would be the height of injustice to attribute *these errors* to men, who were then placed at a distance from the councils of government, and who have made it their business to repair *those defects*, which they had it not in their power originally to prevent. No one can deny that government has at present adopted those measures which seem most likely to render the volunteer and yeomanry force, in its present constitution, effectual for the defence of the country. All these corps are to be immediately inspected, together with those means of conveyance by which they may with the greatest dispatch be brought to the scene of action in case of necessity. In order to render these measures still more effectual, it is said that, if urgent occasion should seem to require the adoption of such a measure, the *Levy en Masse* will also *without delay* be called out. At the same time every precaution is taken to have the regular troops in the best state of preparation for immediate action; and furloughs for assisting to gather in the harvest are very properly suspended, while the country may require the service of the soldiers in a still more important object."——After an eulogium on the *wisdom* and *vigilance* of the *naval* administration," the writer concludes in a manner that will, I am certain, fully justify the suspicions above hinted at. "At the same time, we must remind our countrymen, that a government cannot *do all*. If the inhabitants of a country merely *look on*, while the servants of the public are doing every thing to render the nation secure; if the people are *more ready to cen-*

" *sure than to assist*; and if the *many indolently fail in doing their duty*, and *blame* " *the few* for not doing *more than lies in* " *their power; it is impossible* that the " exertions of *any ministry* can be attended " with *due success.*"——This is so palpable; the object is so evident, that very little need be said by way of comment. But, it is impossible to refrain from expressing one's indignation:—no; it is not indignation; it is contempt, at the miserable subterfuge, by which the eulogists of Colonel Pitt are attempting to shift from his shoulders the " *blame*" (mark the word!) " the blame" of the organization of the Volunteer system! Shameless hirelings! the very same, who, not quite a year ago, had the unprincipled impudence to hint at the propriety of cashiering Sir Robert Wilson, because he wrote and published a letter to Mr. Pitt pointing out the errors and the inefficacy of the volunteer system! It is false. The Pitts and Dundases had a principal share in the organization of the volunteer system. They have done nothing to make it better, and many things have they done to make it worse and more inefficient if possible, than it otherwise would have been; and, let one fact not be lost sight of, that, it is *since* they came into place, that the ministerial papers have begun to complain of the want of zeal in the volunteers.——" If the inhabitants " of a country *merely look on*, while the ser- " vants of the public" [it used to be " the " King's government"] " are doing every " thing to render the nation secure; &c. " &c." Yes; but here is the little word of great meaning; *if*; if the inhabitants of a country merely look on. But, do we, then, merely look on? Are there not 700,000 men in arms? Do we not pay in taxes more than thirty millions a year? Are not the men of property mere stewards to collect money and to yield it to the state? Have not our property and our labour this year been mortgaged for an immense sum, to be paid in pensions to the Dundases and others? Are we not, every man of us, compelled to give an account of all he possesses and of all he earns to the last penny; liable to be called up, to be examined, to be remanded, to be called up again, to be reproved, to be surcharged, and God knows what? Is not all this so? And shall we be told, by an UPSTART, who, probably, is living upon the produce of our labour, that we " merely " look on;" that we " indolently fail in " our duty;" and, that, if our country be conquered the fault is with us?——Another opportunity for observation upon this subject will offer: in the mean time, I may, I think, safely leave these writers to the indignation of the public.——Let us, however, not be led away by this indignation, or by any other feeling, excited by the conduct of our ministers or their adherents; let no misconduct, no neglect, no imbecillity, no incapacity, no insolence, on their part; in short, let nothing make us forget, that, if we defend not our country, if we become the slaves of foreigners, it will be no consolation to us, that the chief fault was in our rulers. Let us all, and every one of us separately, do the utmost in our power to repel the enemy, should he come, and, begin immediately, those who have not already begun, to make preparations for the occasion. Not by mere professions and showy exhibitions; not by empty gasconading and pot-valiant toasts; not by *erecting monuments* in honour of corps that never saw, and, most likely, never intend to see, an enemy: not by fooleries like these, calculated to encourage rather than discourage the foe; but, by a modest, sober, steady, resolute language and conduct, each of us being active in his sphere, inculcating the necessity of exertion and of great and long continued sacrifices, and each of us strengthening, in all the ways he is able, the regular army, our sole permanent defence. Those who have an opportunity, and are qualified for the task, should exhort their hearers not to suffer their just resentment against peculators and the abettors of peculators to grow into resentment against the constitution; they should bid them remember, that, if peculation has been so long carried on with impunity, the fault has been in the people themselves, and not in the constitution; they should bid them exert, in a constitutional manner, their utmost means to obtain a redress of their grievances, but, at the same time, not forget the duty equally great of defending their country; in short, they should warn them against the tendency of every feeling tending to produce indifference as to the fate of their country, assuring them, as safely they may, that, to abandon the country under the pretence that its rulers have rendered it not worth defending will never serve them as a justification in the eyes of the world. Indeed, what pretence can be more descriptive of baseness? If the country be rendered not worth defending, to whom is the evil to be ascribed but the people themselves? No minister, however celestially descended, could long continue in power without the will, or, without the want of exertion in the people. If they complain of the effects of corruption; I ask them, is it not their fault that these effects have not sooner been restrained? Cor-

ruption is contrary to the constitution and laws of the country; it is a violation of those rights which were handed down to us by our fathers; and, if it has, in our time, grown up to a height beyond all former example, shall we, for that cause, turn our back upon our country? Shall we first silently see the evil grow up, wink at its progress from the base motive of fear, or, perhaps, of profit; and, when it has become so enormous as no longer to be hidden, shall we avail ourselves of it as a pretext for deserting our country; as an excuse for our baseness in yielding up ourselves and our children to a foreign yoke? No: let us hope, that the charge of this double infamy is not to be preferred against us by posterity. Let us remember, that England, though burdened and disgraced by the effects of corruption, is still England, still our country, still our own, still the land where we first saw the light, where our parents lie buried, where our children must be freemen or slaves; let us remember these things, and there is no fear that either suffering or disgust will render us indifferent to the fate of our country. The enemy may not attempt to invade us. I am firmly of opinion, that, for a year or two to come, he will not. But, we ought to be prepared; and one sort of preparation is, to make our minds up to *a long delay*; and, finally, to a *great change* in the system of our internal economy; for, without that, I have never yet heard suggested the means whereby we should obtain tranquillity and security for a single year. Many persons have I met with, and some of them, as the reader will, doubtless, have perceived, have appeared in print; many persons who express surprise, and some of them (for what reason one can hardly perceive) anger, at the opinion above given; but, upon such occasions I have always asked, upon *what grounds* was built the hope of returning tranquillity to England, or *where* she would, the present debt existing, find the means of providing for her security for five years to come. These questions I have fifty times put; and I have never yet received a satisfactory answer. Indeed, I have never received any answer calculated to shake, in the smallest degree, my opinion upon the subject. I may, nevertheless, be deceived. But, until something like reason be produced to show that I am, I shall continue to think, that, amongst the services which a political writer can render his country, is, to prepare the minds of his readers for the event which I expect, and which is big with danger to the independence of a country and the existence of its constitution only when it comes upon an *unprepared* people. On the enemy, too, such a mode of proceeding, amongst those who speak and write upon political subjects, would have the best possible effect. One paragraph, showing that the total failure of the funds would strengthen rather than weaken the country, would weigh in our favour more than ten million of columns of that boasting bombast, that bully-like bragging, that fear-dictated defiance, which we see retailed through the MORNING POST for the comfort of the "FASHIONABLE WORLD." But, such a paragraph, in any of the prints dependent, in so great a degree, upon the advertisements which trade and fund-dealing bring, is not, yet a-while, to be expected. Come, however, such paragraphs will; for the event is coming on with a force which is not to be resisted by the interests either of individuals, or bodies of men; and, the only danger is, that they may come too late; too late to produce the necessary preparation.

WAR IN INDIA.——To endeavour to follow the East-India dispatch-writers through their details would be excessively tiresome, and, withal, perfectly useless. We gather, from their recent accounts, that they have had more fighting; more wars of "necessity;" more bloody enterprises for the purpose of "securing the territory we already possess," and for "preserving the *tranquillity* of India;" and, we learn, besides, that the events, as hitherto announced, have verified, with great exactness, Mr. Francis's prediction, that Holkar and his adherents would be more dangerous in their flight, than they had been in their approach. The fact appears to be, that the hero of the East has, at last, inspired cowards with some degree of courage; has goaded them on, till they have turned, and, for a-while, at least, taken vengeance.——The only circumstance, in these details, upon which the mind rests, is a sorrowful one, namely, the great loss in the European part of our army in India. This loss must be *supplied*. And *how?* Have we regular soldiers to spare? Is this a moment for shipping off three or four thousand of our little army to the other side of the globe; and to fight *for what?* For *whose* security? For *whose* glory? To *enrich whom?* The *liberties of whom* to preserve?——There is, upon record, a solemn declaration of the parliament, that it is unwise as well as unjust for us to add to our conquests in India. Yet, we are continually adding to those conquests; continually acting in direct contradiction to that declaration; continually at war, not only against the natives of India but against our own possessions, and, against our own clearly

perceived interests.——When the parliament made the declaration above-mentioned, it was well satisfied, that the wars in India, and the consequent plunder, tended to enrich the persons concerned in them, but by no means to better the condition of England. It saw, in those sometimes-cruel and always-inglorious wars, a source of upstart wealth, of encroachment upon the ancient aristocracy, of effiminacy of manners, and of the basest species of corruption; it saw, to quote a sentiment of Mr. Pitt previous to *his fall;* it saw, that, by the means of those justly reprobated wars, "many of the mem- "bers of parliament become the represen- "tatives of the Nabob of Arcot rather than "of the people, or any part of the people, "of England." These things the parliament saw, and the declaration was made with a view of putting a stop to the evil. But, of what use has been that declaration? Wars have been incessant, from that day to this; and yet, has there ever been any inquiry into the conduct of those, by whom those wars have been begun and carried on? Have we not, on the contrary, seen every attempt to obtain inquiry stifled, by one means or another; and, have we not, even within these few months, seen the parliament pass a vote of thanks to a person who had commenced and prosecuted a war in India, without having advertised the ministers at home of his intention? And, the reader ought to recollect, that, when, at the time of passing this vote, it was suggested, that, previous thereunto, some account of *the grounds* of the war ought to be given, the suggestion was rejected, almost with disdain, and the vote of thanks was unanimous! After this, the solemn declaration of parliament should, I think, be rescinded; for it is a standing accusation against the conduct of the government, both at home and abroad, with regard to India.——We often hear very pathetic lamentations over the lot of those who are slain in battle; but, it does not occur to me, at present, that I ever heard any lamentations at all over the thousands of our fellow-subjects, who have perished in the wars in India. They have the honour to die for the good of trade, and for the prosperity of India stock! A consideration that wipes the tears from all eyes! Their death, some Jew for whom, amongst others, they bleed, will tell you, is a melancholy thing, but "it *cannot be avoided.*" The stocks of whatever sort, like Mr. Pitt's place, are always regarded as something too sacred to be touched, or, if an evil, an evil to which we are, by our nature, or by the constitution of our country, at least, destined to submit, and to which, if we are wise, we will submit without murmuring. The public will soon see another embarkation of troops for India; and, what is more, they will hear the measure applauded. The loss of men in India may be regretted, especially as it has not, that we have yet heard of, been productive of the means of making nabobs in England; but, no objection will be made to the sending of *more men*, though, one would think, every man must see of what vast importance it is for us to keep in Europe all the regular soldiers we can possibly raise.

Continental Coalition.——From the language of the French official paper, it would seem, that a coalition of Austria and Russia, if not of Prussia too, is apprehended at Paris. If the *three* powers join heartily in the war, and if the object be worthy of them, and be definitely and openly declared, the liberties of Europe may once more be restored, especially if we should be so fortunate as to obtain a ministry in whom the Powers of Europe can safely confide. The Moniteur really does seem alarmed. It begins to be *civil*, and, as amongst the Pittites, that is no very unsatisfactory sign of its apprehensions. Those apprehensions are, however, groundless, unless the war has some object more disinterested than that of reducing the power of France. The French armies will have made considerable progress in Germany, before the Russians can have arrived; but, in the mean time, *our* apprehensions of invasion will be lessened, and, perhaps, quite dissipated. This, notwithstanding it may delay the event so eagerly wished for by the Morning Post, will, I think, be very welcome to the country, and especially to the volunteers. But, if the coalition, another coalition, should fail! If Napoleon, either by force or by craft, should break it up! What will then be the apprehensions that we shall entertain of invasion? This is not, indeed, an argument against a coalition; but it is a most powerful argument against a coalition which shall not be of great power and well cemented; for, after the failure of another coalition, our danger would be ten times as great as it now is, and this, I think, must be evident to every one. If there is to be a coalition, let us hope, however, that it will be composed of strong and firmly-cemented materials, and, above all, that its *foundation* will be good and clearly described.

Downshire Election.——The public have not failed to express their satisfaction at the result of this contest, a contest between the dying influence of the Pitts and

Melvilles and the incorrupt and independent part of the people of a county in Ireland. A similar triumph has been obtained in England; and, were the heaven-born minister to venture on the talked-of measure of calling a new parliament, we should, I trust, convince him, that the infatuation of 1784 is gone, never to return. The truth is, that the facts brought to light last winter have produced a deep impression upon the public mind. The shine, the false glare, is rubbed off, and all the deeds of a twenty years ministry, during which the people were completely blinded, are now, one by one, passing in review before them. *Elections* afford the best opportunities for the people to express and to give effect to their sentiments; and, if they neglect those opportunities, they deserve no redress; they deserve to be oppressed; they deserve to be ridden and squeezed to death. They have, in the right of election, a security against the corruption and rapacity of ministers, and, if they so exercise this right, or so neglect to exercise it, that the ministers are, parliament after parliament, corrupt and rapacious, they deserve no compassion. They are, in fact, if such be their conduct, fashioned for slavery, and slaves they must be, and ought to be.

Botley, Thursday,
22d August, 1805.

CONTINENTAL COALITION.

From the French Official Paper, the Moniteur, of the 13th of August, 1805.

We are by no means surprised, that the number of troops which Austria is putting in motion, should incline England to believe that Austria is disposed to enter into a coalition against France; but we entertain a better opinion of the pacific sentiments of the Emperor of Germany. The experience of the past, abundantly proves, that Russia would feel no reluctance to behold England and France wasting one another by a long war, in order to avail herself of the opportunity held out to her by their dissensions, of invading the empire of Constantinople and of Persia; and we repeat, that we should feel no reluctance to behold such a scene, because she left unimproved no occasion that offered of embroiling instead of adjusting the state of affairs. The conduct of M. Marcoff at the time of the rupture of the peace of Amiens, cannot well be forgotten. Had Russia been then inclined to interpose, the war would not have taken place; as that of M. Marcoff met the approbation of his Sovereign, it is obvious to conclude, that it was consonant to the system of the Russian cabinet.——Neither can it be forgotten with what rancorous animosity Russia since intervened at Ratisbon, throwing down the gauntlet to France, and exerting every possible effort to precipitate the Germanic body into hostilities. The Germanic body proved however more wise; they were well aware that the scene of action would be in Germany and Italy; they prudently recollected that it was the uniform policy of the North to aggrandize and compact their power by the divisions and consequent debility of the South: they therefore remained in a calm composure, lost sight of the Russian notes, and clung more closely to their friendship with France.——Laterally the English have had recourse to Russia. If such a step had only to add fuel to and foment the ambition of that power, and exasperate her animosity against France, it has succeeded. M. Novosiltzoff returned (nothing more simple), but previous to his departure he delivered in an unsuitable note to the Prussian cabinet, and Mr. Alopens lost no time in getting it published in all the journals of the North. If on the other hand England acted *bonâ fide*, and was sincerely desirous of peace, the conduct of Russia defeated her intention, whereas instead of temper and impartiality, Russia betrayed only intemperance and animosity. ——It remains now to be known, which of the two powers, Prussia or Austria, will be the first to declare against France. That Prussia has openly asserted, that she would keep aloof from the frantic rage of the English; that she was at a loss to see what such inconsiderate irritating proceedings could lead to; in fine, that under no pretext whatever should she be prevailed upon to take up arms against France. If Russia raised her tone, and endeavoured to involve Prussia in a war with France, the opinion of the veteran, Mollendorff, the intimate companion of Frederick the Great, that Prussia has nothing to fear from France, but every thing to dread from Russia, and that in point of justice as well as policy, she should rather unite 100,000 Prussians with 100,000 French, to assert her independence, and hold in awe, that half European, half Asiatic power, who, separated by deserts from Europe, presses down, when she pleases, with so much arrogance upon all her neighbours; while she may also, when she pleases, shelter herself from all the storms she has been diligent to raise.——It now depends upon the House of Austria to decide the question. Peace or war is in the hands of that Court. If England believes Austria to be as firm in her pacific system as she knows Prussia to be, she should silence her hatred, and meet the wishes of all nations, by evincing a sincere desire, a desire neither cloaked

in cunning, or set forth with ostentation, to conclude an equitable and useful peace.——If Austria takes any delight in seeing France and England worry one another, she will order her armies to march, she will adopt proper dispositions to encourage the war faction in England, and she will acquire the melancholy glory of protracting the anxieties and the sufferings of two great nations.——But the English deceive themselves; such policy can never influence the conduct of a Prince so open, a man so excellent as the Emperor Francis II. There is for Princes, as for individuals, but one road to honour. If the Emperor Francis was hostilely disposed, he would erect his standard. He has a gallant army; a numerous population; he is convinced that a hollow, lowly muttered war, is unworthy of him, and of the nation he governs.——We have no doubt but that Austria is anxious for the glory of contributing to a maritime peace, and she, too, is interested in it, since the present moment alone may determine the separation of the crowns of France and of Italy; that it may bar the Russians from Corfu and the Morea; and the English from the Mediterranean, three things equally advantageous to Austria. If such, we say, be the wish of Austria, she has a very simple way to accomplish it. Let her convince England of what Prussia has convinced her; and let the ministerial journals no longer have any colourable pretext to induce a belief that by degrees Austria may be prevailed upon imprudently to become the stalking-horse of England.——But is it the interest of England to prolong the war, even with the aid and co-operation of Austria?——A well-informed Englisman observed, upon a solemn occasion, that the Cabinet of St. James's was in a wrong direction, when it wished and endeavoured to purchase a coalition by pecuniary sacrifices; for (said he) it was the first coalition that delivered up Belgium and Holland to France; that the second gave her Piedmont and Italy; and that the third might give her new coasts and new harbours. This political lesson, which is liable to no suspicion in the mouth of an English citizen, may appear so in this journal, but it is not the less true for that. In the present position of affairs, England can look for nothing so advantageous and so profitable to her commerce as a just and reasonable peace.——Let England be persuaded that the present race of Frenchmen, educated and hardened in camps, are no longer the Frenchmen of Louis the IVth's reign, that the time when she dictated a treaty of commerce to the Cabinet of Versailles is almost as remote from us as the time when she kept a commissary at Dunkirk.—It was well said by the Emperor to the King of England, "The world is wide enough for the two nations," or, rather, should we say, for every nation.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Letter of His Majesty the King of Prussia, acknowledging Napoleon as Emperor of the French, dated Berlin, May 27, 1804.

Sir and Brother,——The desire to maintain and to cultivate those relations of amity, and that perfect good understanding, in which I have hitherto had the pleasure of being with the French Government, and at the same time to testify to you my high personal regard, has induced me to transmit, without delay, these presents to my Minister of State, the Marquis de Lucchesini, to accredit him to your person in the quality of my Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. I accordingly request you to believe whatever he may have the honour to say or to propose to you on my part. He will, in particular, fulfil my intentions by giving your Imperial Majesty to understand the sentiments which I have ever cherished towards you; the sincere interest which I have never ceased to take in all that is calculated to increase and strengthen the prosperity and the welfare of the nation over which you rule; and my ardent wishes that this prosperity may be still farther augmented by the happy restoration of peace and tranquillity in Europe. You will invariably find, in my mode of thinking and acting, the same candour and the same confidence in you, which I have hitherto been so anxious to shew you. While I give you this assurance, I likewise renew, with pleasure, that of the sentiments of friendship, and the highest consideration with which I am, your Imperial Majesty's good Brother and Friend,

——Frederic William.

Louis XVIII.—— *Letter of His Majesty the King of Sweden, to the Governor of Calmar, dated Stralsund, November 3, 1804.*

Sir,——After I was informed by your letter of the 25th of October, of the departure of his Majesty Louis XVIII. I could no longer refrain from expressing to you in particular, as well as to the other officers of Calmar, and to the inhabitants of that place, the extraordinary pleasure which I received from the exemplary conduct of them all during the residence of that illustrious personage in Sweden. His Majesty Louis XVIII. has himself borne the same testi-

mony, to which I pay so much the more regard, as I believe it to be a characteristic of Swedes to treat with respect and veneration the legitimate rulers of every country. This is the most satisfactory manner in which you can evince your attachment and devotion to me. I charge you to acquaint all whom it may concern with my sentiments, and am, your truly affectionate,——Gustavus Adolphus.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

French account of the late naval action.——*Dispatch from Admiral Villeneuve to the Minister of Marine, dated on Board the Emperor's Ship, Bucentaure, 8 Thermidor, 27 July, 40 leagues W. S. W. off Cape Finisterre.*

I have the honour, Monseigneur, to give you an account of the combined fleets having quitted Martinique on the 16th Prairial. On the 9th of July, being off Cape Finisterre, there came on an E. N. E. and N. E. wind, which blew with great violence. The Indomptable lost her mainopmast, and the fleet suffered much damage in its yards and sails. The wind moderated, but continued blowing from the same quarter, and I remained without being able to make more way, still contending with adverse winds to the 22d July, when I descried 21 sail of the enemy. I immediately formed in line of battle on the larboard tack. Admiral Gravina made to the Spanish squadron the signal to head the line, and he himself led the combined squadrons. The weather was excessively foggy; we steered towards the enemy, who steered towards us in a long line, with the apparent intention of hauling their wind upon our rear, and of placing it between two fires, by tacking before the wind. As soon as I saw them to leeward, I made the signal for luffing up and going about. The fog began to disperse. As soon as my signal was seen by Admiral Gravina, he immediately obeyed it with much resolution, and was followed by all the vessels of the fleet. As soon as he closed, he engaged the enemy's ships, which had already began their movement before the wind. But the fog then became so thick that it was impossible to see any thing, and each ship could scarcely see the vessel next to it.——The battle then began almost along the whole line. We fired by the light of the enemy's fire almost always without seeing them. It was only at the end of the battle, when the weather cleared up a little, that I could see to leeward of the line, a ship of the line under Spanish colours working to windward under her courses, her topsails struck; near her were two of the enemy's, one totally dismasted, and the other, a three-decker, with her topmast gone, and much cut in her rigging, running both before the wind. The dismasted ship appeared in great confusion, and could scarcely keep the sea with all her pumps going. An excessively thick fog covered the whole van and rear of the squadron, and prevented us from executing any movement. As far as I could see, all the advantage of the combat was with us. The fog did not abate during the remainder of the evening. During the night the two squadrons remained in sight, making signals to keep together. I thought, however, I perceived that the enemy retreated. As soon as the day broke we saw them much to leeward of us. All the reports received from the French vessels were satisfactory; those of Admiral Gravina evinced a firm determination to pursue and again attack the enemy. When the weather afterwards cleared up, we did not perceive two Spanish ships, le Firme, and le St. Raphael. I ordered a general bringing-to, and forming a line of battle on the larboard tack, bore down upon the enemy. The wind abated, the sea was high, the enemy bore down, and it was impossible for me, during the whole of the day, to engage them in the manner I should have wished. I was busy all night in keeping the fleet in order, that I might be ready to renew the engagement at day-break. At the first peep of dawn I made signal to bear down upon the enemy, who had taken their position at a great distance, and endeavoured, by every possible press of sail, to avoid renewing the action.——Finding it impossible to force them to a re-engagement, I thought it my duty not to remove any further from the line of my destination, but so to shape my course as to effect, agreeably to my instructions, a junction with the squadron in Ferrol. I experienced much opposition from contrary winds at N. E. and E. N. E. which during yesterday continued to blow with the utmost violence. The following is the only account I have received of the two ships which are missing from the Spanish squadron: Captain Cosmao, who commanded the Fluto, (a French ship), informed me that from the very beginning of the action the Firme had lost her main and mizen-masts; that he had protected her as long as he could keep sight of her, by placing himself between her and the enemy, but that he soon afterwards lost sight of her in the fog. As to the Saint Raphael, it appears certain that she was not dismasted, but that vessel being a bad sailor fell to leeward, and we lost sight of her the first night.——To

conclude, the fog continued so thick, that I was unable to distinguish the force of the enemy, but on the day after the action I saw fourteen sail, of which three were three-deckers; the greater part of them appeared much damaged. If it is true, as stated by the Captain of La Didon, who reconnoitered the enemy before the action, that they had fifteen sail, it may be presumed that one of them had disappeared in the action. In short, my lord, this affair has been honourable to the arms of both powers, and had it not been for the thick fog which continued to favour the movements and the retreat of the enemy, he would not have escaped our efforts nor a decisive action. I am still ignorant of the number of killed and wounded, but I believe it is not considerable. I have to regret Capt. De Perrone, of his Majesty's ship l'Intrépide who was killed. Captain Rolland, of l'Atlas, has received a wound. I shall have the honour to send you immediately more detailed accounts. I intreat your Excellency to accept my respect.—— Villeneuve.

From on board his Imperial Majesty's Ship, Bucentaure at Sea, 22d Prairial, April 11.

My lord,—I have the honour to inform you, that on the 19th inst. (April 8), having doubled Antigua, I got information that in the N. N. E. was a convoy of the enemy, consisting of 15 sail. I made signal for a general chace, and at night-fall, the whole of the convoy was in my power, which I sent off to Martinique. These ships, which had come out from Antigua, were all laden with colonial produce, and destined for Europe. The convoy may be valued at five millions (French). I intreat your Excellence to accept my respects.—Villeneuve. —P. S.—The Didon frigate has just taken a lugger of 14 guns, and 49 men.

On board the Bucentaure, off the Azores, on the 4th Messidor, June 23.

My lord,—I have the honour to inform your excellency, that yesterday morning the advanced frigates discerned two sail, to which they gave chace and came up with. One was an English privateer, the Mars, of Liverpool, of 14 guns, and 50 men; the other was a Spanish ship, the Minerva, which had been captured by the privateer, and which he was escorting. The ship was coming from Lima, having been at sea nearly five months, with a very rich cargo. Independent of 420,000 piastres, her cargo consisted of bark, cocoa, &c. &c. The whole estimation at from five to six millions (French). The privateer being much damaged from boarding, Captain Lameillerie, of the Hortense, set it on fire, after taking the crew on board. The Didon manned the other, and I have her under my protection. I entreat your Excellency to accept my respects.—— Villeneuve.

Notes on the English Account of the Engagement between Sir R. Calder and the Combined Fleets.

Note 1. From the Moniteur of the 8th of August.——Nothing is said in this account of the English three-deckers which were dismasted. It is said, that it was the intention of the Vice-Admiral to renew the action on the following day. That is not true, or at least the Vice-Admiral having afterwards found that his squadron was weakened by the loss of the Windsor Castle, and considerably damaged, changed his intention, as during two days which followed he constantly avoided an action.—Upon the idea of retreating into Corunna, the Moniteur says in Note 2.—"Retreat into Corunna! Strange expression! as if the object of the operation was not the junction of the combined squadrons with that of Ferrol!" In a word, the combined squadrons kept the sea, and five days after the battle were still off the coast.

Note 2. From the Moniteur of the 12th of August.—The hopes announced at the close of this article (the hopes of a renewal of the engagement and a more complete victory) have been disappointed.—Vice-Admiral Calder sheered off with his 13 ships of the line, and left the combined fleets mistresses of the sea, and at liberty to pursue their operations. The assertions of the English Journal are as erroneous as its conjectures. It is not true that the two Spanish ships struck. Having suffered in their rigging, and the combined fleet being to windward, they fell during the night into the enemy's line: the same thing would have happened to the three English vessels dismasted, if their squadron had been to windward; they would probably have fallen into the line of the combined fleets."—This is at least a very ingenious way of accounting for our having possession of two ships of a fleet that claims the advantage of the combat.

Note 3. From the Moniteur of the 13th of August.—It is true, that Vice-Adm. Villeneuve had 14 French and six Spanish ships of the line in the action; but it is by no means true, that he had three large 50 gun ships. Admiral Calder admits, in this dispatch, that he was the first to discontinue the action. The reason assigned by him, that he might secure two Spanish ships that had struck, is falsified by the statement of our squadron, inasmuch as these vessels

did not fall into his hands till after the engagement, and in the night, because they could not manœuvre, and were drifting before the wind. The real reason was, that he had four vessels dismasted.——Admiral Calder does not say that the Windsor Castle and the Malta were so rough handled, that they were scarcely able to make the coast of England; and thus his squadron was reduced to 13 ships.——As to the fog, it has been seen by the report of Admiral Villeneuve, that he too infinitely regretted it, and that if it had not taken place the English admiral would not have escaped as he has done.—— As to loss, the killed and wounded of the combined squadron, are far inferior in number to those on board the English squadron. This engagement fought in the midst of darkness, and continued for three hours, is really an irregular skirmish.

Note 4. From the Moniteur of the 14th of August.—[The following note is affixed to a paragraph copied from a paper of Aug. 1, which states, that the communication from the Admiralty to Lloyd's, was far more satisfactory than Sir Robert Calder's dispatch, because it expressed in a more decided tone his determination to renew the action.]——This communication is worthy of remark; the Admiralty might represent that Sir R. Calder would engage in the manner that it was their interest to suppose; but the Admiralty did not know that he had sent back two ships to England not only unfit for action, but altogether unable to keep the sea. They knew not that two other ships, three-deckers, had been greatly damaged; that the two Spanish vessels had not been captured during the action, but had fallen into the English line during the night, and long after Vice-Admiral Calder had ceased firing, and discontinued the action.

Note 5. From the Moniteur of the 14th of August.—[The following note is to an extract from the "Sun" stating the verbal message of Sir Robert Calder by Lieutenant Nicholson to Admiral Cornwallis, that he could and would renew the action:]—Here facts alone speak. You admit that the English squadron was the first to discontinue the fight, and to withdraw from the scene of action; this it did because it had four ships dismasted. You admit that Admiral Calder was to renew the attack on the following day, and that it was in his power to do so; he not only did not do so, but kept aloof, and at a great distance, and in the end, disappeared altogether. You say, that Admiral Calder has sent only the Windsor Castle to England, he has also sent the Malta.——In short your statements prove, that the combined fleet had the victory; two vessels have already left your squadron; and the eighteen ships of the combined squadron are in a good condition, have accomplished the object of their mission, and obliged you to raise your blockade.—This we take to be the truest sign of victory. Two Spanish vessels, bad sailers, equipped in haste, suffered greatly in the action, then drifted and fell into your hands during the night, without its being perceived by the combined squadron till the next day. It was a great loss; but you also have suffered a real loss of the two vessels that have been obliged to return to port.——Let us accurately compare the force of the two squadrons. You had three three-deckers, and we had none, for there is a mistake in your account, the Neptune and Formidable are but eighties, and the Spanish ship the Argonaut, is but a seventy-four. The combined squadron had twenty ships, but of two different nations; it is well known that they are not the same as twenty of the same nation. Besides, what more could be required from this squadron? It remained mistress of the sea, and compelled you to abandon the scene of action. An accident occurred in the thick of the fog, and this accident has screened your defeat; has enabled you to make it pass for a victory; but in proportion as things will clear up, Europe will be convinced that you have suffered a real defeat. The combined squadrons wished to enter Ferrol or Corunna, and Sir Robert Calder wished to prevent them. This is the problem that the action is to solve. Has the advantage been on your side, or has Admiral Villeneuve accomplished his mission?—The solution of this question will decide that of the victory. It is impossible not to have at once positive notions of this decisive fact. You say that the squadrons fought bravely; very well! the different accounts of the French and Spanish squadrons say, that they had not fought at all, and the whole had been but an irregular skirmish. If the following morning Admiral Calder had not had the prudence to keep aloof, and with the advantage of the wind, your defeat had been more complete.

Disturbances at Vienna.——*Edict issued by the President of the Police relative to the Disturbances at Vienna, July* 10, 1805.

His Majesty, who, during the whole course of his reign, has received from his good and faithful subjects and inhabitants of the capital, the most frequent and most sincere proofs of attachment to his person, of attention to order and obedience to the laws, must have been very deeply concerned by

the news of the disturbances that broke out yesterday and to-day in the out-skirts of this city. His Majesty, however, is inclined to entertain the consolatory belief that these disorders have only been occasioned by a few desperate persons, who were soon followed by a number of ignorant and lazy fellows, under the influence of intoxication. In this supposition, his Majesty confidently expects that the faithful subjects and inhabitants of the capital will unite together for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and that, by a prompt and punctual obedience to all orders issued to that effect by the civil and military authorities, they will check the progress of these dangerous disturbances. By the express command of his Majesty, it is therefore ordered as follows:——1. All workmen, journeymen, &c. &c. shall forthwith return to their respective labour.——2. Parents, masters, manufacturers, &c. &c. shall be responsible for the disobedience of their children and their servants to the said order, and shall be bound to make a declaration before the police, of those who shall not have returned to their work after the public is certain of the present decree.——3. Every mob, crowd, &c. shall be dispersed by the military, who are authorised at the same time to fire on all meetings of the people who shall not separate after the publication of the present.——4. All those who shall be apprehended as forming a part of these mobs, or ring-leaders, if such, shall be tried by the laws contained in the 8th case of the criminal code, and even, as circumstances may require, may be tried by martial law.——(Signed)——Summaraw, President of the Police.

ST. DOMINGO.—CONSTITUTION OF HAYTI.

We, H. Christophie, Clerveux, Vernet, Gabart, Petion, Geffrard, Toussaint Brave, Raphel, Romain, Lalondrie, Capoix, Magny, Daut, Conge, Magloire Ambroise, Yoyou, Jean Louis Francois, Gerin, Moreau, Fervu, Bavelais, Martial Besse; as well in our own name as those of the people of Hayti, who have legally constituted us faithful organs and interpreters of their will; in presence of the supreme being, before whom all mankind are equal, and who has distributed so many species of creatures on the surface of the earth, for the purpose of manifesting his glory and his power by the diversity of his work: in the presence of all nature by whom we have been so unjustly and so long a time considered as outcast children: do declare, that the tenor of the present constitution is the free spontaneous and invariable expression of our hearts, and the general will of our constituents; and we submit it to the sanction of H. M. the Emperor, Jacques Dessalines, our deliverer, to receive its speedy and entire execution.

PRELIMINARY DECLARATION. — Art. 1. The people inhabiting the island, formerly called St. Domingo, hereby agree to form themselves into a free state, sovereign and independent of any other power in the universe, under the name of Empire of Hayti. 2. Slavery is for ever abolished. 3. The citizens of Hayti are brothers at home; equality in the eye of the law is incontestibly acknowledged, and there cannot exist any titles, advantages, or privileges, other than those necessarily resulting from the consideration and reward of services rendered to liberty and independence. 4. The law is the same to all whether it punishes or protects. 5. The law has no retro-active effect. 6. Property is sacred, its violation shall be severely prosecuted. 7. The quality of citizen of Hayti is lost by emigration and naturalization in foreign countries, and by condemnation to corporeal or disgraceful punishments. The first case carries with it the punishment of death, and confiscation of property. 8. The quality of citizens is suspended, in consequence of bankruptcies and failures. 9. No person is worthy of being a Haytian who is not a good father, a good son, a good husband, and especially a good soldier. 10. Fathers and mothers are not permitted to disinherit their children. 11. Every citizen must profess a mecanic art. 12. No white man, of whatsoever nation he may be, shall put his foot on this territory with the title of master or proprietor, neither shall he in future acquire any property therein. 13. The preceding article cannot in the smallest degree affect white women, who have been naturalised Haytians by government, nor does it extend to children already born, or that may be born of the said women. The Germans and Polanders, naturalized by government, are also comprised in the dispositions of the present article. 14. All acception of colour among the children of one and the same family, of whom the chief magistrate is the father, being necessary to cease, the Haytians shall henceforward be known only by the generic appellation of Blacks.

OF THE EMPIRE.——15. The Empire of Hayti is one and invisible. Its territory is distributed into six military divisions. 16. Each military division shall be commanded by a general of division. 17. These generals of division shall be independent of one another, and shall correspond directly with the Emperor, or with the general in chief ap-

pointed by his Majesty. 18. The following islands are internal parts of the empire, viz. Samana, La Tortue, La Gonaire, Les Cayemites, La Saune, L'Isle-a-Vache, and other adjacent islands.

OF THE GOVERNMENT.——19. The government of Hayti is entrusted to a first magistrate, who assumes the title of Emperor and Commander in Chief of the Army. 20. The people acknowledge for Emperor and Commander in Chief of the Army, Jacques Dessalines, the avenger and deliverer of his fellow-citizens. The title of Majesty is conferred upon him, as well as upon his august spouse the Empress. 21. The person of their Majesties are sacred and inviolable. 22. The state will appropriate a fixed annual allowance to her Majesty the Empress, which she will continue to enjoy even after the decease of the Emperor, as Princess Dowager. 23. The crown is elective, not hereditary. 24. There shall be assigned by the state an annual income to the children acknowledged by his Majesty the Emperor. 25. The male children acknowledged by the Emperor shall be obliged, in the same manner as other citizens, to pass successively from grade to grade, with this only difference, that their entrance into service shall begin at the fourth demi-brigade, from the period of their birth. 26. The Emperor designates, in the manner he may judge expedient, the person who is to be his successor either before or after his death. 27. A suitable provision shall be made by the state to that successor, from the moment of his accession to the throne. 28. The Emperor and his successors shall, in no case, and under no pretext whatsoever, have the right of attaching to their persons any particular or privileged body, whether as guards of honour, or under any other denomination. 29. Every successor deviating from the preceding article, or from the principles consecrated in the present constitution, shall be considered and declared in a state of warfare against the society. In such a case, the counsellors of state will assemble, in order to pronounce his removal, and to chuse one among themselves who shall be thought most worthy of replacing him; and if it should happen that the successor oppose the execution of this measure, authorised by law, the generals counsellors of state shall appeal to the people and the army, who will immediately give their whole strength and assistance to maintain liberty. 30. The Emperor makes, seals, and promulgates the laws, appoints and revokes at will the ministers, the general in chief of the army, the counsellors of state, the generals and other agents of the empire, the sea officers, the members of the local administrations, the commissaries of government near the tribunals, the judges, and other public functionaries. 31. The Emperor directs the receipts and expenditures of the state, surveys the mint, of which he alone orders the emission, and fixes the weight and the model. 32. To him alone is reserved the power of making peace or war, to maintain political intercourse, and to form treaties. 33. He provides for the interior safety and for the defence of the state; and distributes at pleasure the sea and land forces. 34. In case of conspiracies manifesting themselves against the safety of the state, against the constitution, or against his person, the Emperor shall cause the authors or accomplices to be arrested and tried before a special council. 35. His Majesty has alone the right to absolve a criminal, or to commute his punishment. 36. The Emperor shall never form any enterprise with the view of making conquests, nor disturb the peace and the interior administration of foreign colonies. 37. Every public act shall be made in these terms:—"The Emperor I. of Hayti, Commander in Chief of the Army, by the grace of God and the constitutional law of the state."

OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.——38. The generals of division and brigade are, of right, members of the council of state and they compose it.

OF THE MINISTERS.——39. There shall be in the empire two ministers and a secretary of state. The ministers of finances having the department of the interior, and the minister of war having the marine department. 40.—44. [Interior regulations respecting the ministry.]

OF THE TRIBUNALS.——45. No one can interfere with the right which every individual has of being judged amicably by arbitrators of his own chusing, whose decisions shall be acknowledged legal. 46. There shall be a justice of the peace in each commune. Any suit amounting to more than one hundred dollars, shall not come within his cognizance. And when the parties cannot conciliate themselves at his tribunal, they may appeal to the tribunals of their respective districts. 47. There shall be six tribunals in the cities hereafter designated, viz. at St. Marc, at the Cape, at Port-au-Prince, Aux-Cayes, Lanse-a-Veaux, and Port-de-Paix. The Emperor determines their organisation, their number, their competence, and the territory forming the district of each. These tribunals take cognizance of all affairs purely

civil. 48. Military crimes are submitted to special councils, and to particular forms of judgment. 49. Particular laws shall be made for the national transactions and respecting the civil officers of the state.

OF WORSHIP.——The law admits of no predominant religion. The freedom of worship is tolerated. The state does not provide for the maintenance of any religious institution, nor of any minister.

GENERAL DISPOSITIONS.——The crimes of high treason, the dilapidations of the ministers and generals, shall be judged by a special council, called and provided by the Emperor.——The house of every citizen is an inviolable asylum.——All property which formerly belonged to any white Frenchman, is incontestibly, and of right, confiscated to the use of the state.——Every Haytian, who, having purchased property from a white Frenchman, may have paid part of the purchase-money stipulated in the act of sale, shall be responsible to the domains of the state for the remainder of the sum due.——Marriage is an act purely civil, and authorised by the government.——The law authorises divorce in all cases which shall have been previously provided for and determined.——There shall be national festivals for celebrating independence, the birth-day of the Emperor and his august spouse, that of agriculture and of the constitution.——At the first firing of the alarm gun, the cities will disappear, and the nation rise. We, the undersigned, place under the safeguard of the magistrates, fathers and mothers of families, the citizens, and the army, the explicit and solemn covenant of the sacred rights of man and the duties of the citizen. We recommend it to our successors, and present it to the friends of liberty, to philanthropists of all countries, as a signal pledge of the divine bounty, who, in the course of his immortal decrees, has given us an opportunity of breaking our fetters, and of constituting ourselves a people, free, civilized, and independent. (Signed) H. Christophe, &c. (as before). Having seen the present constitution, we, Jacques Dessalines, Emperor I. of Hayti, and commander and chief of the army, by the grace of God, and the constitutional law of the state, accept it wholly, and sanction it, that it may receive, with the least possible delay, its full and entire execution throughout the whole of our empire. And we swear to maintain it, and to cause it to be observed in its integrity to the last breath of our life. Done at the Imperial Palace of Dessalines, the 20th May, 1805, second year of the independence of Hayti, and of our reign the first. By the Emperor, Dessalines, Juste Chanlatte, Sec. Gen.

CAPTURE OF THE DIAMOND ROCK.

Official Report of Chef d'Escadron Boyer, Aid-de-Camp to the Captain-General, to Villaret Joyeuse, Captain-General of Martinique and its Dependencies. Dated June 14, 1805.

General—I embarked on the evening of the 9th, with 200 men of the 82d reg., which you put under my command, for the expedition against the Diamond Rock. The naval forces, under the command of Captain Casmao, consisted of the following ships: Le Pluton, 74, Capt. Casmao.—Le Berwick, 74, Capt. Camas.—Le Syrene (frigate), Capt. Chabert.—L'Argus (brig), Capt. Taillard; and La Fine (schooner), Capt. Meynard.—The troops were embarked on board the Pluton and Berwick. The current ran so strong against us during the night, that in the morning we found ourselves under the lee of St. Lucia. The whole of the 10th was spent in beating up again, so as to commence the attack the following morning: we anchored for the night off Point Borgness. On the morning of the 11th, the ships being all collected again, the troops were embarked in the boats, and were directed to make fast to the Argus, in order to be towed near the Rock. I divided them in two divisions; the first, which I commanded in person, was to attempt the landing near the Little Savanna, with Captains Pinede and Balossir; the second, composed of Spanish boats, and commanded by Capt. Don Rosando Porlier, with the troops under Capt. Cortes, Aide-de-Camp to Gen. d'Houdetot, and Lieuts. Blairon and Nocus, was to land at the Patch. On the same day, between 9 and 10 o'clock, we effected our landing much sooner, and with less difficulty, than we had expected, notwithstanding a most brisk and determined fire which the enemy (having abandoned the lower part of the Rock) kept upon us from the heights, and particularly from the middle battery, where they had perfect command of us, and the violent manner in which the sea is constantly agitated near the Rock. We took a man prisoner, whom we found concealing himself. The fortifications of the Rock, and the positions of the enemy, were exactly as I had conceived them to be from the opposite shore. The scaling of it appeared to me there, to be perfectly easy, and I had my dispositions accordingly; but the

14th, he descended with his garrison, agreeably to the Articles agreed upon, and filed off in front of our troops, which I had drawn up at the Queen's Battery, and laid down their and insurmountable difficulties on all sides. We naturally enough concluded, that from the facility with which the enemy had suffered us to occupy the bottom of the rock, they had reserved all their force, to destroy us more securely from the height of their inaccessible retreat. Our troops suffered severely from a most galling volley of musquetry, large fragments of the rock, cannon balls, and casks filled with stones, which they poured upon us. They were entrenched in a number of cavities, which nature had formed at different heights, and to which it was impossible to attain, but by ladders of 30 or 40 feet in length. From the tremendous fire of the enemy, the boats had been obliged to retreat, without having landed any of the articles with which I had furnished myself for the attack; the ships also had drifted into the offing, and we remained without support or provisions; I saw we had no resource, but to retreat into two cavities in the rock (in one of which the enemy had erected two large forges), where we should at least be under cover; I had all our wounded carried into them, and placed a detachment over each. I committed the whole of the east side to the charge of Capt. Cortes, giving him a sufficient number of men to support him, and at the same time desired him to reconnoitre the most advantageous point to commence the escalade. Capt. Pinade was placed in the situation on the right, with like orders, and the like means.—Capt. Balossier had charge of the western side and of the landing place. I successively visited all our detachments, and found the same ardour for the attack amongst them all, but found also the most insurmountable obstacles and innumerable dangers. In order to prevent as much as possible the effects of the enemy's destructive fire, I made all the out-posts fall back into the two caverns, to wait for the approach of night, when we might be able to form anew. Notwithstanding this, our situation was truly dreadful; we were exhausted with fatigue, and the want of nourishment was the more severely felt by the troops, who had been prevented by the sea-sickness from taking any for the two preceding days, that they were on board the ships. The boats had not had time to land any provisions, nor could we expect they would run the risk of bringing us any. The enemy too had now, by the quantity of shot and stones which they continued to direct at us, cut off the communication between the two caverns, notwithstanding their vicinity to each other; in short, to add to the horrors of this calamitous scene, we had nothing to offer our wounded, of whom some were in a most deplorable state, but barren consolations.—About 5 in the evening, a party of the soldiers came to inform me, that Lieut. Latour, being led away by his zeal and courage, had ascended, by means of ropes, to a considerable height on the Rock, when he was discovered by the enemy, and, with 25 men, made prisoner. A few minutes afterwards, I learned, that he had been fortunate enough to disengage himself from them, with the loss of two men killed, and two wounded. We found a few casks of water, that the enemy had abandoned, with which, though perfectly putrid, we were obliged to relieve our wounded, and endeavour to assuage the thirst that devoured us. A canoe reached the shore, and delivered me your letter; the fire of the enemy only allowed me time to write a few hasty lines, in answer, and the canoe pushed off; but I had the mortification presently to see two of her crew killed, one of whom was the man to whom I had given my note. At night, although the enemy did not at all relax in their vigorous defence, I endeavoured to reconnoitre the Rock on all sides; I sent Capt. Cortes to take possession of one of the buildings, called the Great House, and established two intermediate posts between him and me; I then caused the guns on the lower battery, which the enemy had evacuated, to be spiked; and passed the remainder of the night in visiting our detachments. Towards midnight, a boat approached without noise, and succeeded in landing Lieuts. Dutil and Girandon, with 60 grenadiers of the 82d, and likewise some provisions, which had been sent by Captain Meynard, of the Fine. I embraced this opportunity of sending away our wounded. A second boat also attempted to land, but was swept away by the current.—On the 12th, at day-break, I relieved all our outposts with the grenadiers newly arrived. We discovered a magazine, containing a quantity of rum, Madeira wine, and biscuit, but we were still in great want of water; and, above all, of cartridges and flints. In the evening, I determined, in concert with the other officers, to summon the garrision to surrender the following morning. In the course of the night, we received provisions, ammunition, and the rest of the grenadiers of the 82d,

moment we had landed, this illusion ceased;—I saw nothing but immense precipices, perpendicular rocks, a threatening enemy, whom it was impossible to reach, 13th, a boat laden with provisions and ammunition was seen steering for the landing place, and, though exposed to the dreadful fire of the enemy, seemed determined to reach it: it was commanded by Mr. Berenger, a volunteer, who, having seen our distressing situation on the evening of the 11th, had vowed to brave every danger to bring us assistance. He had been ordered not to attempt the landing but at night; but the current having delayed him till day-break, he was resolved to comply with his engagement, or perish in the attempt. This brave young man, with one of his sailors, was unfortunately killed; two others were dreadfully wounded, in attempting to save themselves by swimming, and were picked up under the Rock, with six of the boat's crew. Two other supplies were also seen endeavouring to approach, but the enemy's cannon obliged them to return.—— On examining the Rock immediately over our cavern, it occurred to me that it could be scaled, and being joined in this opinion by the Commandant Richaud, I, with his advice, sent to the general commanding the troops, for a quantity of scaling ladders, boat-hooks, &c. and desired Capt. Brunet and Lieut. Dutil to prepare themselves, with 60 grenadiers, for the attempt, which I intended to make at one o'clock in the morning, by which time I expected the ladders would arrive. My intention to summons the garrison was, of course dropped. My plan being formed, I gave a *carte blanche* to all our men, recommending them to search every where for an outlet, and to harass the enemy as much as possible, forbidding them at the same time to fire on that part of the Rock above our cavern, in order that the English might have no idea of an attack from that side; and desired them to let me know whatever new they should discover or do. About 9 in the morning, a number of them returned to inform me, that by various means they had succeeded in climbing pretty high up different parts of the Rock, and would have been able to maintain their dispositions, had they had more men and ammunition. I immediately sent them back with a supply of both; and, about an hour after, Capt. Cortes came himself to inform me, that some of his detachment had got very high up the Rock, and demanded my orders. I supplied him with men and ammunition, and desired him to hasten and direct that part of the attack. Some of his men had actually gained an height, which commanded the entrance to the Great House, and had fastened to the Rock some ropes which they found; but, as the Rock was upwards of 40 feet high, they did not descend within reach. Capt Cortes caused part of the stair-case of the Great House to be brought away, which they made fast to the Rock, and were thus enabled to reach the ropes; but no one seemed inclined to ascend, till the gallant Lieut. Girandon, who hastened there, and climbed up to the summit of the height, with the rapidity of an arrow, and was immediately followed by a crowd of grenadiers, marines, and soldiers. One of the stones hurled at him by the enemy, wounded him in the arm, another struck him on the head, so as to knock off his hat, but nothing could stop him. To assist this attack, I caused fifty men to conceal themselves among the rocks and buildings, facing the little Savanna, in order to cut off the communication of the enemy, and to prevent their giving any support to their right flank, which our troops had attacked. In the mean time, Capt. Brunet and Lieut. Dutil had succeeded in climbing up at the head of their grenadiers; and Capt. Cortes and Lieut. Giranson overcame every thing they found in their way. In one place, they discovered a quantity of wearing apparel; in another, a month's provisions; and in a third, three large casks of water, which were constantly filled by filtration from the rock. It was now all over with the Diamond, and we should probably have had possession of it in a few hours, when La Fine arrived with a flag of truce. Capt. Meynard informed that the garrison had thrown out the signal for captitulation, which our situation on the Rock prevented us from perceiving. The firing was immediately stopped, and two Englishmen came down with a white flag, and announced thier intention of capitulating. One of them delivered me a letter from the Commander, wherein he offers to surrender, to prevent any further effusion of blood. Articles of capitulation were immediately drawn up and agreed upon, subject to your ratification. I then dispatched Capt. Brunet to receive possession of all the batteries and magazines on the top of the Rock, and to hoist the French flag, and desired him to offer to Capt. Maurice and his garrison whatever refreshments we had in our power. At his request, he was permitted to stay on the Rock till the following morning. At sun-rise on the

under the command of Capt. Brunet; the Commandant Richaud also arrived, and was as much surprised as I had been, to find the Diamond so very different from what it had appeared from the main land.——On the morning of the arms and their colours, and came with the rest of his officers to deliver me their swords. ——To treat a vanquished enemy with respect, is, I believe, general, only following your intentions, as well as the rules of French generosity; I therefore returned Capt. Maurice and his officers their swords, and renewed my offers to serve them. The number of effective men amounted to 107, one half of which were sent on board the Pluton, and the other on board the Berwick. I inspected the whole of the Rock, and had the two 13-pounders at the top of it thrown into the sea, as well as the platform, and all the powder and shot, I also cut down one of the flag-staffs, leaving only that on which the French colours were flying.——To judge from the quantity of powder, shot, water, and provisions of all kinds, which we found in the different cavities near the summit of the Rock, it would be supposed that the enemy could have held out much longer. The prodigious buildings which they had constructed, evidently proves that they considered themselves as well established here. I cannot even yet conceive how they should be so soon dislodged; it required, no doubt, Frenchmen to do it, and Frenchmen as brave as those you put under my command. From a hasty calculation, I am afraid we have to regret the loss of 50 men, both killed and wounded, which is certainly great, when we reflect that it is so many brave men who have fallen; but, from the difficulty of the enterprise, we might have calculated upon a much greater one. I cannot say too much in praise of the troops employed on this expedition.—Officers, soldiers, and sailors, manifested their usual bravery, coolness, and activity. The 82d regiment, though but just raised under your auspices, has consecrated its new number in the most brilliant manner. It does not belong to me to speak of the naval forces—the behaviour of the whole of the ships employed under Capt. Casmao, has been generally admired—I owe a great deal both to him and Capt. Camos, of the Berwick; their co-operation with the land forces, in supplying us with provisions, was of essential service, and their guns greatly assisted in seconding our efforts. Lieutenant Dodignon, of the Bucentaure, who commanded the boats, behaved with great merit and bravery: he had the misfortune to be shot through the knee with a musket ball, but is in a fair way of recovery. I should be happy were it in my power to name here all the brave men who contributed to our success; at their head I must place Capt. Cortes, who particularly distinguished himself; as did also, Captains Brunet, Pinede, and Balossierrie; Lieutenants Dutil, Blairon, Nocus, Forstal, Lourier, Daubersmille, and Latour; and Sub-Lieutenant Girandon, who was the first that dared to ascend the lofty Rock, from whence the enemy seemed to defy us.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

VOLUNTEERS.——*Circular Letter from Lord Harrington, dated August* 8, 1805.

Sir,——In consequence of intelligence received by Government of the embarkation of large bodies of troops in Holland, of a fleet of men of war being ready to sail from thence, and of the increased preparations of the French at Boulogne, and its neighbourhood, I have received orders from his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, to direct the General Officers and Inspecting Field Officers attached to the Volunteer Corps, to give notice to those corps of the possibility of their being speedily called upon for service; and also to suspend all furloughs for working during the harvest, till further orders.——I have the honour to be, &c. &c. ——HARRINGTON,——General commanding the London District.

NAVAL VICTORY.——*Copy of a Letter from Sir R. Calder, Bart. Vice-Admiral of the Blue, to the Hon. W. Cornwallis, Admiral of the White, &c. dated on Board His Majesty's Ship the Prince of Wales, the 25th of July,* 1805.

SIR,——I am induced to send, by the Windsor Castle, a triplicate of my dispatch of the 23d instant, owing to a very great omission of my secretary, who, from indisposition, and an interlineation in my first letter, neglected to insert the name of Rear-Admiral Charles Stirling in my public thanks; I am therefore to request you will be pleased to cause the mistake to be corrected as early as possible.——I have the honour to be, &c.——ROB. CALDER.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. VIII. No. 9.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, 1805. [Price 10d.

" Yet, were the French well assured, that, in case of their landing, this wild project of military cars would " be put in execution, I should not be at all astonished, if such a temptation to invade us were to prove too " great for them to resist."——Political Register, Vol. VI. p. 319.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Car-Project.——Time, which is generally the enemy of all silly projects, seems to have been more than commonly hostile to that of our *military cars*, by which, according to the notion of the ministerial writers, we were to have been, at all times, enabled to set the French at defiance. It is now exactly twelve months since Queen Mab appeared to have driven her chariot across the cranium of the hero of Walmer; for, then it was, that, as his prints informed us, he first conceived the brilliant project of conveying, in case of need, 200,000 men, in cars, to any spot where the enemy might happen to land. The reader will, probably, recollect the circumstances attending this precious instance of folly, and I am now about to call his attention to *the proof* of what was then stated, by myself and others, upon the subject. But, lest he should have forgotten the scene exhibited in August and September last year, I beg leave to refer him to several passages of this work, where the car-project and the measures and publications connected therewith came under discussion.——First, in Vol. VI. p. 252, he will find Sir Brook, the Commissary General, haranguing at meetings of coach-makers and horse-dealers, and stating in strains of great exultation, that with *three millions* of horses, we could have little to fear even from Buonaparté.—— In p. 314 and the following, he will find it mathematically demonstrated, that the cars, if attempted to be used, in the way proposed by Mr. Pitt, must produce infinite confusion, and that, supposing a case the most favourable, a battalion of infantry would march to the coast on foot much *sooner* than they could be conveyed in cars.——In p. 351, the reader will find some of Sir Brook's coachmakers, whose *patriotism* in subscribing carriages had been applauded to the skies, quarrelling with Sir Brook for having left them out of *a contract* for straps and other tackle! thereby most kindly verifying what had been suggested, in p. 253, as to the *real motives* of these patriotic subscribers.——In p. 362 and the following will be found some extracts from the Oracle and the Morning Post, censuring, and, indeed, abusing, in language the most virulent, all those, and me in particular, who had expressed an opinion against the utility of the military cars. The editor of the Morning Chronicle appearing to agree with me, in most respects, as to the car-project, we were, by these hireling writers, taken together. They ascribed our objections to " daring and wanton malignity;" they talked of " the shafts of our malice," of our " sneering impertinence," of our " impudent animadversions;" they accused us of " scoffing at measures necessary to the defence of the country;" of " libelling the government and the king;" of the " foulest calumny;" of the " basest licentiousness;" of " scandalous infamy." We ourselves they called " scribblers and harpies;" and, as to the Opposition in general, they described them as a " faction dangerous to the true interets of the country," and as " a desperate junto." And all this, because we had criticised, and, indeed, ridiculed the project of carrying large bodies of men in cars to meet the enemy upon the coast. We had not, however, confined ourselves to merely asserting that the project was a mad one; for, as was before stated, I demonstrated mathematically, that, if attempted to be put in practice, it could not possibly do any good, and might produce the most serious mischiefs.——In p. 439, the reader will find the history of the foolery continued. The advertisement of Sir Brook will there be found; and, in p. 444, will be found the advertisement of Lord Hawkesbury, dated from the Thatched-house Tavern, and conveying, by implication, at least, a charge of *disaffection* against every man, who, having the means, should fail to produce horses or carriages for the purpose of furthering the objects of the car-project. On the decency, and the tendency, of this advertisement some remarks were then submitted to the public; and, as the *season* for alarm was growing towards a close, little more was said about the project of cars, which was, besides, soon after, completely eclipsed by the project of catamarans, being an invention of the other " heaven-born" minister.——I have troubled the reader with this retrospective sketch, in order that we, who despised the car-project, may now re-

ceive justice at his hands, and which justice I am certain he will do us, upon reading the following account of an experiment made with cars, from Lambeth and its vicinity to Blackheath, a distance of about six miles, where, as he will see, about 1,800 men, who were out at an *early hour* in the morning, and who actually set off at *seven* o'clock, made shift to arrive at *ten*. But, let us take the whole account, as officially inserted, word for word alike, in the MORNING POST and the SUN of Friday, the 23d instant.—— "Yesterday the regiments of volunteer infantry, appointed to proceed to Blackheath in carriages, mustered at an *early hour* in the morning. Scarce a man was absent belonging to the different corps. ——The 1st Surrey took the lead, the Southwark regiment was very little inferior in numbers. The Lambeth was about 500 strong; and the St. John's, St. Saviour's, and Rotherhithe, amounted together to near 700.——For the 600 men which constitute the 1st Surrey, 24 carriages were appointed with seats slung across. The first three were occupied by the rifle company, next followed the band of music, and after them the battalion, attended by fifes and drums. About *seven o'clock* they pursued their route from Montpelier gardens through Camberwell, Peckham, and Lewisham, to Blackheath. Their passage along the road was exceedingly picturesque; the carriages in open order extended *near a mile in length*, and as they proceeded, the inhabitants astonished at the martial music and such a military array, concluded the enemy was at last on our shores. At New-cross turnpike the Southwark regiment approached, and the 1st Surrey halted while they passed on; the Lambeth and another corps then came up in the rear, and the whole advanced to their respective stations on the Heath. After their arrival, Gen. Grosvenor, attended by Col. Addenbrook and Mr. Thornton, the lieutenant of the county, came on the ground and began a minute inspection of the arms and appointments, which he finally considered fit for immediate service. When the General appeared on the ground the whole of the troops presented arms. There were an immense number of persons on the Heath, and among them were several of distinction and fashion. About *five o'clock* the regiments returned to town in their carriages, after receiving the encomiums of Gen. Grosvenor, for the *alacrity* and *readiness* with which they had prepared themselves upon the present occasion. "The carriages did not move with much rapidity; their progress was not more than *two miles and a half an hour*; it is, consequently, *evident* that *more expedition would be necessary in the moment of urgent service*, which the vehicles used on this occasion *would be incapable of affording*."——Now, what do these hirelings deserve at our hands, and at the hands of the public? If the reader will take the trouble (a trouble which, in justice to me, he ought, I think, to take) of referring to Vol. VI. p. 315 and the following, he will see, that my calculation is here exactly verified. I said that 10,000 men, mounted in cars, (of 12 men in a four-horse car) would occupy 20 miles of road; and, we here see, that, though the 600 men of the 1st Surrey were packed in cars of 24 men each, they occupied *a mile* of road. I said, that the battalion, thus mounted, would not march *three miles* an hour; and, we are now told, that the 1st Surrey marched only about *two miles and a half* an hour. I said I would march a battalion from St. James's Park to Rochester on foot, much sooner than they could be conveyed thither in cars; and, who does not perceive, that, by marching off at "an early hour," a battalion of real soldiers would have reached Rochester on foot nearly as soon as the car-mounted gentry reached Blackheath? What a childish, at once childish and dangerous folly is this? Once more I beg the reader to recur to the essay here pointed out, and he will there see a true picture of the mischiefs to be apprehended from the making of any attempts to employ these cars in case of invasion; and, I think, that *now*, at least, he will concur in the opinion, with the expression of which I then concluded, and which I have selected as the MOTTO to the present sheet.——But, to the conduct of the poor hireling writers alone we must not confine our animadversions. What ought now to be the feeling of the public with regard to the advertisement of Lord Hawkesbury and others, at the Thatched-house tavern? And, what must the people and the world think of the inventor, the great inventor, the grand projector of the cars? Faithfully did his prints retail to us an account of all his "examinations of these *interesting* machines," as the insufferable coxcomb of the Morning Post called the cars. At one time they exhibited him in close conversation with the coachmakers and their journeymen, whose business, the ORACLE told us, he seemed to understand full as well as they themselves did, insomuch, that, for my part, I could not help regretting, that politics had

robbed the art and mystery of coachmaking of so worthy a member. At another time they surrounded him, in his examinations of "these *interesting* machines," with Mr. Rose, Lord Camden, Colonel Taylor, Messrs. Cox and Greenwood, and the Duke of York, all of whom, we are told, bestowed on the plan, their unqualified approbation. The purpose, for which those interesting persons Messrs. Cox and Greenwood were called into the council, was not particularly mentioned; but, the MORNING POST was "very *happy* to say," that the plan met with the "decided" approbation of them amongst the rest! At another time the "heaven-born" minister was shown to us actually mounted in one of the cars, "where" (oh! important circumstance!) "he sat for several minutes!" while the trembling shop-keepers seemed, if one might judge from the language of their favourite newspapers, to be groaning out, "oh, the dear good man!" in a tone, and from a motive, not much unlike those of the old female sinners at Rowland Hill's chapel; in addition to which, I think we may assert, by way of conclusion, the grounds of reliance, in both cases, to be much about the same.

FAMILY QUARREL.——The reader will recollect, that, in the present volume, p. 161, in an article under this head, I entered into an examination of the grounds, upon which the partisans of the Addingtons demanded, for their principles, an *almost exclusive* claim to public spirit, in the parliamentary measures relative to lord Melville. If he bear in mind the principal points, to which I then requested his attention, he may spare himself the trouble of a reference to the article; if not, such reference will be necessary previous to his perusal of the following extract from THE TIMES (the demi-official paper of the Addingtons) of the 24th instant. "Our readers may be assured, "that we should not so often have obtruded "on them our remarks respecting some late "domestic occurrences, at a time too when "*more vital considerations* demand their attention as well as our own, were it not "from a sense of becoming feeling towards "those whose characters and conduct have "been so maliciously and basely calumniated, and from an anxious desire to detect "the falsehoods, and refute the misrepresentations of the most slanderous assailants "to whose venom political integrity was "ever exposed. For this no just or generous Englishman will condemn us:— "in this, whatever insults we may draw on "ourselves from venal scribblers, we shall "resolutely persevere. We have through-out been taking a *defensive* line, in support of honour, consistency, and purity; "and when we are in possession of *facts*, "calculated *to disprove bold assertions*, and "to confound malice, we ask the public, if "we should act our part as honest men if "we were to with-hold them. From Lord "Sidmouth, or any individual connected "with him, we solemnly declare, that we "never received favour of any sort; and "we defy the most rancorous of his enemies, "or of our own, to contradict this assertion. "The motives which instigate the writers "to whom we have adverted are obvious. "On the one side we trace mortification "and resentment, arising from a sense of "weakness occasioned by a late separation; "on the other, *sourness and disappointment "at no symptoms having shewn themselves "of a disposition to rush into the arms of "the old opposers of the present government.* "The one are unwilling that Lord Sidmouth should enjoy even the innocent "credit of withdrawing from an honourable "motive; the other, that he and his friends "should PARTICIPATE *in the popularity* "of having been induced, by an honourable motive, to assist in bringing delinquency to justice. Both seem pretty well "to agree, that the conduct of the Addingtons has been guided by pride, vanity, arrogance, and rapacity; and they have "lately narrowed their proofs of this extraordinary charge to the circumstance "of "Mr. N. Bond's having been refused "the office of Judge Advocate." We had "understood, that Lord Sidmouth had some "nearer connexions in the House of Commons, namely, Messrs. H. Addington, "Bathurst, Adams, &c.; in favour of no "one of whom has this rapacious nobleman "ever been charged with urging an application, and who himself most rapaciously quits an office, not only of high rank, "but of considerable emolument. It will "not be forgotten that, at the time of the "reconciliation, it was *universally understood and admitted*, that Mr. Pitt had "himself *proposed high situations for four "or five of those gentlemen most closely "connected with Mr. Addington.* This was "stated by the ministerial papers themselves; and the individuals were then "spoken of as gentlemen of the greatest "respectability. Could any one suppose, "that Mr. Addington could have listened "to the arrangement proposed, *unless accompanied by such a proposition?* WHY "those appointments were not carried into "effect, *we have yet to learn*; but can "hardly attribute the omission to the ra-

" city of the persons concerned. The im-
" pudent assertion of the intermediate re-
" fusal, on the part of Mr. Pitt, between
" the 8th of April and the 13th of June,
" to execute these engagements, we owe it
" to Mr. Pitt himself flatly to contradict: it
" is mere invention. No application was
" urged on the one part, and, consequently,
" there could be no rejection on the other.
" And yet this is stated, by one writer of
" eminent sagacity, as the sole cause of the
" determination taken by Lord Sidmouth,
" to oppose government in the case of Lord
" Melville. We conclude, that *considera-*
" *tions of delicacy* deterred him from pres-
" sing *the accomplishment of this solemn*
" *engagement.* Let us see if this statement,
" on the correctness of which we desire to
" stand committed, shall be contradicted.
" Other charges have been brought against
" Lord Sidmouth and his connexions, on
" which we shall shortly animadvert. We
" always understood, and are still firmly
" convinced, that had the House of Com-
" mons agreed to the whole of the charges
" against Lord Melville being sent to a com-
" mittee, it was to have been one consti-
" tuted of leading persons, equally taken
" from both sides of the house. " The
" Addingtons were guilty of profound dis-
" simulation on the 29th of April, when
" all of them who were present, voted for
" *a packed* committee." We can assert,
" that Lord Sidmouth's *nearest relations*
" were at that time *in the country*, and gave
" *no vote* on that question, or on the mo-
" tion for a civil proceeding. As the grant
" made to Lady Melville may be a matter
" of discussion in the House of Commons,
" we shall not prejudge it, but are certain
" (let our words be remembered) that Lord
" Sidmouth will be *completely exculpated*
" for that measure even by his bitterest ene-
" mies. As to Mr. Bragge's motive for
" putting a stop to the lodgment of public
" money in a private bank, *we never before*
" *heard it called in question*, and *cannot*
" *presume to appreciate it.* We can posi-
" tively assert, that *no suspicion* had been
" ever entertained of its having been ap-
" plied to purposes of *private emolument*;
" and we have it in evidence, that Mr.
" Bragge, as Lord Harrowby had before
" him, disapproved of the practice as irre-
" gular and unnecessary; and that the for-
" mer, in the course of *a few months* after
" his appointment, put a stop to it, as the
" latter had *intended to do*, during the latter
" part of his treasurership. If those whose
" conduct we are vindicating, but whose
" sycophants we disdain to be, had *really*
" *obtruded* themselves on public notice,
" with *the ostentatious display of unrivalled*
" *purity* (as we are told they have), our
" zeal, perhaps, would have been less ac-
" tive in repelling the attacks which some
" of our contemporaries so unjustly and un-
" generously hurl against them. If we
" were not ourselves satisfied, we should
" take no pains to convince or to undeceive
" others. Of the repetition of past false-
" hoods, we may, perhaps, take no notice;
" on any new ones, should any appear, and
" from whatever quarter, we shall not fail
" to animadvert, or to refute them, if our
" information will afford us the means. It
" is a duty that we have imposed on our-
" selves, and we shall not flinch from it.
" And a task more satisfactory to our feel-
" ings we cannot undertake, (and one which
" can hardly be thought discreditable) than
" to exert our powers, however limited, in
" upholding public integrity and private
" worth against the unrelenting spirit of
" foul detraction."——This is, really, very far beneath any thing I ever before saw published, by way of an *answer* to a publication of any sort whatever. I stated, in page 172, that one of the grounds of the separation of the Addingtons from Mr. Pitt, was, *the refusal of the latter to appoint Mr. N. Bond to the office of Judge Advocate General.* In an article since published in THE TIMES, that statement has, in a general one, been denied; but, now, after time for reflection and inquiry, what is the answer given to it? Not a denial. It is this: " They" [the enemies of Lord Sidmouth] " have lately " narrowed their proofs of this extraordi-" nary charge" [the charge of vanity and rapacity] " to the circumstance of Mr. N. " Bond's *having been* refused the office of " Judge Advocate General." Very true; and now for your *answer*:——" We had " understood, that Lord Sidmouth had some " nearer connexions in the House of Com-" mons; namely, Messrs. H. Addington, " Bathurst, Adams, &c. in favour of no " one of whom has this nobleman ever been " charged with urging an application." And this is all! This is the *answer!* This is your writer armed with " *facts* calculated to disprove bold assertions!" As to the fact implied in the latter part of this statement, that Lord Sidmouth has never urged an application in favour of his brother and his brothers-in-law, I know nothing in contradiction to it; nor am I at all anxious to combat the *conclusion* which it infers, and the fallacy of which every reader will, I am certain, easily detect.——The next *answer*, if so we must call it, relates to the conduct

of the Addingtons as to the voting for a select committee. It will be recollected (see p. 173), that the partisans of these gentlemen had stated, that, if, on the 8th of April, Mr. Pitt's motion for a select committee had been carried, it would not have been "a *packed* and *ballotted* committee;" whereon it was observed by me, that, when, afterwards, on the 29th of April, a question arose whether the committee for further examination should be a ballotted one, or not; and when, the affirmative, in spite of the glaring facts respecting the ministerial *lists*, was carried, "the Addingtons were "not found *in the opposition* to the ballot; "that they did not raise a single voice "*against it*; and that *all of them who were* "*present voted for it.*" Whence I was led to conclude thus: "Whether, therefore, "the assertion, that, previous to, and on, "the 8th of April, the Addingtons intend-"ed to obtain another sort of select com-"mittee; not, to use their own words, "a *packed* and *ballotted* committee;" "whether this assertion were dictated by "the sincerity of the asserter, or by the "most profound dissimulation, the public "will, I imagine, be at no loss to judge." Now, I allow, that the judgment, which I expected to be formed from this statement was what the writer has above described it, and of which I avoid a repetition from tenderness to the feelings of his principals. But, in the first place, he has, and, apparently, with malice propense, misquoted me in taking, as *my* words, "a *packed* committee;" while the words were "a *packed* "and *ballotted* committee," and these words were *his*, quoted from THE TIMES newspaper, and so given by me, and with a comment thereon, too; a comment upon the liberty thus taken by a king's friend, a staunch adherent of "His Majesty's *confi-*"*dential* servants," composing "the king's "government." Such a person, one of the chosen vessels, one of the political elect, may, doubtless, safely use such expressions, even *while he is reproaching the courts of justice that his opponents are suffered to wear their ears*, and while he is openly exulting in the prospect of seeing those ears cropped off; but, I must beg of him not to palm upon me, a vessel of common mould, the offspring of his prurient zeal.——But, to the *answer*. What answer does he give to my statement? I stated, that the Addingtons did *not oppose* the "packed" and ballotted committee, on the 29th of April; that they did not raise a single voice *against it*; that all of them, who where then present, voted for it. What is the *answer* to this? "We can "assert, that Lord Sidmouth's *nearest re-*"*lations* were, at that time, *in the country*, "and gave *no vote* on the question."—— And this, *this* is an *answer*! They did *not oppose* it; they did not raise a single voice *against* it; and, observe, that it was only the *relations*, and the *nearest* relations too, that were in the country! Can any one have supposed, that, by "*the Addingtons*" I meant only those of the *name* of Addington? Or, only those nearly related to Mr. Hiley Addington's "*noble* relative," to use that gentleman's own words? No: it is evident, that I meant all those who were known to be closely attached to the Addingtons; and, of these, I repeat, that all, who were present on the 29th of April, *voted for* the ballotted committee. The "nearest relations" might, for aught I know to the contrary, be "in the country," at that time; but, then, I am sure the reader will not think it impertinent, in me to ask, *how they came to be in the country, at such a time!* At a moment so very important! What could induce them to keep aloof? Were Mr. Hiley and the rest unmindful of what was passing? Had they forgotten all about Lord Melville? Or, did they foresee, that there would come a time, that their absence would furnish an argument in their favour? Be what will the decision of the reader, upon this point, he will, I think, agree with me, that, though their absence may be pleaded in *excuse*, it ought not to be very strenuously urged by a writer, who talks of them as the men, who "*send corruption to the tribunals*;" as men, whose conduct affords "the *sweet* consola-"tion to the public heart, that the laws and "interests of a generous people, bending "under the weight of their contributions, "have, *at last*" [observe well the phrase], "*at last*, found a *friend*" [in Lord Sidmouth] "and a *powerful defender*!" Language like this becomes not the man, who is compelled to have recourse to excuses of absence.——The remaining point, as to which one might have expected an answer, from so industrious and zealous a partizan, relates to the motive from which Mr. Bragge put a stop to the practices of Mr. Trotter. I stated something by no means uninteresting to the public, namely, that it was during the contested election for the county of Middlesex, in which Mr. Coutts's son-in-law opposed the court candidate, that Mr. Bragge put a stop to the lodgment of the naval money at Mr. Coutts's; and, I stated besides, that this step was taken at the same time that Lord Hawkesbury, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, removed the

custody of the public secret-service money from Mr. Coutts's to Mr. Hoare's, and also at the time that Lord Buckinghamshire would have removed his balance, if he had had any, from Mr. Coutts's, where he had, till then, kept money. All this I stated; and what is the answer to it? What, in answer to it, says the man, who has "*facts* " calculated to disprove bold assertions." Why, he says, that, " as to Mr. Bragge's " motive for putting a stop to the lodgment " of public money in a private bank, we " never before heard it called in question, " and *cannot presume to* appreciate it!" And is that all? No: " we can *positively* " *assert*, that *no suspicion* had been ever en- " tertained of its having been applied to pur- " poses of private emolument; and, we " have it *in evidence*" [of Mr. Bragge himself, observe] " that Mr. Bragge disap- " proved of the practice as irregular and un- " necessary; and that, in the course of *a* " *few months* after his appointment, he put " a stop to it." How this writer came to be enabled *positively* to *assert*, that no *suspicions* were ever entertained of the public money being applied to purposes of private emolument, it would be, perhaps, difficult to discover; and this ability appears the more surprising, when we perceive that he "can- " not *presume* to appreciate" the motive of Mr. Bragge for finally putting a stop to the lodgment of that money at a private banker's. But, there is one part of this statement, which clearly shews, that the intention of the writer was to disguise, and not to discover, the truth; I mean his endeavour to slide upon the reader, by way of expletive almost, that Mr. Bragge had been in office but " *a* " *few months*" before he put a stop to the practice; when the truth is, that Mr. Bragge came into his office in November, 1801, and did not put a stop to the practice till July, 1802. This attempt, though a feeble one, though only a little trick, betrays the badness of the cause which the writer was supporting.——Of the grant to Lady Melville we are told that an explanation *will be* given. I pointedly dwelt upon this grant. It was made after Mr. Trotter's practices were discovered; after they were put a stop to; and after, I must still assert, Mr. Addington *must* have known of Lord Melville's having connived at those practices. " We are *cer-* " *tain* (let our words be remembered) that " Lord Sidmouth *will be* completely excul- " pated for that measure, even by his bit- " terest enemies." Well, then, if you really are " certain" of this, you must possess the proof; and, if you possess it, why not produce it? It " *may* be matter of discussion " in the House of Commons," and, *there-fore*, you " will not *prejudge* it." What a reason! How modest; how respectful to the House of Commons, you are become all at once! Did you, in the case of Lord Melville, hold your tongue upon matters that *might* become a subject of discussion in the House of Commons? Poor shift! Do we, any of us, ever refrain from discussing a subject merely because it *may* come before the House of Commons? And is it when your principal is attacked, you having the power to defend him, that you bring forward such a reason for your silence? What we know, is, that, this grant was made while Mr. Addington was prime minister; we know that it was made under a warrant issuing from the Treasury, his particular department; and, we further know, that this warrant was signed by *himself*, by Mr. N. Bond, and by Lord George Thynne. *How* he can be "*completely exculpated*" does not appear; but, if he can, I am certain that his partisans ought to do it, or, else, hold their tongues.——As to the claims of Lord Sidmouth and his friends, and the *ill-treatment* they have received from Mr. Pitt and the other members of that branch of THE FAMILY, it is a matter, in which the public have very little interest; for, speaking for myself, it is a matter of perfect indifference to me, whether I contribute towards the maintenance of Mr. Hiley or Mr. Canning, Mr. Bragge Bathurst or Mr. Sturges Bourne, Mr. N. Bond or Old George Rose. It is, in fact, a true *family quarrel*, which, in whatever way it may terminate, is, by neither party, intended to produce the smallest possible good to the country.——I cannot conclude without adding a word or two upon the motive, whence, it is asserted, my observations upon the conduct of the Addingtons has originated. " Sourness and disappoint- " ment at no symptoms having shown " themselves of a disposition to rush into " the arms of the old opposers of the pre- " sent government." I appeal to the reader, whether, supposing me to possess common sense, only in a very moderate degree, it be *possible* for me to have acted as I have acted from such a motive as the one here described. My motive has been, and is, a desire, to lend whatever assistance I can in enabling the public to see public men in their true light; though I will not deny, that this desire has been greatly heightened, by the assuming language, the monopolizing pretensions, on the part of the Addingtons, who, let them act with whom they will, shall never, in my hearing, be trumpeted forth as persons of superior purity, without

an effort on my part to counteract the endeavours of their eulogists. "Rush into the "arms of the old opposers of the present "government!" Who has ever asked them, who wants them, to do any such thing? "What minister," said Mr. Hiley when his brother was charged by the Pitts of receiving support from Mr. Fox; "what mi- "nister ever *refused support*, whatever "might be *the quarter it came from?*" And, there is no reason, that I can see, for not now returning the compliment. But, to talk of *a party*; of an *Addington party*; of erecting a new sect to hold the balance between the ministry and the opposition, and to betray either, as occasion might serve, into the hands of the court, or, rather, of a little intriguing junto, impudently assuming the title of "King's friends," while the tendency of all their actions is to sap the foundations of the throne; to talk of any thing that should tend towards this effect, is to discover very little either of wisdom or of public spirit. If the Addingtons can, indeed, make it appear, that they have not *intentionally* given in to the measures respecting Lord Melville; if they can remove the impression which the abetting of Lord Melville has produced against them in the public mind; then, as was observed, at the time of their separation, they may, as far as their weight in the state entitles them, enjoy "*a* "*share*" of the public confidence: but, while there hangs about them any part, any fragment, any patch or rag, of the livery of the Pitts and Melvilles, the Opposition never can touch them. The cant about "support- "ing *the King*" ought not to be tolerated for a moment. They do not now allow, that *the King* turned them out. They know, then, that this pretence is hypocritical; and, the moment they set it up, or attempt to set it up, they ought to be pursued in every direction. In short, if they were, in their resignation, actuated by feelings hostile to corruption, let them prove it by their actions; let them show us, that they wish to see the source of corruption dried up. At any rate, they may be well assured, that we are not now to be deceived by pretensions. Whether they lend their hand or not, the system of corruption must fall. All the world cannot long support it. The budget has been deep and capacious; but the tricks are exhausted. In such a state of things, viewing the Opposition merely as men seeking power, I should say they were mad to make the smallest sacrifice for the sake of obtaining the votes of the Addingtons.——The writer, upon whose labours I am commenting, has thought it necessary to preface his observations with an apology for obtruding them upon his readers, at a time when "*more vi-* "*tal considerations* demand their attention." I shall conclude without making any such apology; for, without pretending to be able precisely to ascertain what this gentleman may mean, I have no scruple to assert, that there is no subject, in which the people are more deeply interested than in this; and, I believe, that there are very few politicians, who are not well persuaded, that in comparison with it, the continental coalition, and even the invasion, are mere trifles with Mr. Pitt.

CONTINENTAL COALITION.——What I have to submit to the reader upon this subject, will consist chiefly of *extracts*, first beginning with the French official paper, the Moniteur, of the 15th instant, whence it must, I think, be concluded, that Austria will take a part in the war, and that, too, without loss of time. The extract is upon the subject of the English order for stopping, and bringing in American ships. "The commerce of one people prospered. "Remote from Europe, strangers to the "present war, that people were exercising "the free industry which belongs to an in- "dependent state. England is at length "tired of forgetting with respect to that "people the naval superiority which ena- "bles her to oppress all nations and all seas, "and the American trade is at length aimed "at. Sugar and coffee have just formed "part of prohibited merchandize—it is "quite as culpable in the eyes of England "to convey sugar and coffee as arms and "warlike ammunition. It is not sufficient "that by corrupting some faithless minis- "ters, she has imposed upon several power- "ful princes a barbarous legislation; that "she has dictated by menaces, the same "laws to weaker princes, whose ministers "she might disdain corrupting; she now "places no limits to her violence. Nobody "hereafter shall navigate but upon her ac- "count, and to sell her articles alone. And "in this order of things, so humiliating to "all states, does not fix the attention of the "powers of the world! It is that which "England wished when she precipitated "Russia into such false steps. So long as "the northern powers had any sentiment "of their commercial independence, the "English were forced to keep within cer- "tain bounds; but when the Court of Pe- "tersburgh, influenced by corrupting in- "triguers, or directed by corrupted in- "triguers, carried its condescension so far "as to give an official character to the most "contemptible pamphlets of the worst

English Gazette writers, the Cabinet of London no longer doubted that its eyes were shut for a long time. When England thought too she was sure of Austria, *whom she is precipitating into war by inducing her to make, in the Tyrol and in Italy, armaments which cannot but be considered as a commencement of hostilities*, she ceased to fear that any state would return to the sentiment of its dignity. She threw off the mask immediately, and it is by the Americans that she has begun the application of her new pretensions. Oppressed Europe has but one reasonable desire to form, and ought to place its resources in one single hope, the re-establishment of the naval power of France. Before a few months are passed, the outrages done to the commerce of nations, whose pacific dispositions were best known to England, will be quadrupled.—That is what Sweden will have prepared by her Diatribes and her childish policy—that is what Austria will have gained, who shews herself so little jealous of the honour of her flag. Since the Venetians have displayed the Imperial Eagle, they have experienced more outrage than when they navigated under the fallen sign of the Lion of St. Mark. The government of Venice was weak, it had reached the age of decrepitude, yet it still protected its commerce. But England has the fatal and temporary advantage of blinding all nations to their own interests.——The more she oppresses, the louder they cry against the oppression of France. Happily France does not suffer herself to be imposed upon by those cries—she knows the impotence of them."——This abuse of Austria is a sure sign of a determination, on the part of France to make war upon Austria, whether the latter be disposed for war, or not.——The next extract is from the same paper of the same date, and appears to be a comment upon one of the silly, bragging paragraphs of the MORNING POST. The whole of it is well worthy of attention; and I beg leave particularly to point out to the reader the passages distinguished by Italics!——"And why does not the enemy come? We shall see by the issue whose temerity will be chastised. We know your commander in chief; we have seen him at Houdscoot and in Holland; one-third of the army of Boulogne would be sufficient to turn his daring enterprizes to certain destruction. But whatever you may say on the subject, you know as well as we do, what you have to expect from a contest by land. As to the maritime war, you undoubtedly have acquired and hitherto preserved a real superiority, but you were indebted for it, you still are indebted for it, to treachery. It was treachery that delivered up to you 30 French ships at Toulon; the treachery of the Prince of Orange acquired for you 12 Dutch ships; it was treachery, in short, that destroyed at Quiberon, all the then surviving officers of our ancient marine: in spite of these advantages so odiously acquired, and which we do not dispute with you, our squadrons attack you upon your own coasts; the Shannon is blockaded, not by small vessels, as you say, but by a stout and fine squadron. Your colonies had even arranged the terms of their capitulation, and sent agents to treat with Villeneuve; but that was not the object of his mission, and in spite of the obstacles which he encountered in returning to Europe, though his voyage lasted 50 days, though he lost 20 days by contrary winds, he passed through the center of your squadrons, and effected his junction. His object was not to attack your commerce, and yet he has done you damage to the amount of twenty millions (nearly one million sterling). In India a single French division made captures from you to a greater amount. One brig has taken a whole Newfoundland convoy off the Orkneys, our frigates traverse every sea: not a day passes without some one of them entering our ports, and you have not yet captured one of them. In a word, you boasted that you would attack our advanced line, which, however, has often attacked your cruisers, far from the batteries, even in the middle of the Channel, and in such a manner that your ships, your frigates, and corvettes, have sought security in their superior sailing. But two years have been spent in preparing for the descent, and the descent has not yet been made! It will be made, unless you make peace. It will be made perhaps in one year, perhaps in two, perhaps in three years; but before *five years* shall have elapsed, we shall have humbled your pride, and that superiority which treachery has given you. As to the Continent, think not that you may have allies there. You are the enemy of all nations, and every people will exult in your humiliation. But though you should succeed in corrupting some females or some ministers, the consequences would not be favourable to you; we should certainly acquire a new line of coast, new ports, new countries, and we should *reduce your allies to such a*

"*degree, that we could afterwards turn our whole attention to the naval war.* It is a "singular conceit in you to think, that we "could pretend, in *one day, one month,* or "*one year,* to accomplish the reduction of "your colossal power. TIME is one of the "means, *one of the essential elements of our calculations.* Have recourse, in such a si- "tuation of things to conspiracies, to as- "sassinations; well and good. This spe- "cies of warfare you are no strangers to. It "is already reported that Drake is thinking "of returning to Munich; Spencer Smith "to Stutgard, and Taylor to Cassel. France "will not suffer them to set foot, not only "on the Continent, but in any place within "five or six days march of its armies. Di- "plomatic assassins are out of the protec- "tion of the law of nations. We expected "to suffer some losses when you declared "war. We might lose Martinique, Gua- "daloupe, the Isles of France, and Reunion. "What have you done? You have reduced "yourselves to the sorry system of block- "ade, which does not prevent our squad- "rons from traversing the seas. Continue "to blockade our ports, but keep your eyes "fixed on the beacons on your own coasts, "and live in perpetual alarms. Should your "insulted nation, continuing to be the "dupe of some men, who have divided the "government of England between them, "not compel your Oligarchs to make peace, "and to be persuaded that we are no more "those Frenchmen that have been for so "long a time sold and betrayed by weak "ministers, inactive kings, or greedy mis- "tresses, you are advancing towards an "inevitable and fatal destiny. We desire "the peace of the Continent, because it is "in the situation in which we wished it "should be. We might have augmented "our own power, and weakened that of our "rivals, if we had thought fit. If there be "any state disposed again to disturb the "Continent, *it will be the first victim, and "its defeat being reflected back upon your- "selves, will render your dangers more im- "minent, and your fall more certain.* We "repeat it; a just and reasonable peace "alone can save you. One of our adages is "already proved, and, since you cannot "hope for safety but through the assistance "of a power of the Continent, "singly you "can do nothing against France," and "France will never suffer that you only "should have vessels on the seas; the seas "are the property of all nations."——Indeed, this is good advice; for, it becomes us well to consider what may *now* be the consequence of a *failure* in a continental war. This threat in the Moniteur perfectly corresponds with what I have frequently suggested to my readers; that the failure in *another* continental alliance would bring upon us certain destruction.——This, as was before observed, is not a reason for avoiding a continental coalition; but, I repeat, that it is a most weighty reason for avoiding any coalition which does not hold out a fair prospect of success. What ought to make us tremble for the result is, that the person, who is to be at the head of the league is Mr. Pitt; that Mr. Pitt who has never undertaken any thing, who has never touched any thing, upon the Continent, which has not failed, even "with all the means and appliances to boot." We saw him take the helm of the state at a period the most favourable that could be imagined: the country was just beginning to start again after being worn down by a most ruinous and harassing war: the independence of America tended, contrary to all expectation, to add to the trade and commerce of England, and, as far as our rival engaged in the American trade, it proved injurious to her: France had over-strained her tottering frame (I mean the frame of her monarchy) in her exertions in behalf of America, the success of which latter (if a change from a mild colonial government, under the British King and legislature, to that of a democracy with its nest of petty tyrants, ought to be called *success;)* this success accelerated the fall of the French monarchy, which, as my valuable correspondent, Camillus, has shown, perished by its own feebleness, and not by the strength of its foes. It was in this state of things that Mr. Pitt commenced his career as minister, with an eight years profound peace before him, and, in consequence of the effect produced by his professions of "hea- "ven-born" purity; in consequence of the loud pretensions of himself and his principal colleague, Mr. Dundas, to exclusive hatred of corruption; in consequence of his incessant calls upon the parliament to promote economy and to retrench the expenses of the government; in consequence of his solemn engagements to produce such a reform in parliament as should prevent the money of the people from being given, or, which is the same thing, lent without interest, to members of parliament, in order to induce them to vote with the minister, contrary to the interests of the people; in consequence of these, and some other means that could be mentioned, he obtained so complete a mastery over the parliament, that there was nothing to prevent him from following the dictates of his own mind. With all these ad-

vantages he took and kept possession of the helm: and, whither has he steered us? For more than 20 years, in peace and in war, he has had the absolute command of the kingdom and of all therein contained; and, again I ask, what has been the result? Whither has he conducted us? Are we not in a more dangerous situation than we ever were in before? Has not the power of our rival and enemy been constantly increasing? Has she not come with ten-fold strength out of a revolution, which, according to all human calculation, ought to have rendered her more weak? In short, has not this nation, during the 20 year's ministry of Mr. Pitt, fallen a fearful height, when considered with regard to the only enemy she had to fight with? Take the *beginning* and the *end* of his ministry: look at the nation at the two epochs: and, is not the contrast such as to make us despair of ever seeing any good come out of measures, in which he shall have a principal share. But, it is in continental affairs, that his want of wisdom has most conspicuously appeared. There has been, during his administration, three great occasions for the exertion of the power and influence of this kingdom in a way to preserve the balance of Europe, and, at the same time, our own consequence in the world: all these he has not let slip, but has so availed himself of them as to render them conducive to the destruction of the great objects, which he ought to have had in view. The precise course, that he may now pursue, no one can tell; not he himself; for, we may be assured, that his old doctrine of *circumstances*, of taking "the "*next* best when the best cannot be per-"severed in," will again be brought forward, and again be applauded by the Jew-like tribe, upon whom, principally, he depends for the preservation of his place. A hint has been thrown out, in his newspapers, that he does not intend intirely to drop his professions of a wish to restore the family of BOURBON to the throne of France. The paragraphs here alluded to are very curious, and, considering the channel through which they come, worthy of the attention of those, who are desirous of knowing what are the probable intentions of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Canning, and their worthy fellow-labourer, Old George Rose. It may, too, be interesting to the princes of the Bourbon race to know something of the views of Old George Rose with respect to what is to be their final lot. The paragraphs are taken from the SUN newspaper of the 22d and 24th instant; and, the reader may be well assured, that such paragraphs could never have appeared in that paper, without the approbation of some person closely connected with the Treasury. The paragraph of the 22d is in these words: "It is said, that the confederated powers "had agreed, in case ALL *attempts to effect* "*a peace*, with the Corsican Usurper, and "secure the independence of other states, "*should fail*, to send ambassadors to the "*rightful Monarch of France*, and urge him "to make an appeal to the *honour*, the *duty*, "the affection, and the pride and *common* "*sense* of his subjects, on the disgrace, op-"pression, and misery to which they are "reduced by a foreign despot. Such a "measure had been recommended long ago, "but it would, perhaps, have more effect at "present, as the unhappy people of France "have drained the revolutionary cup to the "very dregs, and find the bitter draught is "composed of nothing but humiliation, des-"potism, and the most abject slavery. If "this appeal should really be made before "any offensive operations commence against "the Corsican Usurper, it may shake him "on his throne, and tend more to the *deli-*"*verance of Europe* than any actual hostility "against France. Nay, it may obviate the "necessity of all military operations but "such as may rescue France from its pre-"sent deplorable state of bondage and de-"spair, groaning, as it does, under the se-"verest police ever known in any country, "by order of a suspicious Upstart, who in-"sults all other powers, and seems ambi-"tious to extend his tyranny over the whole "civilized world.——It is to be hoped that "if any of the continental powers should at "last be roused into active exertion against "the Corsican Despot, they will themselves "also issue such a manifesto as will be an "appeal to the French nation against the "ambition, injustice, and aggressions of "their foreign oppressor. *It is full time* to "pull this man from the height which he "has gained by his crimes as much as by "any merits that may belong to his charac-"ter. The condition of the French them-"selves, under a government that hardly "leaves them even the privilege of thinking, "and that certainly forbids them to utter "their thoughts, is alone sufficient to in-"duce them to shake off his usurpation; "but when they find that his insolence to "other powers, and his encroachments "upon their territories, and all his nume-"rous acts of violence and ambition, are "likely to involve them in new wars and "grievous conscriptions, they will *surely* "*assert their rights*, and rid them-"selves of such a detestable tyrant."—— Upon this the Morning Chronicle remarked, that it appeared to be the intention to direct

the war, in future, against Buonaparté personally. There certainly was not much in this remark; but, it called forth the following explanation from the SUN of the 24th, to which I beseech the attention of the reader, who should, all the while, bear in mind the language of this same SUN newspaper at the time of the peace of Amiens, and all along previous to the subsequent rupture. "It is observed by the leading print "of Opposition" [the Morning Chronicle] "in reference to an article which appeared "in this paper on Thursday, that it appears "to be "the intention to direct the war in "future against Buonaparté personally." "We are not so absurd as to presume to "say what may be the ultimate conduct of "the powers who seem to be rouzed at last "to a proper sense of the insults and injuries "which they have received from Buonaparté; but we may ask, against whom "could the war be more justly directed "than against him? Is he not the dreadful "scourge of France, which, after all its sacrifices, and all its sufferings, does not "possess a shadow of that liberty, in the "vain pursuit of which it has endured such "tremendous evils? Is he not the great "disturber of Europe, and, indeed, of the "world at large, which might enjoy the "blessings of peace and *undisturbed commercial intercourse*, if it were not for the "enormous aggressions and insatiable ambition of the French usurper? Is it to "be supposed that the people of France, "however light and fickle they may be, "can contendedly set down under so *degrading* and so oppressive an usurpation, "and be forced into conscriptions merely "to support that injustice and that warfare "which his restless ambition brings upon "them? The several Potentates of Europe "*have treated with this Usurper* AS WITH "A RIGHTFUL SOVEREIGN; but all "they have done to gratify his pride cannot "keep him within the bounds which are "due to *the honour*, the interest, and the "independence of other states; and as "there IS A LEGITIMATE MONARCH "OF FRANCE, who would be glad to re"ceive the obedience of his people, and to "cast a lenient veil over all their errors, "we see *no harm*, but on the contrary "much good, in resorting to such a direction of the war as might be likely to im"press the mind of the Usurper with the "strongest sense of danger to himself, and "which, whether or not it should tend to "restore an exiled Monarch to his rights, "might at least tend *to make an Usurper "treat the independence of other states "with due respect.*"——This has internal evidence quite sufficient to point out its origin; and, I am persuaded, that every politician will, at once, be ready to declare, that such sentiments could never have been entertained by any one not of the Pitt school. If *all* attempts should fail, then, they are to have recourse to the King of France! and, for what! for the purpose of inducing Buonaparté to grant them a peace, whereby their *own independence* should be secured!——So: the several Potentates of Europe *have* treated with this Usurper as *with a rightful Sovereign*. They have so, and, it will not be forgottten, that the Pitt ministry received two colonies at his hands from the territories of Holland and Spain! It will be remembered, too, that Mons. Peltier was prosecuted and found guilty, in the court of King's Bench, in England, of an attempt to excite the people of France to acts of *rebellion* against this same "*foreign Usurper!*" Oh! baseness! The abominable baseness of these ministerial prints!——But, *compassion* for the people of France, it seems, is now to urge us to make war against Buonaparté's person. They are, we are told, in a "state of *bondage* and *despair*;" they are "*degraded* by the usurpation." As to being degraded, national degradation may belong to those whom Buonaparté has subdued; but, very little must that man know of Frenchmen, or indeed, of human nature, who supposes, that the people of France will be persuaded, that they are *degraded* by the ambitious strides of their new chief. The truth is, they have as keen an appetite for conquest and universal monarchy as Napoleon himself has; and, I would advise the Treasury clerks to keep their pens and paper for the purpose of calculating how taxes are to be added to those we already bear, rather than waste them upon attempts to persuade the French people into a belief that they are "degraded" by those means, which are, at so rapid a rate, rendering their country the absolute mistress of the world. ——If it were not for Napoleon, "Europe, "and the world at large, might enjoy the "blessings of peace and *undisturbed com*"*mercial intercourse.*" A very good argument upon the 'Change at London; but, what care the thirty-five millions of cultivators of the soil, who own the sway of Napoleon, whether there be any commercial intercourse, or not? A "disturber" of the world is what they admire: they, according to their several capacities, are, themselves, disturbers of the world. To rail against disturbing the world, to them is like preaching against gluttony before a

worshipful company of the city. It is like the lark's complaining to the kite against the voracity of the hawk, who had torn her young ones to pieces and devoured them; whereupon the compassionate kite, observing, with tears in her eyes, that it was a pity the disconsolate mother should be suffered to eke out a miserable existence, very kindly stuck her claws into her, and eat her up. Let this be a caution to the smooth clerks of Downing-street. Let it be a caution to the people of England, at least, and prevent them from placing any reliance, from building any hopes, upon the effects of discontents in France: for, the truth is, we hear of no such discontents.——As to the questions, whether it be *now* lawful, and, if lawful, whether it be *expedient*, to pursue the course, or any part of it, suggested by the SUN, there will be other opportunities for discussing them: but, I cannot dismiss the *compassion*, now expressed by this ministerial print for the people of France, without requesting the reader to accompany me, for a moment, back to the summer of 1802, the honey moon of the peace of Amiens, in order to hear what were the sentiments *then* expressed by this same print (under the *very same influence* that it now is) with respect to the government of Buonaparté. Some of the prints had commented, with great severity, upon the changes which had been introduced into the French government by the then Chief Consul; whereupon the SUN, whence, observe, the above extracts have been made, published, evidently from under the Treasury, the following remarks. "That the *vehement* advocates for liberty should declaim "against the present system of government "in France, is, by no means, surprising; "but, that such a spirit should lead to gross "invectives against that country, or its chief "magistrate, *is greatly to be lamented.* "Whether France now possesses the only "government which is suited to her disposition or her character, is a question that "may be calmly discussed without violence "and without agitation.——Why direct the "grossest invectives against the chief magistrate of the French Republic, for doing that, which *it remains yet to be proved, is not an act beneficial to the French nation?* Liberty in the hands of those who "know not how to enjoy it, can only degenerate into anarchy—and *the only remedy for anarchy, is the strong arm of power.* Governments are good or bad "only in proportion as they are adapted to "the respective characters of the people "who are subject to them. It is evident, "that if the British constitution was suddenly transplanted into Turkey or Persia, "it could not take root in either of those "countries, because no soil could there be "found analogous to its properties and its "habits. The fundamental error of most "of the speculatists upon government, has "consisted in beginning with theory instead "of experience * * * * * * * * "* * * * * * * * * * * * "Whether the present constitution of "France is calculated to promote the comfort and happiness of the individuals of "that nation, *time only can determine*; "but when compared with the monstrous "systems of democratical, or of oligarchical tyranny which have preceded it, *the "people of France have certainly reason "to congratulate themselves on the change.* "More has unquestionably been done under "the present system to *conciliate the feelings "of the heart*, and *increase the stock of domestic comfort*, than under any system "which preceded it since the revolution."—And this is the print, which is now calling upon the people of France to rouze, to exert themselves, to free themselves from that state of "*bondage, despair*, and *degradation*," in which they are plunged by the despotic hand of "a foreign Usurper!" Reader, take a moment to think, and then say, whether you would not despise the people of France, whether you would not despise any Frenchman of whatever party, who should be so brutishly base as to act upon suggestions thrown out by the SUN newspaper, or by any of that description of persons, under whose influence and controul that paper is conducted. I think you would despise them from the bottom of your heart; and, I think, too, that you will, with me, readily conclude, that, on this account, they will not merit your contempt. At some future time, I will make a collection of the passages, published by the present ministerial prints, in *praise* of Buonaparté and his government, and in disapprobation of all those, who should attempt to disturb him in the possession of his power; but, for the present, it may suffice to have exposed the conduct of the principal print of the Treasury, from which exposition, the public, if they are not dead to every sentiment of justice and of honour, must derive the advantage of caution.——In the mean while, whence are to come (if we are foolish enough to persevere in the Pitt system) the *Ways and Means* of carrying on this war? What new taxes *can* be found out? What addition can be made to any of the old ones? The receipts will all fall short of the esti-

mates. The Consolidated Fund must fall short, of course. Where, then, except in *an addition to the Income Tax*, are we to look for something to make up the deficiency? That an addition will be made to that odious, that justly odious tax, is, I think, certain; for, the old argument will be used, "money *must* be had." It is not the money that we ought to grudge, if it were made use of for a good purpose; but, the danger is, that the means of taxation will be exausted, without obtaining for us any one of those objects, which are necessary to enable us to sit down, even for one year in peace. A peace dictated to Austria at the gates, or, perchance, in the City of Vienna, just at the moment, when the paper system of England shall touch upon the confines of its existence, is a concurrence not to be contemplated without dread; but, it is, nevertheless, one that we should look forward to, not only as possible, but as probable, especially if the management of our affairs continue in the hands of our present "heaven-born" but always unsuccessful minister.

THE ENEMIES' FLEETS. —— Since the last Number went to the press, the two following notifications have been sent from the Admiralty, and posted up at LLOYD'S, a Coffee-House which is the principal place of resort for the merchants of London. "ADMIRALTY OFFICE, 23d August, 1805. "A dispatch from Admiral Cornwallis, dated the 19th instant received this morning, incloses a report from Capt. Brace, "of His Majesty's ship Iris, of his having, "on the 13th instant, in the evening, seen "the combined fleet of the enemy, outside "the harbour of Ferrol, consisting of 27 "or 28 sail of the line, 5 frigates, and 3 "brigs, steering about W. N. W. and beating "to windward. Capt. Brace supposes, "from the apparent confusion they were "in, that they must have come out of the "harbour that evening."—— "ADMIRALTY OFFICE, 27th August, 1805. A letter from Admiral Cornwallis, dated the 22d instant, states, that on the preceding evening the Brest fleet, consisting of 21 sail of line of battle ships, and four frigates, appeared outside of the harbour. The admiral anchored his fleet off the Black Rocks, and, in the morning endeavoured to bring the enemy, who were under weigh, to action; but when their headmost ship was within gun-shot, she fired a broadside and tacked, the rest doing the same, and took their anchorage between the Points at the entrance of Brest. An attempt was made to cut "off their sternmost ships, but a heavy "fire of shot and shells from their batteries "prevented success." —— These notifications were addressed "to the *Masters* of "*Lloyd's Coffee-House*;" and, though I by no means think those masters, who, I dare say, can cry "anon! Sir! anon!" with lungs equal to the character drawn by our "immortal bard," as Lord Mulgrave called him, after having made much such another quotation from his works; though I by no means think these masters unworthy of their correspondent, Lord Barham; yet, I do hope to live to see the day, when the circumstance may be regarded as worth the notice I have taken of it —— With respect to the destination of the combined fleet, it is useless to add to the numerous speculations it has already given rise to; and, the only fact, relating to the fleets, worthy of much attention, at present, is, that we have here an official account of the existence, upon the water, of *fifty* lacking one, of the enemy's line of battle ships! Twenty more we are told are in the ports of France and Spain. Twenty more, at least, in Holland, and the greater part of them ready for sea too; so that we are already furnished with a pretty good comment upon the predictions of Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Pitt, and Lord Castlereagh, who told us that it would be "*many years* before a French fleet would, in war time, *dare put to sea!*" The ministerial newspapers are filled with expressions of apprehension from the movements of the combined fleets; they talk about the ships to come out of Cadiz and Carthegena; and, they tell us about the shelter lately afforded by the ports of Vigo and Ferrol. And yet they seem to forget, that it is the *dollar war*; the Pitt and Melville war; the famous war "of precaution" that has brought to our enemy all the advantages of possessing at this time, the Spanish ports and the Spanish fleet. That was a war, made for the purpose of obtaining popularity in the fleet, and of doing away the effect of the silly catamaran expedition. It was, in fact, like all the other measures coming from the same quarter, a measure for the preservation of place; and thus, for the five hundredth time, is the supple nation smarting under the effects of ministerial love of rule; or, rather, under the effects of its own folly, or baseness, or both together.

Botley, Thursday, }
29th August, 1805. }

SINKING FUND.

SIR, —— As your instructive Register ad-

mits the letters of correspondents, however they may contain opinions different from your own, whenever you think that the publication of them will be likely to elucidate or promote the discussion of important subjects, and as none can be of more importance than the subject of Finance, and as nothing is more necessary than that the public should know how to estimate the *real* benefit which can be derived from the much boasted project of the Sinking Fund, I beg leave to offer my sentiments briefly on that subject, and my opinion of the utmost extent of its utility.——I wish, indeed, that I may have undervalued its importance, at the same time that I shall pay attention to any arguments which may be offered to prove that the project of the Sinking Fund is *wholly* fallacious; but, at present, it does appear to me to be so far useful, that it would serve as an alarm to those persons who dread the approach of a national bankruptcy in the event of the failure of taxes, or the diminution of our commerce; for, in that case, we might still be able to pay our debts by appropriating for that purpose the sum reserved for the payment of the interest of the redeemed debt, that is to say, in case the situation of the country would allow us to lessen our expenditure, or the enemy, with whom we might have to contend, would permit us to enjoy a short-lived security on his own terms. In every other respect the project of appropriating a certain part of our annual resources for the diminution of our national debt, whilst we are raising loans to the amount of double or treble that sum, is perfectly absurd. It serves indeed to mislead many persons who have never taken the trouble to investigate the subject, and whose sole information is derived from the assurances invariably given by every minister at the opening of every budget, and from the congratulations which are then offered on the increasing proportion which the appropriated sum bears to the whole of our debt; but this has always appeared to me a miserable sort of consolation, and a very false mode of estimating our distance from a state of national bankruptcy; for, whenever the sources of taxation are exhausted, or a diminution in our commerce is experienced, that event will as assuredly take place, whether the amount of the appropriated sum be a 70th or 50th part of our debt. Whether that period be near or remote, we certainly ought to accustom ourselves deliberately and calmly to look forward to it, and by no means with that terror with which many persons are apt to consider it; for though it might seriously affect many unfortunate persons who are ignorant of the nature of the security which they at present possess, and might reduce others from a state of extreme wealth to their former state of obscurity, yet all the proprietors of land who are inconsiderable claimants on the funds which constitute the national debt, would materially benefit by it, whilst even those whose income is derived equally from land and public securities, would receive ample satisfaction for the loss of the one by the increased value of the other, as well as by their elevation in the comparative scale of wealth, and by their restoration to their hereditary consequence, from which they have been so long deprived by the inundation of riches which the financial system has created. Indeed, how can we be anxious to continue a system which compels many of our best and most ancient families to transfer their lands to persons they know not whom, and to take in exchange the large, but precarious interest, which may be derived from funded property. I hope, Sir, we may yet both live to see the abandonment of a system which has nearly destroyed the spirit and energies of the country, and with that wish I remain, Sir, your obedient servant, A Norfolk Baronet.—*August 28th*, 1805.

CONTINENTAL CONNEXIONS.

From the Argus, a Paper printed at Paris in the English Language.

The situation of the Continent is more worthy than ever of the attention of politicians. It would be an indiscretion to prejudge the chances which it offers. We must await the result of a business which still presents only uncertainty and obscurity. It is possible that the British government may cause some embarrassment in the relations which subsist between the continental powers, but enlightened and dispassionate people will not fail to perceive, that in these intrigues the benefit of England is more considered than that of Europe. It is impossible to give any reasonable answer to the article from Berlin, which we copied from the Moniteur. It has given a faithful history of what has passed in Europe within the last half century. The question is discussed in it, according to the rules of justice and the true interests of the Continent. The charges of aggrandisement enforced against France are puerile and miserable common place, compared with the enormous increase of power in some other states, proved by the most authentic facts. No doubt it is the interest of England to throw the brands of discord upon the Continent; but it is scarcely credible that she should find allies so impru-

dent, as to risk all the dangers of war, while she alone will have the benefit of it.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

TRIAL OF ANDRE LAA.——*Report of the Commissioners, Member, and Reporter of the Military Commission created by virtue of the Decree of the 19th of July, for the purpose of trying of Andre Laa charged with being a Spy in the pay of England. From the French Official Paper, the Moniteur, of the 29th of July*, 1805.

GENTLEMEN,——By a judgment rendered the 31st of May, which has been read to you, and is in the office; the persons of the names of Dubuc and Rossolin have been declared guilty of being spies for the enemy. It is upon a charge of the same crime, and as an accomplice of Dubuc and Rossolin, that Andre Laa is brought before you. He is also one of those who, after having delivered up the fleet and port of Toulon to the English, has entered into the pay of England as a spy, under the direction of a person of the name of Imbert. Like Rossolin, Andre Laa is particularly attached to Imbert. The pieces which you have heard read, the confessions, and even the first denials, have proved to you, that Andre Laa was sent by the English government to Dubuc to prevail upon the latter to hasten the execution of the project, which was the object of his journey. Espionage evidently formed a part of the mission of Dubuc; the reporter at first suspected that a project more atrocious, more worthy of the English ministry—in a word, that assassination was the principal object of that mission. What the reporter then mentioned only as suspicion, what he discovered but by induction, has since been demonstrated as a certain fact. In the letter of the 14th May, entirely in the hand-writing of Imbert, addressed to Dubuc, but which only arrived subsequent to the sentence of condemnation, you have read this expression, which removes all doubts:—— 'I have requested you to give to him (Laa) the most circumstantial details, on the means which you shall think most proper and most expeditious, for at length striking a blow against the Usurper.'—By this letter, Imbert announced to Dubuc that he had just sent off to him an emissary commissioned to bring him sympathetic inks.——This emissary was designated by the name of Michel. Another letter of the 15th of May, likewise in the hand-writing of Imbert, addressed by him to Dubuc, and which arrived since the sentence, mentioned the arrival of this emissary, by the name of Michel, and described him as being a cook.——Other intelligence at first occasioned a suspicion that the pretended Michel could be no other than the accused Laa. He was instantly recognised at Paris, and at all the places through which he passed on his way from Hamburgh, where one of the letters which had been seized plainly announced that he was to land.——It was discovered that Laa had arrived at Paris the 1st of June, the day following that on which sentence was passed on Dubuc, to whom he was sent, and that he himself carried, according to the address, the letter, an extract of which has been read to you. The reading of a letter from the same Imbert preceded the passing sentence on Dubuc and Rossolin.——Let this contriver of espionage and assassination learn, at last, that the letters and instructions which he gives to his agents are acts of accusation against each of them.——It is known that Laa, having left Paris on the 5th, was pursued and taken before he reached Bourdeaux, on the 10th of June. The accused has undergone many interrogatories, both at Bourdeaux and Paris, which have been read to you. After many denials, contradictions, and falsehoods, the accused has been obliged to acknowledge the following facts: Andre Laa was employed in the fleet at Toulon at the moment of the evacuation of that place by the English; he accompanied them to England, and there remained eleven years. He there received an annual salary of 50l. sterling. The 3d of January, 1804, the accused returned to France by way of Morlaix. He was a spy landed by England on our coasts, where he arrived under the false character of a prisoner of war, in a flag of truce. It was likewise under the same character, and by means of a flag of truce, that Dubuc and Rossolin, his accomplices, were afterwards sent from England to France.——Having arrived in his native country, he procured at Pau, the 20th of February, a passport for Spain, whither Rossolin and another Toulonese refugee had been sent direct by Imbert. ——If we recollect that, at this period, Rossolin and his travelling companion had procured, at Bayonne, a very strong recommendation to the rear-admiral, who then commanded a French division at Ferrol, we cannot but be convinced that, at that very time, Laa, as well as Rossolin, acted in Spain as in France the part of a spy for England. Laa, like Rossolin, was taken on the passage from Bilboa to Corunna; he was carried to England in the month of January, 1805. At this period, Dubuc and Rossolin were at Paris; the English government was desirous of receiving details concerning their operations, and accordingly Imbert dispatched Laa. On his last journey in France, Laa had pro-

cured the passport which accompanies the other papers, under his real name. He thought this would be of service to him; and, while the letters from Imbert to Dubuc, mentioned him by the name of Michel, the cook, he entered France under his real name, after submitting his passport at Hamburgh to the inspection of the minister plenipotentiary of France.——If we were to believe Laa, he never received any commission from Imbert, for Dubuc; he saw no emigrant during his last residence in London; and he is not the person mentioned by the name of Michel, the cook, in the letters of Imbert to Dubuc. But the following facts directly contradict these denials: 1. Laa acknowledges that he left England on the 11th of May; and this date perfectly corresponds to that of the departure of the emissary Michel, announced by Imbert's letter of the 15th May. 2. It was precisely during the four days in which Laa remained at Paris, that the phial of ink, of which Michel was said to be the bearer, was delivered at the very house to which Michel, according to the direction of Imbert, was to carry it. This phial is in the possession of the police. Lastly comes a fact calculated to remove every doubt, it is acknowledged by Laa, that at the time of his first journey (January 3, 1804) he returned to France by Morlaix, under the false character of a prisoner of war in the English vessel, the Friends' Goodwill. Now it has been ascertained in the offices of the marine, that the flag of truce the Friends' Goodwill, landed at Morlaix, on the 3d of January, eighteen prisoners; sixteen of these were known to belong to the suite of the Generals Noguez and Morgan, and were acknowledged by them; the 17th was discovered to be the lieutenant of a privateer. The name of the eighteenth prisoner was Andre Michel, the cook, returning to Bayonne, and Laa has confessed, in his interrogatories, that it was he who was landed by that name, and in the quality of a cook, by this flag of truce; therefore, the same assumed name, the same profession, prove altogether to a demonstration, that Michel, the cook, mentioned by Imbert, who left England on the 11th of May, to carry to Dubuc a phial of ink, letters, and a memoir, to obtain details from him, and to carry back those details to England, is Andre Laa.

Discussion.—The identity thus proved, constitutes the culpability of Andre Laa. And if the sentence which condemned Dubuc and Rossolin, if the instruction which preceded the sentence, the confession of the accused, and the letters seized before and after the sentence, did not completely prove a strongly characterised crime of espionage, it would be sufficient to accuse Andre Laa of being a spy for the enemy; from the confessions he has been obliged to make, from his travels, from the false names he has assumed, and in the method chosen by the English government to land Laa on our coasts: in such an abuse of a flag of truce, will be recognised, independent of any other proof, the mission of espionage given by the English government to Andre Laa.—— Having left Morlaix with a passport, granted under the false name of Michel, Laa arrived in his native country, under that name procures a passport for Spain, and after collecting information relative to the state of all the coast from Morlaix to Corunna, he returns to England to give an account of his mission. In a few months, we once more see him leaving England, and returning to France by way of Hamburgh. These facts alone, I repeat it, independant of every other circumstance, constitute him a spy.——If these facts be added to those stated in the charge delivered before judgment was pronounced against Dubuc and Rossolin, the evidence is complete. By their trial, by the sentence by which it was terminated, it has been proved that Dubuc and Rossolin were spies of England; a letter, posterior to the sentence, demonstrates this day that these two spies were real assassins charged to act over again the part of Georges and Pichegru, and paid, like Georges and Pichegru, by the English government.——It is to these two assassins, that their immediate chief dispatches an emissary, charged to demand intelligence of them, to carry them memorials, and new means of continuing their espionage in security. This emissary is denominated Michel, and it is proved that this Michel is Andre Laa—he arrives at Paris the day following that on which sentence was passed on his accomplices, and is ignorant of their apprehension. He addresses to them the letters and the phial delivered to him for them —the sentence pronounced against them strikes him aghast—he sees all the danger of his situation—he remains at Paris no longer than till he can procure a place in the diligence—he flies, but is soon overtaken. This crime, and his being an accomplice, are proved by facts; and, from his own confessions, I conclude that the accused Laa must be declared guilty of being a spy for the enemy. (Signed) J. B. Borrel.—Here follows the sentence of death, with all the formalities, which are totally uninteresting.

(Signed) Thuillier, Jamin, Delert, Chasseraux, J. B. Borrel, Gouget, H. Charlot.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. VIII. No. 10.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1805. [Price 10d

"They" [the rulers of France] "have publicly asked pardon of God and man, and have done every thing "they can to revert to the ancient established principles of government; and, their measures, in every "point I have been able to view them, have that tendency. It is, therefore, an important consideration, "how far it would be prudent in this country to drive them again to revolutionary measures."——Lord Hawkesbury's Speech, 7th May, 1802.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Continental Coalition.——The motto to the present Number recals the reader's attention to the time when Lord Hawkesbury and his colleagues were engaged in a defence of the public character and conduct of their common patron and prompter, Mr. Pitt. A motion had been made for censuring him, at least, by implication; whereupon that most important personage, Lord Belgrave, moved the *thanks* of the House of Commons to him for his conduct during his long administration, and particularly during the late war with France, which, his lordship stated, had been just then most happily and gloriously concluded, and all by means of the great wisdom, *integrity*, and *disinterestedness* of his Right Honourable Friend. To show the impropriety of this motion, Mr. Grey and others, entered into an examination of the then state of things, compared with that which Mr. Pitt had constantly promised the nation he would produce, before he made peace with France; and, amongst other things, it was observed, that the House of Bourbon was banished from France, and that the French government was, in its principle, still such as it had been during the whole time that Mr. Pitt had been at war against it. This drew from Lord Hawkesbury an assertion, that to restore the House of Bourbon *had never been a principal object of the war*; and, after an intervening sentence or two of verbosity, he came to the passage which has been now selected for a motto, and which it is certainly worth while to compare with the doctrine now held forth by the ministerial prints, particularly the Sun, relative to a war against the person of Buonaparté; or, in other words, a war for the purpose of effecting a counter-revolution in France.——When the reader has referred to the debate here spoken of, and has taken time to reflect on the declarations made by Mr. Pitt and his place-fillers at the time of the peace, his attention is requested to an article from the Sun of the 31st ultimo, which he will perceive to be a continuation of those that were noticed in the preceding sheet, p. 340, and the object of the whole of which articles he will find very little difficulty in discovering. "Ac- "cording to reports *in the diplomatic circles* "*on the Continent* that are not influenced "by a dread of France, the preparations "now making, not against that *country*, "but against *its vile Usurper*, and the great "disturber of mankind, are of the most for- "midable description, and such as may well "appal the tyrant, and make him tremble "at the consequences. These reports state, "that three hundred and fifty thousand "Austrians, two hundred and fifty thousand "Russians, and forty thousand Swedes, are "ready to commence operations. Of these "armies, it is said, that one hundred thou- "sand Austrians, and an equal number of "Russians, are to be employed on the "Rhine; two hundred thousand Austrians, "and sixty thousand Russians in Italy and "Switzerland. The forty thousand Swedes "and an equal number of Russians are said "to be destined to re-take Hanover; and, "according to the same reports, *a British* "*army* will at the same time make *an at-* "*tack on Holland*, where they are not likely "to have any but French to oppose them, "as the Dutch have suffered too much un- "der their oppressors to be likely to assist "in their cause, and, in fact, to oppose "their own deliverance. If we were to "credit other continental rumours, which "are indeed strongly prevalent, we should "be induced to think that even the Turks "are to co-operate in the grand attempt to "rescue Europe from the gripe of an am- "bitious Usurper, who seems desirous to "monopolize the government of all states, "and who has therefore made it a common "cause with all states to attempt *his de-* "*struction*. A part of the grand plan now "in agitation is, it is understood, to invade "Spain in different points, in order to in- "duce the Spanish Monarch to declare him- "self against the Corsican yoke, which he "is said to be very willing to do. In the "midst of all these reports, it is natural to "find some accounts of intended move- "ments in favour of the unfortunate House "of Bourbon; and it is accordingly said,

" that a large body of Russians and other " troops are to attempt some vulnerable " part of France, headed by a Bourbon " Prince, in the name of Louis XVIII. the " rightful King of France, the ally of Eng- " land, Russia, Austria, Sweden, and Tur- " key, against the Usurper of his throne and " the oppressor of his subjects. His most " Christian Majesty, it is also confidently " said, is to be furnished with the means of " raising a formidable army, and that he is " to issue a proclamation to inform his sub- " jects that their deliverance approaches, if " they are willing to be rescued from dis- " grace, misery, and despotism."——How- ever wild this is, and however contemptible the vehicle, through which it is conveyed to the public, it is well worthy of our attention, seeing that it certainly comes from those, to whose hands, unfortunately for us, the ma- nagement of our affairs is committed. The public do not know, but, upon occasions like this, they ought to be informed, that the os- tensible proprietor, or conductor, of the SUN newspaper never thinks of inserting an arti- cle upon a subject of this kind, unless he re- ceives it from the Treasury, whither he goes *for orders*, as regularly as a letter-carrier goes to the Post-Office. This is no exagge- ration at all. It is a plain statement of a fact well-known to every person in London connected with the press. By way of cen- suring this intercourse the fact is not men- tioned here; but, for the purpose of the bet- ter enabling the reader to judge of the pro- bable views of the " heaven-born" minister and his colleagues. It must, however, not be concluded, that a plan of warfare, such as is described in the SUN, is the plan *fixed* on by Mr. Pitt; for, he has fixed on nothing, and he will fix on nothing. The articles in his prints ought, rather, to be regarded as mere suggestions, thrown out for the purpose of *feeling the pulse* of the nation; for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge as to what course will be most likely to be popular, or the least likely to excite great unpopula- rity, and to expose *the place* of the minister to danger. Seeing, however, that a plan, such as is suggested by the SUN, has in it something specific, at least, and, for that reason, by no means likely to be selected by Mr. Pitt, it is probable, that he finds himself likely to be *forced* into it, by the will of some one of the parties to the alliance, either abroad or at home. If so, the efforts of his writers are quite natural; though, it must, one would think, appear pretty evident to him, that those efforts will fail of success. It has before been shown, that, to all appear- ance, the quarrel between Alexander and Napoleon has partly arisen from the latter having assumed the *title of Emperor*; and, this circumstance renders more probable the conjecture, that Mr. Pitt, with a view of ob- taining allies upon the Continent, and there- by securing a subject upon which to vaunt at the opening of parliament, has been com- pelled to give into the project of a war against the person of Buonaparté. But, af- ter all, would there be any reason for sur- prise, if we should, at last, find, that he him- self had chosen this plan, as likely to afford the means of dividing the opinions, and of course, the votes, of the Opposition? If, however, this be his design, the scheme will certainly fail; for, if he could persuade those of the Burke school, that the case now stands, both as to *right* and to *expediency*, just as it stood in 1794, when we had made no acknowledgments whatever, when there was a well-known division amongst the peo- ple of France, and when there was actually embodied a powerful army of Royalists having exclusive possession of a considerable part of the kingdom: if he could persuade them to this, could he, after the woeful ex- perience they have had of him, possibly per- suade them again to trust the cause in hands like his? When he had, by his manage- ment of the war, reduced the nation to such a state, both of means and of mind, as to make them, with voice almost unanimous, hail as a blessing, the disgraceful, the igno- minious, peace of Amiens; then, indeed, in the defence of that peace, and to gloss over his miserable failure in the war, he said: " there were *times*, during the war, in " which *the government* hoped to be able to " drive France within her ancient limits, " and even to make barriers against her fu- " ture incursions; but, in this *we* were dis- " appointed; it became, then, necessary, " with the change of circumstances, to " change our objects; for, I do not know a " more fatal error, than to look only at one " object, and obstinately to pursue it, when " the hope of accomplishing it no longer re- " mains." And what was this new object? " *indemnity* for the past and *security* for the " future." And this object, he assured us, was obtained. " An *honourable* and *secure* " peace," said he, " has now been obtain- " ed." He told us, that he had destroyed the monster that once threatened our exist- ence; and his " noble friend," Lord Bel- grave, bade us, " now that we had escaped " the dangers of the storm, look back upon " the subsiding waves with emotions of " calm delight and unspeakable satisfac- " tion." . . . . . " Turn your eyes," said he, " on your present happy situation, on

" the vessel of state, having now weathered " the storm, riding in *triumph* and *security* " in her native port; and, then say, whe- " ther some credit is not due to him, who " has steered her uninjured through a sea so " threatening, so awful, and so tempest- " uous." This sublime passage, upon which Mr. Canning's *pilot* was a paraphrase, was admirably accommodated to the times when it was uttered; but, together with the *birth-day celebration*, both have long since become subjects of something very different from admiration. The objects of the war were, however, thus got over for a while; there were not wanting men to assert, that Mr. Pitt had completely obtained the objects which he had always professed to have in view, and this assertion they had the profligate impudence to make, and to repeat, in the face of his recorded declarations and promises. " We are," said he, in his speech of the 7th of June, 1799, " in circumstances " which forbid us to stop short, of an *ade-* " *quate, full,* and *rational security.* The " war may be carried on for *any length* of " time *without the creation of a new debt.* " It is by no means difficult to provide taxes " for *eight years*..... We shall not be sa- " tisfied with *false security.* War, with all " its evils, is better than a peace, in which " there is nothing to be seen but injustice, " dwelling with savage delight, on the " humbled, prostrate condition of some ti- " mid, suppliant people..... The time to " come to the discussion of a peace, can " only be the time when you can look with " confidence to an honourable issue; to such " a peace as shall at once *restore to Europe* " *her settled and balanced constitution of ge-* " *neral polity,* and to every negotiating " power in particular that weight in the " scale of general empire, which has ever " been found the best guarantee and pledge " of local independence and general secu- " rity. Such are *my* sentiments. I com- " mit them to the thinking amongst man- " kind; and, if they have not been poison- " ed by the stream of French sophistry, and " prejudiced by her falsehoods, I am sure " they will approve of the *determination I* " *have avowed,* and, for those *grave* and " *mature* reasons, on which I found it." This, then, was his avowed object in the war. Avowed, too, less than two years before he assisted in the negotiation of the preliminaries of the peace of Amiens, *began on our side,* and with a French Commissary of Prisoners; such was our haste to " restore " to Europe her settled and balanced con- " stitution of general polity!" Was the object, above-described, obtained by the peace of Amiens? Need I ask whether any part of it was obtained? Whether we obtained " an adequate, full, and rational security?" Whether the balance of Europe was restored? Whether we did not leave France, " dwelling with savage delight on the hum- " bled, prostrate condition of some" [nay, some half-dozen] " timid, suppliant na- " tions?" Let it be well remembered, that this declaration, this solemn promise, was made only about one-and-twenty months before the first overture was made to Mr. Otto, which overture led to a peace, which peace was, by all the adherents of Mr. Pitt, justified upon the ground of the " *necessity of* " *husbanding our resources!*" Where, then, shall we look for the truth of that assertion, by which we were led to believe, that " the " war could be carried on for any length of " time without the creation of new debt?" Where, for that of the assurance, that " it " would be by no means difficult to find " taxes for eight years?" And, where for the grounds of *future reliance,* upon the calculations and promises of this minister? We have, in this avowal of Mr. Pitt's a test of his knowledge, his foresight, his wisdom as a statesman, and particularly as a financier. In June, 1799, he tells the besotted nation, that he can continue the war for " *any length* of time *without the creation of* " *new debt.*" Early the next year, 1800, he creates new debt, to the amount of 20 millions sterling (leaving out the parts of a million); early in 1801, he creates more new debt, to the amount of 27 millions sterling; and, in 1802, by way of a winder-up of the war, his place-holder creates more new debt, to the amount of 26 millions; and thus, the war, which might be carried on "for any length of time without the " creation of new debt," causes him to create, in the next three years, new debt amounting to upwards of 73 millions sterling! And, even after this, and the thousands of other glaring proofs of the same sort, you hear his pensioned or place-hunting adherents calling him " the first financier in the world;" or, at least, you *heard* them; for, *now,* it must be confessed that they do, upon that topic, hold their tongues. ——In the calculations, in the professions, in the declarations, in the promises, of such a minister, who can place any confidence? And yet, you shall see, that, if he should adopt something like the course pointed out by the Sun newspaper, and should treat the parliament with a repetition, though in the very same words, of his old professions about " checking the ambition of France," the " deliverance of Europe," " indem-

" nity for the past and security for the " future," and the like, his adherents will affect astonishment at seeing him opposed by those, who, like myself, formerly endeavoured to support him! The influence of this race of politicians is, however, fast drawing to a close. Thanks to the Tenth Report, the lacker is nearly all rubbed off from the " heaven-born" minister and his set, and the real quality of the metal is now perceivable to even the dullest eyes.——I should here have entered upon some further remarks upon the expectations, which appear to be founded upon the discontents, or imaginary discontents, existing against Buonaparté in France; but, just as I had proceeded thus far the Sun of the 3d instant reached me, containing another article upon the same subject, and which article, however unworthy of notice in itself, is, for the reasons before-mentioned, entitled to the serious consideration of the public. Before I insert it, it is necessary to observe, that the letter, to which it professes to be an answer, appeared in the Morning Chronicle of the 2d instant, under the signature of Fabius. Some of the arguments in that letter had been, as the reader will perceive, before advanced in the Political Register; but, if he has the means of coming at the letter itself, he will find the whole of it well worth his perusal.—When I have inserted this new article, I shall offer a few remarks upon the particular point above-mentioned. I must beg leave to press the subject upon the attention of every one, into whose hands this sheet may happen to fall; for, to me it appears evident, that, if we proceed, if we build our hopes upon discontents in France, or, upon being able to stir up discontents in that country, we are fallen never again to rise. And, yet, it will be clearly perceived, that, as far as a judgment can be formed from the language of the ministerial prints, such is the foundation, upon which we are to build. " The " rumoured intention on the part of the allied powers of directing the war personally against the Usurper of France has " drawn forth a long article from a writer " in the chief opposition paper of yesterday, " in which he seems to condemn such a " measure as impolitic and impracticable. " But a due consideration of the subject will " shew that it is both politic and practicable. The French, as a people, have not " provoked the other powers of Europe by " insult or injury. All the insults and injuries which those powers have received " have been the result of Buonaparté's irascible temper and his insatiable ambition. " He has been treated with as the head of " the French people, though it is notorious " that he was chosen by a very few of them, " and that the rest were awed into silence " by the severity of his police or his military force. Instead of conducting himself with grateful moderation for this condescension on the part of other states, he " has intruded upon their territories and " seized them, one after another, upon those " pretexts to which force, artifice, and tyranny always resort. All the forbearance of other states, too strong to fall " within his grasp, has only augmented his " pride and injustice, and he tramples upon " the very people whom he professes to " have rescued from slavery; though they " endure it to a much greater degree than " they ever suffered under the most arbitrary of their rightful Sovereigns. Where " then is the impolicy of appealing to the " people who are thus oppressed, against a " tyrant who drags them into a war which " arose from his own bad passions, and " which those passions threaten to continue " as long as he is permitted to enjoy the " power which he so wickedly abuses?— " But it is asked, in what manner are the " people of France to testify their detestation " of Buonaparté? That they feel a strong " detestation against their tyrant nobody " doubts, and though it would be difficult " to throw off the yoke, while he has so " powerful an army, yet it can hardly be " doubted that the army partakes in a great " degree of the general feeling of Frenchmen, and as they will be the chief sufferers by new wars, resulting from his ambition, they might be ready to aid the expression of the general will, if an appeal " to the people of France against their oppressor seemed to make a strong impression on them. Buonaparté's host of generals would themselves be little inclined " to support the cause of an Upstart who " holds them at such a proud distance, " though he chiefly depends upon them, if " they were once to find the troops beginning to waver, and the general feelings of " Frenchmen averse to their disgraceful " bondage. How far Frenchmen in general might be inclined to return to their allegiance to their rightful Monarch is another question; but after all their disappointments, sufferings, and horrors, on " what could they be expected to look for " repose so securely as in the bosom of legitimate authority? The transfer of property which has taken place since the revolution would be but a subordinate impediment to the return of that authority, " when opposed to the wishes of the great

" majority of the people: and though Buonaparté may be acknowledged to possess " imposing talents, yet they are all of a cratty, selfish, and insidious kind: there is " nothing respectable in his character; he " is feared by all, and beloved by none—he " has not one virtue that stands in the way " of a return to allegiance, in a people who " have suffered too much to be seduced by " any more phantoms of liberty, which have " only deluded them, and exposed them to " one tyrant after another, till their chains " are rivetted by a military Upstart. But " it is said, that if the allied powers should " appeal to the people of France against " him, he may retaliate with dreadful effect. The truth, however, is, that, as " has been justly stated, Buonaparté himself " set an example of such a kind of appeal in " the instance of Sweden, and in his threats " of such an appeal to the people of this " country. So that, in fact, it would be a " just retaliation on him for attempting to " separate people and their lawful Sovereigns. But it is said, that the French " people have been indebted to Buonaparté " for a cessation of a state of things infinitely more horrible than external warfare; yet what has he done? He has only " removed one set of tyrants to place another over them, of which he is the head; " and the people, though relieved from the " horrors of blood by which their streets " were deluged, are held in the most bitter " restraint, and hardly dare express their " sentiments on any subject, lest they should " be supposed to have an oblique relation to " their government. Is this a condition " that renders them so much indebted to " Buonaparté that they must be in love with " the fetters he imposes on them? We " know that Robespierre held at one time " as much power as Buonaparté does now, " yet Tallien had the courage to proclaim " him a tyrant, and his overthrow was soon " effected. But if instead of a miscreant " and a regicide, like Tallien, some honest " military character, who had the confidence of the troops, and who felt like a " true Frenchman, were boldly to step forward, after an appeal from the allied powers, " and to second that appeal to the hearts, " understandings, and national pride of the " French against an odious and foreign Usurper, he and his upstart family might at once " be blown away, like chaff before the " tempest. We are told that Englishmen " are grossly ignorant of both the merits " and defects of Buonaparté's government " in the eyes of Frenchmen. Are we to " suppose that Frenchmen have lost their " understanding with their spirit? Are we " to suppose that they are utterly dead to " all feeling? Do they not know that they " are in the hands of a foreign Usurper and " his band of myrmidons? Do they not " know that France is large enough for all " their wants, and, after so much trouble, " misery, and horrors as they have endured, " can they want to be precipitated into new " wars, and dragged into military conscriptions to support these wars, when they " are the effect of his pride, ambition, and " injustice? Frenchmen, still smarting under the dreadful sufferings which they " have experienced, and kept in awe by " an iron yoke, may be reluctant to make a " movement within, lest it should fail, and " involve them, if possible, in more bitter " slavery; but when they find that all Europe is in arms against their enslaver, and " only wants to assist them in the recovery " of their own rights, it would be to suppose that they are sunk into the most " brutal degeneracy, or the most torpid indifference, if we did not expect them to " rouze at an appeal calculated to restore " them to tranquillity, and a resumption of " those rights which are now trampled under-foot by an usurping despot. We do " not pretend to say that such an appeal is " actually intended, but from every impartial view which can be taken of the " state of France, and the probable feelings " and wishes of Frenchmen, it may be " fairly concluded, that such an appeal " would be attended with consequences " that might indeed " give a new system " to the whole conduct of Europe, and have " the most decisive influence on its future " fortune," by rescuing it from the power " and the threats of an aspiring and restless " individual, and uniting all its states in " peace and amity."——Such are the arguments intended to prove, that a war, directed against the person of Napoleon, is both " politic and practical." The impudent baseness of the Pitt newspapers, in now holding up as an object of abhorrence to Frenchmen the very government, which was, by the same papers, before declared to be the best that the people were capable of enjoying, was pointed out in the preceding sheet, page 343 and 344; but, it is right that the character of these prints should be well known, well established in the world; and, to this end we will now take in contrast the sentiments of the SUN, respecting Buonaparté and his government, in 1802, and in 1805.

1802.

That a love of liberty should lead to gross invectives against France, or its chief magistrate, is greatly to be lamented. Why direct the grossest invectives against him for doing that, which it remains yet to be proved is not an act beneficial to the French nation? Liberty in the hands of those who know not how to enjoy it, can only degenerate into anarchy, and the only remedy for anarchy is the strong arm of power. When the present government of France is compared with the monstrous systems of democratical, or of oligarchical tyranny which have preceded it, the people of France have certainly reason to congratulate themselves on the change.

1805.

Are we to suppose, that the people of France are dead to all feeling? Do they not feel, that they are in the hands of an upstart, foreign usurper, and his band of myrmidons? Do they not groan under the iron rod of his police, unparalelled in severity? And, when they find all Europe in arms against their enslaver, and wants only to assist them in the recovery of their own rights, it would be to suppose them sunk into the most brutal degeneracy, not to expect to join in the efforts to obtain relief.

This puts me in mind of the "Needy Knife Grinder and the Friend of Humanity," which latter, because he cannot rouse in the former a spirit of rebellion, vomits forth against him a string of most abusive appellations, concluding with "base, degenerate, "spiritless outcast." But, the "Friend of Humanity," seditious as he is represented, appears to be disinterested; whereas the print, above quoted, discovers selfishness the most detestable in the persons, under whose influence it is. While Buonaparté seemed inclined to remain at peace with this country; while he appeared inclined to suffer the shopkeepers and the shopkeeper statesmen to enjoy repose; to gormandize, to booze, and to cram their chests, he was a very good sort of a man; his portrait was exhibited from their windows, in the attitude of embracing their Sovereign; the flags of France and of England were entwined, and, when seen waving from the balloon of Garnerin, drew forth the plaudits of the gazing cockneys. Then Buonaparté's government was as good an one as the French people could bear; "liberty, in the hands of those "*who knew not how to enjoy it*," was an evil; and, it was laid down as an undeniable truth, that, on the change introduced by Buonaparté, the "people of France had reason to *congratulate themselves*." Now:—but, there is no need of repeating what is *now* said; and, we have only to ask ourselves, whether it [illegible] that the people of Fran[illegible] persons having influence with them [illegible] by professions of a desire, on the part of the Pitts and their like, to restore them to a state of freedom? Can we believe, that the French are such brutes as not to perceive the cause of this change of sentiment, or, at least, of language, in the present fees of Buonaparté? "When they find all Europe in arms against "their enslaver, and wants only to assist "them in the recovery of their own rights." Excessive kind! the French will exclaim; but, how came you to acknowledge, to sanction, to establish, the sway of this our "enslaver?" How came you, the Pitts and Addingtons, to receive colonies at his hands, and to hold those colonies as part of the British dominions? How came you to enter into a solemn treaty with him, promising strictly to observe all the obligations of peace and *amity*, and going out of the usual course of such compacts, for the purpose of making a provision for the surrender of all those, who might escape to England or her dependencies after having committed acts of violence against his life? How came you to bring to trial, and to convict, as of a great crime, a French royalist, whom you charged with endeavouring to instigate us to acts of violence and rebellion against this our "enslaver;" this "upstart," this "foreign usurper," this "gloomy despot," as you now call him? Is it not upon the records of your offices of state; of your parliament; of your courts of justice; that Buonaparté, even previous to our electing him as our Emperor and settling the crown on his family, was our lawful ruler? And, is it for you *now* to call upon us; now that you find him dangerous to yourselves, and are in terror of your lives at his name; is it for *you*, and after such a length of time, and such a series of events, to call upon us to rise against him and to take his life; and this, too, under the pretext, that you "want only "to assist us in the recovery of our own "rights?"——Is there a man so infatuated as not to perceive, that these will be the questions, which all France will put, in answer to any invitation that shall be given them to rebel against Napoleon? The case is so plain; it is so evident, that the object is to make mere tools of the people of France in pulling down Buonaparté, and thereby relieving the instigators from the dread they have of him, that the man who expects to deceive them must himself be little short of an ideot. The people of France well know, that Napoleon has augmented their territory and their power; they well know, that all Europe, and particularly the nation they most wish to overcome, trembles at his name. And, is there any one, but a stupid,

hoodwinked Pittite, who can imagine that the people of France will be induced to hate Buonaparté for this? This point has been ably treated by the writer in the Morning Chronicle; and, as the reader will have perceived, nothing has been advanced in answer to him. The SUN has, indeed, once observed, that, as to objects of ambition, there is no *common feeling* between the people of France and Buonaparté; but, is not such a position directly in the teeth of reason? Does not every Frenchman feel, that he has an interest, a share, in all the achievements of Buonaparté? Can this man do any thing without the people of France? Is not a love of domination the passion known to be uppermost in every Frenchman's breast? And will the French, then, be induced to kill, or to cashier him, merely because they are persuaded that he is upon the eve of making them the masters of the world? Will they be induced to put him down, and to put an end to their own favourite career, in order that the inhabitants of London may carry on their commerce in peace and safety, and may thereby be enabled to out-shine the inhabitants of Paris?——But, we are reminded of the severity of the government of Buonaparté, and of the unbearable rapacity of his upstart underlings. As to the severity of his government, the observations in the SUN of 1802 may serve as a tolerably good answer; but, we may add thereunto, that with respect to *the fact*, when have we heard of any instance of the severity here imagined? That his government is despotic; that it is a rigid despotism; that it permits nothing worthy of the name of liberty, civil or political, we well know; but is this any *new* thing to the people of France? Have they, in reality, ever shown, that they set any value upon liberty, or that they had any clear notion of its nature? Voltaire has said of them, that they must have *a master*; "a master," says he, "good or bad they must and *will* have." He knew them very well; and, if we proceed upon the opinion of their disposition having undergone a change, we shall find ourselves woefully mistaken.——With respect to "the rapacity of the upstart underlings of Buonaparté," we can easily conceive, that it is great enough; but, we must not, therefore, conclude that it is "unbearable." He may, for aught I know to the contrary, have collected from amongst the most base, amongst the very scum of Frenchmen, persons to load with emoluments and with titles; he may have introduced scores of such reptiles into the legislative bodies, and into the councils of state; he may, as it were on purpose to degrade the idea of nobility and gentry, have taken footmen, butlers, petty clerks, apothecaries' apprentices, shopkeepers, and money-lenders, and set them up as the law-givers and rulers of the people; he may, in order to gratify the rapacity of these his creatures, and, in order to obtain the means of silencing others by pensions or gifts or loans or jobs or contracts or by any other of the methods in which corruption is administered, have, for aught I know, ground the people down by a system of taxation, that ransacks the houses, the purses, the very hearts and minds of the people, and that, in fact, leaves no man any thing that he can, with propriety, call his own; as the natural consequence of such measures, he may have augmented, many-fold, the paupers of unhappy France; may have rendered all the poor the working slaves of the rich, and all the rich his stewards, his collecters, his degraded though glittering dependents; and may thus, under the name of liberty, have introduced a system of slavery, which, politically considered, yields to none that the world ever witnessed. All these things he may have done, and, if he have, I allow, that he merits universal execration; but, as to the *effect* of these things *upon the minds of the people*, let the reader reflect a little, and then say, whether he thinks that they are absolutely "*unbearable*;" whether he thinks, that it follows, of course, that the people will feel and express a suitable degree of indignation against the author of them; whether he thinks, that it requires merely to hold up a finger to excite them to open rebellion against such a ruler; or whether he thinks, that, when corruption has once become prevalent in a country, every fresh exercise of it gives to the ruler power more than proportioned to the discontent which it excites amongst the people; and, if he should be, as I think he must, of this latter opinion, he will, of course, derive very little hope from the discontents excited in France, by the rapacity of Buonaparté's upstart underlings, and the consequent oppression exercised by their chief.——Should, however, the dispositions of the people of France, be, in this respect, different from what reason teaches us to expect, still, as was observed about a year ago, how would the instigators against Buonaparté, or, in other words, the instigators to a *counter-revolution*, now overcome the effect of the transfer of honours, of offices, and of property? "The "*transfer of property*," says the writer above quoted, "would be but a *subordinate*

" impediment to the return of the Bour-
" bons." This is an instance, a striking instance of that shallowness, which invariably marks the writings and speeches of the Pitt school. Do they consider? Is it possible, that they can have considered? that they can ever, for only one minute, have thought upon the nature and extent of the transfer here spoken of, and which includes all the peculiar rights of the nobility and the clergy, besides no small portion of the real estates of the country? Suppose (for there is nothing like bringing the question close to our own bosoms) suppose, that, by any change of system in England, the *game laws*, the *tithes*, and all the *manorial* rights (exercised here in a very limited degree compared to the exercise of them in France) were to be abolished; suppose every man thus to become possessed of the right of hunting and shooting; every land-owner to acquire an addition of ten per cent. in the value of his land, and every tenant, having a lease, to be freed from so much of charge upon his land; every copy-holder to be freed from the charge of fines, heriots, and the like, and, in short, suppose every copy-holder and every trespassing cottager to become, at once, a freeholder. Suppose such an event were to take place in England; will any man say, that the transfer even of this much of property would form a "*subor-*
" *dinate impediment*" to the return of the former state of things? A wise politician would see in the re-transfer nothing ultimately injurious even to the parties possessing the species of property here spoken of; but, men in general do not extend their enquiries so far; and, it would be wonderful indeed, if, after the lapse of fifteen years, all such possessors were not hostile to the return of the authority, under which they had before lived. But, besides what we have been speaking of, the real property of France, to the amount of more than one-third part, has changed masters; and is now held by the same tenure, considered with respect to the Bourbons, that Napoleon holds the sceptre. A manifesto in favour of the Bourbons would, in fact, be a manifesto against them; and, though there *was a time*, when such a step might, and, in all human probability, would, have been attended with success; is there any one who can hope, that that time is not passed? Since the peace of Amiens, and *in consequence* of that peace, too, a *new Gallican Church*, has been erected, and has now received all the strength that every thing but time can communicate to it. The *new nobility* is not a very solid fabric; but it consists of ambitious, active, and daring men, who value their pre-eminence not the less for having once been amongst the lowest of mankind; and, in the numerous legion of whom there is, perhaps, not one who would be ready to say, with an effeminate, luxurious, and degenerate wretch, whom we have all heard of, that he " would rather be a *young chimney-*
" *sweeper* than an *old Duke*." Aware of the constant endeavours of the adherents of the Treasury, to ascribe all the opinions of their opponents merely to a desire of thwarting the views of the ministry, I shall here repeat what I was led (in some remarks upon the pretended plot at Warsaw) to say upon this subject, about a year ago;* " The
" truth is, I fear, Napoleon is firmly fixed
" in his throne, if not in the hearts of the
" French nation, whose ruling passion is a
" love of the glory of France, and in the
" indulgence of which passion they are
" abundantly gratified by their present ru-
" ler. They love splendour too, and splen-
" dour he seems determined to give them.
" If there be another thing which they re-
" quired to keep them in constant good hu-
" mour, it is the prospect of invading,
" ruining, and subduing this country; that
" to he has given them. Buonaparté is no
" longer the adventurer he was previous to
" Mr. Addington's peace: he has, since
" that time, settled the affairs of the church;
" he has erected a legion of honour, which,
" however it may be laughed at, will yield
" him a support that few monarchs can ex-
" pect from their nobles. He who has with
" him the church, the aristocracy, and the
" army, has very little to fear from what
" man can do unto him; how firmly, then,
" must he be fixed, when it is well known
" that all these must live or perish with
" himself? when all men in power and place,
" and when no small portion of the holders
" of real property, know that their rank and
" influence and possessions are held by the
" same tenure that Napoleon wears the im-
" perial crown?——For these reasons I am
" inclined to think, that the French govern-
" ment never employed any body to poison
" Louis XVIII., being perfectly indifferent
" as to the life or death of that monarch,
" having but too certain an assurance, that
" his cause would never be manfully and
" efficiently espoused by the great powers
" of Europe, and reposing a perfect confi-
" dence in the effect of that change which
" the last sixteen years have produced in
" the minds of the people of France. In

* Register, Vol. VI. p. 130.

" speaking of the sentiments of the French " people, and particularly of their attach- " ment to the family of Bourbon, we but " too often overlook this important circum- " stance. Those who are now thirty years " of age, where only fourteen when the " French revolution began, and when no- " tions hostile to the Bourbons began to be " generally imbibed; and, we have only to " look at a regiment of soldiers to be con- " vinced, that it is upon men of five or six " years on each side of thirty, that, in mili- " tary countries especially, the fate of go- " vernment must generally depend. As " towards their rulers, the present active " population of France presents a new race " of men; and it must be evident, that every " year will weaken those feelings from " which one might hope to derive some aid " in the restoration of the royal family, " and which, in the early part of the last war " might have been turned to such glorious " account."—These reasons are now stronger, much stronger, than they were a year ago. They are, indeed, so convincing, that it is truly surprising to find persons still entertaining a hope of being able to overset Buonaparté by the means of a counter-revolution! The partiality for such a scheme arises, as I have frequently had to observe, from the effeminacy of the times, from that disinclination to real warlike exertions, which disinclination is naturally engendered in a state absorbed in commerce; and, the readers of the Register will, I am sure, do me the justice to say, that to remove this disinclination, and to produce a conviction, that we had nothing to hope for but from our own exertions, and particularly that we had nothing to hope for from discontents in France, has been my constant endeavour. So long ago, as November, 1802, in alluding to the reports then circulated in the London newspapers, respecting the unpopularity of Buonaparté, the following remarks were made, and I now repeat them, not so much in proof of my own consistency, as with a hope that my words may now meet with a more favourable hearing, and make a stronger impression than they did then. " Buonaparté has returned to Paris, safe and " sound, in spite of the prayers and predic- " tions of the timid herd, who were in hopes " of losing their fears in his loss of life. " There are none but the basest of cowards, " who look to the death of this man as a " deliverance from danger. Yet, disgrace- " ful as is the fact, the hopes of no small " portion of the advocates of peace have no " better, no more honourable, foundation. " Those who, like ourselves, were opposed " to a disgraceful peace with Buonaparté, do " not, nor ever did, entertain any such fool- " ish hope; we know that if he were dead " to-morrow, another, perhaps even more " dangerous, would arise to fill his place: " we are for the employment of no base " means of offence or of defence, but are for " a fair and honourable contest between the " two nations, in which, with God's good " help, we should hope to come off victo- " rious, and to rescue our country from im- " pending ruin and slavery.—The Consul " has been received at the several places " which he visited on his tour, with every " demonstration of joy; precisely such as " we could wish to see accompany the steps " of our gracious Sovereign.—People may " say what they please about the hypocrisy " of this joy; we, for our part think it per- " fectly sincere, and, what is more, we see " no reason why it should not be so. We " have nothing to say against those meek " and unambitious persons, who sicken at " the sound of military fame and national " conquests; but, we must confess, that, " for our parts, we should not like a leader " the worse, for having extended our sway " over one half of Europe, added ten mil- " lions to our population, and humbled our " rival in the dust.—No, no; such a man " may be hated by the Addingtons and " Hawkesburies, and by all those who dread " the increase of his power, but not by the " people of France, not by those, the ad- " vancement of whose glory (which is in- " separable from its own) is the only object " of his life." *—In p. 717 of the same volume, it was observed: " It is your bawlers " for peace and plenty, upon any terms; " your philanthropic haters of all war; your " men who would rather be " kicked a lit- " tle than fight much;" these are the men " (if, indeed, they are worthy of the name), " who would gladly contribute half-a-crown " a piece to purchase the death of the Con- " sul; not because he is the enemy of their " Sovereign and of the glory and indepen- " dence of their country, but because his " restless and ambitious mind may conceive " such projects as will deprive them of their " wealth or compel them to defend it. The " very same motives of selfishness and " cowardice, which led them to embrace " Buonaparté with open arms, would also " lead them, if they could do it with the " certitude of impunity, to slip a dagger into " his side." Such I saw them; such I saw the shop-keeping herd long before this war began; and, whether I saw them in

* Register, Vol. II. p. 665.

their true light the reader will, from their subsequent conduct, be able pretty correctly to judge. They hate Buonaparté because he will make them fight for their liberty, or will have them for his slaves. This I have told Sir Balaam twenty times over; and, I have told him besides, what he and his race will find most true, that the age of commerce, of corruption, of effeminacy, of luxury, and of cowardice, are passing away; and that the military age is again coming. It has, indeed, actually begun. I repeat, that the soldier is abroad, and that he *will* have his share of the good things that the world affords. Sir Balaam may cry; but neither crying nor *subscribing* will long save him. Our choice is a very simple one; very clearly marked out: either we become a military people, or we become the slaves of France. Not a *volunteering people*; not a set of reeling shop-keepers making a shew of arms under such commanders as Colonel Pitt, Colonel Canning, and Colonel Huskisson; but a people really military; and, to become such we must at once resolve, in spite of the tears and howlings of Sir Balaam, to transfer to camps that vast portion of the produce of the land and the labour of the nation, which is now swallowed up by the slothful though crafty drones of the 'Change. This is where we ought to *begin*; for, until we have well begun here, all our alliances and plots are useless, and never will bring us so much as one hour of tranquillity.——[The other topics intended for the present sheet must be deferred till the next. I cannot, however, refrain from making use of this last line of room to request the reader's attention to a SECOND LETTER of FABIUS, which will be found in the Morning Chronicle of the 4th instant, upon the subject above treated of. It is an admirable performance; and I greatly regret, that my arrangements for this week do not leave me room for its insertion.]

Botley, Thursday, }
29th August, 1805. }

BOXING.

[The following extract is taken from a work recently published, entitled, "On the Use and Abuse "of Popular Sports and Exercises, resembling those "of the Greeks and Romans, as a national Object." "By S. A. BRADSLEY, M. D. Vice-President of the "Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society." ——Having, as the readers of the Political Register will have observed, lately made some remarks upon the subject of BOXING, I am induced to insert this extract in the hope of its tending greatly to strengthen whatever degree of effect my arguments may have been so fortunate as to produce. Those who have not read the remarks, to which I refer, will find them in p. 193, and the following, of the present volume. Mr. Bradsley's *facts* are valuable. I should like to hear what can be urged against us. Is there no son of cant; no worshipful member of the Vice Society; no modern HUDIBRAS; no

"——Tail of worship that doth grow
"On rump of justice, as on cow;"

is there no such hero to encounter us?——Mr. B. does not seem to approve of *prize-fighting*; but, of that hereafter.]

It is not compatible with the limits of this essay to notice the variety of bodily exercises and active sports to which the people of England are generally addicted. But there is one kind of personal contest, to the consideration of which the remaining part of these remarks will be chiefly devoted, as it has been the source of obloquy and reprobation among foreigners, to the national character. The public exhibition of boxing, and the practice of the same art in deciding private and personal quarrels, are here alluded to. ——Is not the art of boxing, by which instantaneous insult may be avenged, or personal injury averted, less dangerous than any other practice adopted by the inhabitants of the continent on similar occasions and for similar purposes?—The question is an important one; and the following facts and observations may serve, perhaps, to apologize for, if they cannot justify, a custom so interwoven with our national manners and character.——So long as man is subject to the imperfection of his nature, he must be compelled to acquire the art of self-defence, as well as that of annoyance to others. Our experience of his conduct and character, teaches us the impossibility of extinguishing the passions of pride and resentment, which, although they frequently involve him in misery, are still the sources of some of his noblest qualities and attributes. As some portion of evil will attach to the best and wisest system of moral or civil restraint; that policy is, perhaps, the wisest, which legislates for man as he is, not altogether as he ought to be. Suffer the passions to reign uncontroled, and you dissolve the bonds of society: stifle the active energies of a resolute independent spirit, and you degrade the man into a passive slave. The feeling of resentment for unprovoked injury and insult is a salutary, if not instinctive provision of our common nature. It may be asked—"Is man then to be the judge and avenger of his own wrongs? Is not every offence against the person of a citizen a breach of the laws of society? And should it not be

punished as such?"——Certainly:—But if, in the best regulated states, it be found impracticable to prevent man from frequently asserting a claim to the vindication of his own real or supposed wrongs, it then becomes a question of expediency as to the most preferable mode by which he may be enabled to obtain this end. Boxing may not unjustly be considered as the most eligible means of offence and defence. It is properly ranked among those athletic exercises, which, at the same time that they impart address and strength to the body, inspire courage and fortitude in the mind. It may indeed lead bad hearts and bad heads into acts of presumption and petty tyranny; but this propensity to an improper exertion of skill and courage would be checked, in proportion as men were more equally possessed of the means of defence or aggression. They would learn to respect the skill and bravery of each other, and consequently be less prone to undue resentment and quarrels. The government that would attempt, with a despotic and severe authority, to control the exertions of self-confidence, and a moderate exercise of just resentment, could only expect to rule over a nation of timid and revengeful slaves. The open and ingenuous expression of manly indignation might be repressed; but the rancorous feelings of malignant revenge would be fostered and encouraged. But no state can, with any prospect of success, attempt such an absolute dominion over the passions of men. And if it did, "it must (according to the observation of a spirited author) in order to act consistently, prohibit the use of knives, hatchets, and even pokers; for any of these, upon a sudden emergency, might impart a fearful power to the enraged and the feeble."——If we consider the practice of other countries, where boxing is unknown, we shall find, that the modes of resenting injuries, resorted to by the common people, are full of danger and ferocity. In * Italy, the stiletto is not only the weapon of the hired assassin, but is also kept ready in the bosom of the respectable citizen, to be plunged into the heart of his friend or neighbour, upon any sudden provocation from anger, or motive of revenge.——When the passions are under greater restraint, from the influence of laws, of climate, and of custom, such dreadful consequences do not ensue from the quarrels of the populace.* Yet even in France, and most parts of Germany, the quarrels of the people are determined by a brutal appeal to force, directed in any manner, however perilous, to the annoyance or destruction of an adversary. Sticks, stones, and every dangerous kind of weapon, are resorted to for the gratification of passion or revenge. But the most common and savage method of settling quarrels upon the continent is the adoption of the Pancratium. The parties close, and struggle to throw each other down; at the same time the teeth and nails are not unemployed. In short, they tear † each other like wild beasts, and never desist from the conflict till their strength is completely exhausted; and thus, regardless of any established laws of honour which teach forbearance to a prostrate foe, their cruelty is only terminated by their inability to inflict more mischief. And yet superficial observers, and especially all foreigners who have written concerning our customs and manners, loudly brand the English character with savage rudeness and brutality, because they have seen men terminate their quarrels by an appeal to boxing; in which the parties are not permitted to take an unfair advantage of each other, but when one is disposed to yield, the combat immediately closes, and the conqueror and the vanquished

* In an authentic publication of the life of the late Pope, it is affirmed, that upwards of 1000 persons annually fall victims in Rome to the stiletto; either by the hands of the hired assassin, or in private quarrels. Dr. Moore reckons the number of murders in Naples, by the dagger, at not less than 400 annually.

* The mode of fighting in Holland, among the seamen and others, is well known by the appellation of Snicker-Snee. In this contest sharp knives are used; and the parties frequently maim, and sometimes, destroy each other. The government deems it necessary to tolerate this savage practice. Certain fines are imposed if wounds be inflicted on dangerous parts of the body; but a very trifling, and indeed seldom any punishment ensues, provided the general rules of the combat have been adhered to.

† In Virginia and the other southern states of America, the most savage acts of barbarity are committed, in the quarrels of the people. Gouching; or thrusting out the eye from the socket, is one of the means resorted to upon almost every personal dispute. An intelligent traveller, Mr. Weld, declares, that at Richmond in Virginia, it was nothing uncommon to meet with persons deprived of one or both eyes from this horrid practice.—He mentions another mode to disable an antagonist, so detestably barbarous, as to excite incredulity, if the account had not been corroborated by other writers.

are often seen to give and receive a hearty shake of the hand, in token of mutual goodwill and forgiveness. In no instance does the manly, spirited, and generous character of Britons, rise to a higher pitch, than in this alacrity almost universally shewn by the most ignorant and lowest order of the people, to terminate their personal contests, in a kindly and honourable manner. The mind indeed is thus relieved at once from the brooding mischief of malice and revenge. For, when the idea of self-consequence has been maintained, in courageously supporting the contest, man is better satisfied with himself and others, and consequently more likely to dismiss his ill-will and resentments. In order to foster manly fortitude and vigour, and to prevent the mischiefs arising from the irregular and brutal exertions of strength and ferocity, would it not be advisable to encourage the art of boxing with mufflers, as a subordinate branch of the gymnastic exercises?——It is a singular though striking fact, that in those parts of the kingdom where the generous and manly system of pugilism is least practised, and where, for the most part, all personal disputes are decided by the exertion of savage strength and ferocity, a fondness for barbarous and bloody sports is found to prevail. In some parts of Lancashire bull-baiting and man-slaying are common practices. The knowledge of pugilism *as an art* is, in these places, neither understood nor practised. There is no established rule of honour to save the weak from the strong, but every man's life is at the mercy of his successful antagonist. The object of each combatant in these disgraceful contests, is, to throw each other prostrate on the ground, and then with hands and feet, teeth and nails, to inflict, at random, every possible degree of injury and * torment. This is not an exaggerated statement of the barbarism still prevailing in many parts of this kingdom. The county assizes for Lancashire afford too many convincing proofs of the *increasing mischiefs arising* from these savage and disgraceful combats.——The judges, on these occasions, have frequently declared in the most solemn and impressive charges to the grand jury, that the number of persons indicted for murder, or manslaughter, in consequence of the bestial mode of fighting practised in this county, far exceeded that of the whole northern † circuit; and that, in future, they were determined to punish with the utmost rigour of the law, offenders of this description. But, alas! these just denunciations *have little availed.* Is it not then highly probable, that the evil which the severity of the law has been unable to correct, might be gradually and effectually abolished, or at least greatly mitigated, by the encouragement of a more manly, and less dangerous mode of terminating the quarrels of the populace? In the southern parts of this kingdom very rarely (and then chiefly in pitched battles for gain) is there any danger to life or limb from the practice of fair boxing. If then in the public schools and large manufactories of Lancashire, where immense numbers of boys are under the entire control of their masters and employers, some pains were taken to introduce the manly system of boxing, and the laws of honour, by which it is regulated, there can scarcely be room to doubt, but that the life of man would be more respected, barbarous propensities subdued, and the present character of the country rescued from the stigma of savage rudeness. It has been asserted, by those qualified to judge, that since the late diffusion of the knowledge of the pugilistic art by itinerant practitioners among the northern inhabitants of this kingdom, the mere exertions of brutal strength and ferocity have somewhat fallen into disuse, both as exercises of pastime, as well as means of offence and defence. In order, therefore, to abolish all traces of the savage mode of con-

* A disgusting instance of this ferocious mode of deciding quarrels, was not long since brought forward at the Manchester sessions. It appeared in evidence, that two persons, upon some trifling dispute, at a public house, agreed to lock themselves up in a room with the landlord and "fight it out" according to the Bolton method. This contest lasted a long time, and was only terminated by the loss of the greatest part of the nose and a part of an ear, belonging to one of the parties, which were actually bitten off by the other, during the fight. The sufferer exhibited at the trial, part of the ear so torn off; and when asked by the counsel, what had become of that part of his nose which was missing—he replied—with perfect naiveté.—"That he believed his antagonist had swallowed it!!" It has happened to the writer of these remarks to witness, in more than one instance, the picking up in the streets, lacerated portions of ears and fingers, after these detestable and savage broils. Surely either our laws or manners might interfere in suppressing such deeds of savage barbarity!

† At one assizes, no less than nine persons were convicted of manslaughter, originating from these disgraceful encounters.

test which has been so fully described, would it not be adviseable to hold forth *prizes* at *wakes* and public amusements, (where the populace assemble chiefly for the purpose of diversion and pastime) for the encouragement of those, who excelled in *sparring with mufflers?* This trial of skill, force, and agility (which was at first the practice of the antients) would contribute, under due regulations, to invigorate the body and animate the courage; and effectually abolish the present dangerous and inhuman method of deciding personal contests.

AUSTRIA AND FRANCE.

[The following article has been circulated on the Continent, as comprehending the principal complaints alleged by the Court of Vienna against the government of France.] —The occupation of Hanover, of the Papal States, and of the Kingdom of Naples, as well as the Helvetian Republic, contrary to the treaties of Ratisbon and Luneville; the incorporation of Piedmont with the French Empire; the invasion of the German Empire by the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien on the territory of the Elector of Baden; the seizure of several islands on the Rhine, which, according to the Treaty of Ratisbon, belonged to the German Empire; the demand, or rather threat, to occupy all the sea ports in Dalmatia, and in the *ci-devant* Venetian States, during the present war; the demand or menace to occupy the capital of the Kingdom of Naples, all its forts and seaports; the occupation of all the sea-ports of the Kingdom of Etruria; the incorporation of Parma and Placenza with France, contrary to the secret articles of the treaty of Luneville; the imperious demands to the Courts of Vienna and Naples to exclude all British and Russian ships from their respective harbours; the late imperious demand to occupy the sea-ports in the Island of Sicily; the creation of a new kingdom in Italy, contrary to the secret articles of the treaty of Luneville; the incorporation of Genoa with the French Empire, contrary to the secret articles of the treaty of Luneville; the evasive and insolent answer given to the representations of Count Cobentzel, Ambassador from the Emperor of Germany; and the insulting language held by the Chief of the French government to all the representations of his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

NAVAL ACTION.——*Letter from Vice-Admiral Villeneuve to the Minister of Marine and Colonies, dated on board the Bucentaure, in the Road of Vigo, July 29, 1805.*

MONSEIGNEUR,——I gave you an account of the rencontre I had on the 22d, with an English squadron composed, as I believe, of 15 sail of the line. I had the honour of informing you at the same time of the manœuvres I practised to retain the advantage of the wind, and to disconcert the project of the enemy for placing my rear between two fires. The fog, with which we were enveloped during the action, prevented me from giving such orders as might be necessary; but after an action of three hours, I had every reason to think that I had the advantage of the action, when upon the fog clearing up, I missed two of the Spanish ships. I at first flattered myself that they had got into some Spanish port, but as I have not since heard of them, and as one of them was dismasted, I think it possible they may have fallen into the power of the enemy. It was in vain that on the 23d and 24th, I endeavoured to force the English admiral to renew the action; he constantly avoided it. On the 26th, having lost sight of him, I steered for Ferrol, to unite under my flag his Catholic Majesty's squadron, commanded by Lieut. General Grandileana. For two days I contended against a fresh N. E. wind and a heavy sea, which impeded my course so much that I determined to anchor in Vigo, in order to disembark the wounded, and some of the soldiers who were ill; and also to take in water, which the Achilles and the Algesiras in particular stood in need of, not having remained long enough in the Antilles to take any in. In the action of the 22d, we engaged at a considerable distance, and I send you a list of the killed and wounded, which is very inconsiderable. Your excellency may be assured that I shall remain but a short time in this road, and that as soon as I have taken in water, I shall go in search of the English squadron, without, however, neglecting the mission with which I am charged. As the English admiral who engaged me has certainly three of his vessels rendered unfit to keep the sea, I do not think he can have more than twelve with him. I cannot praise too highly the skill and the noble conduct of Admiral Gravina. All the Spanish vessels fought with the utmost bravery; but I am still at a loss to comprehend how it was that we lost the two ships that are missing. Nevertheless, your excellency will perceive, that the two disabled vessels might fall into the enemy's line, without its being in my power to secure them. I beg you will assure the Emperor that I did my utmost to attack the enemy again; that I

obstinately pursued them, and that they constantly declined the action. I cannot too highly praise my captains and crews. I have the honour to be, &c.—VILLENEUVE.

——[Then follows an account of the killed and wounded, amounting to 55 killed and 116 wounded.]

Vice-Admiral Villeneuve to the Ministry of Marine. Vigo, July 31, 1805.

I am now under way. I leave here two Spanish ships, and the French ship l'Atlas. These vessels have not suffered much in the action, but they sail badly, and I consider them as rather likely to delay the squadron than to reinforce it. I have disembarked here my sick. The length of the voyage, and the bad weather, has caused a sickness amongst the troops. But those who have nothing but the scurvy are in no danger, and will soon be restored by air and fresh provisions. I shall set out with 15 ships, of which two are Spanish, and if we have any affair on our voyage to Ferrol with the squadron which we have already fought, we have nothing to fear.——VILLENEUVE.

Rear-Admiral Gourdon to the Ministry of Marine and Colonies. Ferrol, August 2, 1805.

MY LORD,——I have the honour to announce to your excellency, that Admirals Villeneuve and Gravina have this moment anchored at Corunna. The English squadron re-appeared two days ago; it consisted of 13 ships of the line, but immediately on seeing the squadron of Rear-Admiral Villeneuve, it sailed again. It had, however, nothing to fear from the combined squadron in Ferrol, the wind being West, and blowing fresh, which rendered it impossible for us to set out. We are all animated by an ardent desire to give his Majesty proofs of our devotion for him, and our desire of enterprise for the glory of his flag.——GOURDON.

SPANISH ACCOUNT OF THE LATE ACTION.

From the Madrid Gazette.——Letter from Lieutenant-General Don Frederico Gravina to the Most Excellent Generalissimo the Prince of Peace, from Vigo, dated July 28, *in the following terms.*

Most Excellent Sir, my Lord,—On the 22d July, Cape Finisterre bearing S. E. distant 25 leagues, the combined squadron was standing with the wind W.N.W. formed in three lines to the E. S. E. the horizon being covered with thick fogs. At noon the look-out vessels made the signal of having discovered 21 sail in the N.N.E. and that the greater part were of the line. We immediately formed the line-of-battle to larboard, the Spanish squadron forming the van, with myself at the head, and the French Admiral in the centre of the line. The enemy, consisting of sixteen sail of the line, three of which were three-deckers, and two cut-downs, stood on the contrary tack, with the intention, as it appeared, of cutting off our rear; to avoid which, the French Admiral made the signal to wear, and stand on the opposite tack, which was immediately obeyed. The last ship of the rear being covered, the Argonanta, on board of which I had hoisted my flag, began the action with the van of the English, (at a quarter before five o'clock) who, upon account of the fog, had not perceived the movement we had executed. The enemy's squadron hauled their wind, and a very warm action immediately commenced, within half cannon-shot between our van and the whole of the enemy's line, which successively extended itself to the centre of our line. The fog was so thick, that notwithstanding our proximity, we at times lost sight of them. The fire was very well kept up during the action. We saw a three-decker without her foremast, and another vessel without her main and mizen-mast. The battle continued with our van and centre until past nine o'clock, when the enemy bore up, and the action ceased. On the morning of the 23d, at break of day, although the weather was still foggy, we found that two of our ships were missing, and that they were the San Rafael and the Firme. We discovered the enemy on the other tack; we immediately formed the line, and chased, having remarked that they had three dismasted ships in tow, and that their line consisted of only thirteen ships of war, including one dismasted of its fore-topmast. We continued the chase the whole day without avail, as the enemy manœuvred to avoid a second encounter. The same took place on the 24th, on the morning of which day we saw them to windward crowding all sail, and close hauled, with the wind from the N. E. On the 25th, at day-break, the wind blowing fresh from the N. E. we were out of sight of the enemy; and, during the day, we saw Cape Finisterre bearing due east. In this situation, with the wind against our getting into Ferrol, many of the French ships having only six days water on board, and having about 1300 sick and wounded in the squadron, without the necessary succours, it was determined to come to Vigo to provide what was necessary. As soon as I receive the details from each ship, they shall be forwarded to your Excellency. In this action the six ships under my command have fought with the greatest bravery; and I con-

sider the English squadron having avoided a second attack, to have been caused by the damage they had received in the action, since the forces of the two fleets were equalized by the quality of the ships, we having on our side no three-deckers, and two small ships of 64 guns.

BATAVIAN FLOTILLA.—*Vice-Admiral Verhenil's detailed Report of the Engagements of the 17th and 18th July, addressed to his Majesty Napoleon I. Emperor of the French and King of Italy. Dated Ambleteuse, July 26th,* 1805.

SIRE,—It was impossible, in the first report which I had the honour of laying before your Majesty, to include all the details of the action of the 17th and 18th of July, between a part of the Imperial Batavian flotilla and a squadron of the English navy; and not doubting that your Majesty wishes to be informed of all the circumstances of these engagements, as well as the conduct of the brave men who had a share in them, I have thought it my duty to submit a new report to your Imperial and Royal Majesty. ——On leaving the road of Dunkirk, I caused the squadron to range in two columns, so as to keep the fire of both free; I ordered the commandant of the praams, the brave Captain Lambour, to lead the outer line, and to place two praams in the centre, and one in the rear, so as to keep the exterior line more compact.——Captain Gerbrands commanded the advanced guard, Captain Carpentier the rear guard, and I commanded in person the centre, on board of the gun-boat No. 39. The gun-boats went under an easy sail, in order to give the praams, which did not sail so well, an opportunity of preserving the order of battle. ——Having arrived off Gravelines towards 9 o'clock at night, the enemy's division got under weigh; they remained at anchor until they found themselves abreast of the flotilla, although they might have attacked us much sooner, since the tide was still flowing, and they could consequently make the east: at a quarter past 9 the English division commenced its fire at long cannon shot distance; I did not return their fire until they came nearer us; the action then became very warm, the enemy directing their principal attack against our centre and rear. In each of the English ships there was a fire at the main-mast, in order, apparently, not to confound our vessels with theirs; but as we took the precaution to extinguish our fires, we had the advantage of aiming with much more certainty.——Towards 10 the enemy directed their whole attack against the rear guard, by which means three of our gun-boats were much damaged, and becoming ungovernable, were run ashore. It was likewise by the same means that the Praam La Ville de Geneve was baffled in her manœuvres, and grounded during an hour, defending herself vigorously, until the enemy were obliged to abandon her; upon her being got off, she proceeded on her voyage, and was again attacked; and, although her mainmast was damaged, by the dexterity and bravery of Lieutenant Boissy, her commander, she opened for herself a passage, and rejoined the flotilla. Towards 11 the enemy left us the field of battle free, and stood to sea, although nothing prevented their continuing the combat. Having arrived off Calais, I made the signal to prepare to anchor, and soon afterwards to anchor.—I immediately landed and mounted on horse-back, in order to ride along the coast and examine the situation of the gun-boats that were ashore. I saw with satisfaction the fine position of the formidable light artillery, commanded by Gen. Sorbier; it protected the 5 stranded gun-boats; 2 others were also obliged to run ashore, owing to the loss of their rudders. At day-break, on the commencement of flood-tide, 3 of these gun-boats floated off, and proceeded on their passage: they were immediately seen by the enemy, and attacked by two sloops of war and two brigs. I observed with infinite satisfaction, that one of the gun-boats, commanded by Lieutenant Visscher, fired three broadsides before the sloop of war with which she was engaged fired once, which obliged the latter to sheer off.—Two gun-boats that were more damaged remained on the sand; one of them was obliged to disembark her artillery and ballast. —At break of day we saw the greatest part of the enemy's cruizers in the N. W. at a great distance in the offing; at ¼ past 4 they rallied, and formed in line of battle.—I returned on board, and shortly afterwards the enemy began to attack us anew; they kept at short cannon-shot distance, contenting themselves with throwing a number of shells, several of which burst close to our vessels, but doing them very little harm.—The fire of our gun-boats and praams was well supported and strongly aided by the land batteries, which obliged the enemy to sheer off about 6 in the morning, standing in part to the wastward; 7 of their vessels steered to the N. W., towards the coast of England, which made us conclude that some of them were too much damaged to

be able to keep the sea.—After this action I ordered, by signal, an account to be rendered me of the damage sustained by the different vessels: and I found that 9 gun-boats and 1 praam were unable to follow the rest of my little squadron. I sent them in to the port of Calais. There were besides 2 gun-boats stranded.—I landed in order to concert with the commandant of the Marine on measures propor to be taken for the prompt repair of the vessels which I had sent into port; after which I returned on board.—Towards 3 in the afternoon, I made the signal to prepare for getting under weigh.—The enemy's division having availed themselves in the morning of the tide to get to the westward, I supposed that they meant to take post between Cape Blancnez and Cape Grisnez; and that the passage would be entirely free for the vessels which I had ordered to weigh from Dunkirk.—At 3, the wind being E. N E. with a good breze and a clear sky, I made the signal to weigh, and to form in a single line of battle, at a quarter of a cable's distance. My signals were executed with such promptness, that I owe the greatest praise to my officers.—The enemy were in sight at a great distance in the offing, and there were abreast of the flotilla none but looking-out vessels, which made signal for our being under weigh, as soon as they saw us under sail.—At ½ past 4 a ship of the line, four frigates, and three brigs, fell in with us off Cape Blancnez, and kept abreast of us. I remarked with pleasure that they hesitated to attack us, and waited the other vessels of their division, which soon joined them, making in all 19 sail. They then formed in line of battle, and began, off Sangate, to press us closer; but before they were within reach of our guns, the land batteries threw some bombs which fell at no great distance from them. The enemy also began a cannonade, and I returned their fire; but they kept at so great a distance that I ceased firing. Some moments afterwards, the enemy having approached nearer, I re-commenced firing.—The force of the enemy increased successively in such a manner, that when we were off Wissant, it was composed of 45 vessels, of which two were of the line, and several frigates: the rest were sloops of war, and smaller vessels; the action then became very warm, and we made use, on both sides, of grape-shot.—Having entered the passage of the Banc-à-ligne, the order of battle was exactly preserved.—Although the passage is not 50 toises broad, and that we were constantly obliged to have the lead in our hands, and often forced to increase or diminish sail, the fire of our batteries was so vigorously kept up, that none of these grand floating castles dared to approach us. On leaving the banks one gun boat only got aground, which, by that false manœuvre, occasioned two others to touch, but they did not cease firing.—Having arrived at the extremity of Cape Grisnez, all the line doubled the Cape in the best order; the three praams in the rear then kept up a fire which the enemy will long remember.——The manœuvres of the praams in a passage so narrow, and during an action so warm, do the greatest honour to the Commandant Lambour, and the officers who command them; they merit my highest praise. The formidable batteries of Grisnez also kept up a well-supported fire while we were abreast of the Cape.——After the whole line had doubled it, the enemy continued the attack upon the rear-guard; one of the gun-boats was so much damaged that it was obliged to keep close to the shore; some of the enemy's vessels continuing firing until we reached Ambleteuse, where we anchored with the squadron; some moments afterwards the enemy came anew, as if animated by a sentiment of rage, to attack us at anchor, and approached us within grape-shot distance; they were answered on our side with as much vigour as at the commencement. A frigate had the audacity to approach nearer than the others, but she paid dearly for her temerity, and was soon forced to sheer off; we saw distinctly that she suffered much, and that a great deal of confusion existed among her crew. I left the vessels in the roads, and caused to enter, with the night tide, seven of the gun-boats that had been most damaged.——The enemy's squadron stood to sea, and a strong division anchored two leagues from the coast, abreast of Ambleteuse: we observed that a great number of their vessels made the Coast of England.——On the following morning I had the satisfaction of seeing 54 vessels arrive from Dunkirk at Calais, without firing a single gun, the enemy having directed their whole attention to the side of Ambleteuse.——The gun-boats that went aground on the Banc-à-ligne came also into the road, and one gun-boat only, stranded near Odreselle, did not enter until the following tide.

(To be continued.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 11.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1805. [PRICE 1OD.

" When the exigencies of the public service could only be met by their voluntary zeal, the PEOPLE started " forth with an ardour, which out-stripped the wishes of those, who had injured them by doubting whether " it might not be necessary to have recourse to compulsion. They have, in all things, reposed an enduring " confidence. That confidence demands a full return; and fixes a responsibility on the ministers entire and " undivided. The people stand acquitted, if the war is not carried on in a manner suited to its objects. If " the public honour is tarnished; if the public safety suffers any detriment; the ministers, not the people, " are to answer it, and they alone. Its armies, its navies, are given to them without stint or restriction. " Its treasures are poured out at their feet; and, theirs alone is the responsibility."——BURKE: Regicide Peace, Letter III.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

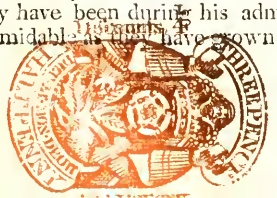
" TIMES OF DIFFICULTY." —— This phrase has been so frequently applied to the series of years, during which Mr. Pitt has been minister of this country, and its application has so evident a tendency to deceive the nation, or, rather, to continue its deception, as to a very important point, especially at the present crisis, when it behoves them to place their confidence only on those who are well worthy of it, that it appears to me necessary to inquire into the grounds, upon which such application has been made. I have frequently had to remark, cursorily, upon the unfairness, the meanness, the paltry shifts, of those, who attributed the dangers and disgrace of the country to some over-ruling necessity; and that, to use the words of Mr. Pitt himself, " from the *fa-* " *tality* of the times and the general state " of the world, we must consider our lot as " cast by the decrees of Providence in a " time of peril and trouble." * This was a very pretty come-off for a " heaven-born" minister, who, after having had the absolute command of all the resources of the nation for nearly 20 years, and after having, a hundred times, boasted of his superior skill and purity, was obliged to confess, that the nation was at last reduced to a state, in which it could neither go to war nor remain in peace, with a reasonable prospect of security! A very decent come-off! Something that the Grocer's Company could, twenty years before, hardly have expected! A *heaven-born* minister throwing his blunders upon *Providence!* He felt; he had long felt; but, particularly, at the commencement of the present war, when no one could tell what was the *object* of the war, or how it could end, and when Mr. Addington could only say, that we were at war *because we could not be at peace:* at such a time Mr. Pitt could not fail to perceive, that the eyes of the people would be directed towards him, and that, even his creatures would begin to ask themselves, *who* it was that had brought us into such a state. Hence he perceived the necessity of preaching the doctrine of *fatality;* and, the moment the key was given, the whole pack of his partisans joined in the cry.——As occasion has required, this doctrine has been preached through the columns of the Treasury prints from the time above referred to till now; and, it is by no means wonderful, that the preachers should have become more zealous at this time, when the object of their exculpatory efforts is about to embark as chief in the conducting of a new warlike league against the power, before whom he, but the other day, fell prostrate, after having, for years, been in the almost constant habit of describing her as upon the brink of ruin. One effort of this sort, in the Morning Post of the 31st ultimo, is worthy of particular notice. The passage alluded to appears to have been written with an intention to counteract the endeavours of a writer in the Morning Chronicle to convince the people, that, if they were to judge from the past, they had very little to expect from any war, conducted by Mr. Pitt. " It does not seem " probable" [says the Morning Post], " that he" [the writer in the Morning Chronicle] " will induce the country to be- " lieve with him, that Mr. Pitt's name is " indissolubly associated with the degrada- " tion of Europe and the aggrandizement of " France, because, unluckily for his asser- " tion, the country must recollect, that, un- " der the administration of Mr. Pitt, Great " Britain has uniformly, and for a long " time, *resisted the aggressions of France;* " and that she now forms a rallying point " for the other European nations, which, " had different counsels been followed, " would have been wanting to them. Un- " connected as we are with any party, it " must, we think, on a due and dispassion- " ate consideration of the subject, appear " the glory of Mr. Pitt's life, that (*placed* " *as he has been in circumstances of such*

* Speech in the House of Commons, 23d May, 1803.

" *peculiar difficulty* that no precedent " existed by which his conduct could be re- " gulated), he has *hitherto* steered the ves- " sel of the state *safely through the tem-* " *pest* by which she was and is assailed, " and will, we doubt not, convey her ulti- " mately into the port of security. Having " first to contend with the principles of " France, he *has now to contend with her* " *arms.* The former *have been defeated*; " the latter will, we confidently hope, meet " with a similar fate. That in the prose- " cution of this arduous contest, it would " be desirable that the present ministry " should be supported by the united abili- " ties of the country, we readily admit. It " is our sincere wish that such a combina- " tion should be formed; we have on every " occasion endeavoured to promote it. We " have therefore abstained from vilifying " those whom we are anxious to see a part " of it; but we regret that in this forbear- " ance we have not been imitated by our " political opponents. In proportion as the " advantages which the nation would derive " from an union of our statesmen becomes " evident, they asperse the man *whom the* " *country must and will demand to be a* " *principal member of that union.* We as- " sume *no merit* for our conduct on this oc- " casion. In following what appears to us " to be the dictates of propriety, we are un- " influenced by any consideration but the " sense of our public duty."——Upon the subject of the Morning Post's *public-spirit* and *disinterestedness* I have only to remark, that I should feel much less mortification than I do, were I assured, that the insertion of the very article, which I have just copied, was not paid for by me, in common with all those, who contribute towards the " *exi-* " *gencies* of the state." The impudence of those who conduct this paper will need no exposure to those who recollect its language and sentiments, during the two last years. It has been equalled in baseness, perhaps, by the SUN, the ORACLE, the COURIER, and some few other papers; but, assuredly, it has never been surpassed by any print in the world.——But, to return to the doctrine of *fatality.* The eulogy on Mr. Pitt, the ground on which his partisans now claim for him the confidence of the people, is, that, under his sway, the country has " uniform- " ly, and for a long time, *resisted the aggres-* " *sions of France.*" Or, in other words, has *not been subdued* by France! Sublime eulogy! And is this, at last, to be the foundation of the Grand Operator's fame? Is it, indeed, come to this? Is this to be the pedestal of *the statue*, which the City fools were to raise in commemoration of his deeds? " During his administration Eng- " land *was not subdued* by France!"—— This notion, however, perfectly corresponds with the general way of thinking, which his degrading system has introduced. *Defence; preservation; salvation; protection; safety;* and such like. These are the words we are continually making use of: we never talk of *attacking*, of *avenging*, of *humbling*, of *conquering:* all such ideas seem to have become too big for our minds. That this is a truth no one will deny, and nothing can be more strongly descriptive of debasement. We rejoice; nay, we *boast*, that we are not become the slaves of Frenchmen; and, of course, we are called upon to extol the man, during whose administration, the means of escaping such slavery has been afforded us. This is perfectly consistent; but, then, those who are not degraded to this pitch, have a right to call upon the minister to answer even for that degradation, in which he finds a justification; for when, previous to his administration, did Englishmen content themselves with the reflection, that they were *not the slaves of France?* When, previous to his administration, did so vile a thought find a place in their minds? We really seem to have forgotten the sentiments entertained, not by our forefathers, but by ourselves, in the earlier part of our lives. Let the reader, if he be about forty years old, reflect, for a moment, on the sentiments of his youth, relative to the valour, the power, the character, the consequence, of England and France respectively; let him then compare them with the sentiments, which, as to the same subjects, have now, without his having perceived their progress, got possession of his mind; and, if the result does not make him blush for his country, does not excite his indignation against those, during whose administration the change has taken place, he need fear no invasions, for, except as to the bodily suffering, which he might hope, would not be very great, the conquest of his country and the enslaving of himself would have in them nothing for him to regret. The man who acknowledges, that England has *now become inferior to France*, and who, nevertheless, endeavours to excuse and to justify; who even praises, and who lends his aid still to keep in power, the minister, under whose sway the disgraceful change has come about; such a man (and many such there are) proclaims his degradation; he invites the invader, the conqueror; he tenders his neck to the yoke, bares his back to the lash; he is fashioned for slavery, and ought to be a slave.——But, the apology

of this description of persons is, as we here see it, in the Morning Post, that, though the change we speak of is but too real, yet the fault was not Mr. Pitt's. It was nobody's fault. It was the work of Providence; or, if it be to be imputed to any human agency, it was *the fault of the Opposition*, who thwarted the minister in his measures, and who, in fact, compelled him either to ruin the cause of his country, or, *to quit his place;* and, of *course*, he chose the former; and yet, the ruin of that cause was *no fault of his!* All this you shall hear the hirelings of the Treasury, and all the numerous tribe of place-hunters, most deliberately and cooly assert; and, they will, at the same time, not scruple to entertain you for hours with descriptions of the *contemptibleness* of that same opposition! In fact, Mr. Pitt never was hampered with an opposition. From the day of his first triumph over the aristocracy of the country; from that day to the present, he never has had a formidable opposition, in parliament, to encounter. Just at the close of the last session he *would*, indeed, have had a formidable opposition to face; but he took care not to face them, and carried his measures after they had retired to the country. ——" Placed, as he has been, in times of " peculiar difficulty." Not he. He was not " *placed*" in times of peculiar difficulty, nor of any difficulty at all. He, as I have before shown, took the helm at a moment the most favourable that could possibly be. He had eight years of peace, and of great *abundance*, to start with; and, I should suppose, that no people but the good, easy, forgiving, nay, submissive, English, would so soon have forgotten his annual boasts of the unexampled prosperity of the country. These boasts extended to every department and to every part of the King's dominions; so that, when he finally resolved on war, in 1793, the nation appeared, from his accounts, to be ready to burst with prosperity and happiness. Thus far, then; that is to say, during the first eight, or nearly nine years, of his twenty years' administration, he was not, at any rate, placed in times of " peculiar difficulty." The war was long and arduous. True; but *who* made it so? *Who* caused the difficulties that now arose? *Who* determined on the war? And *who* on the manner of conducting it? His partisans are aware of these questions, and, accordingly, they provide themselves with an excuse in the *novelty* of the case, which afforded him no means of profiting from *experience*. Well, suppose the case to have been entirely new; suppose that principles before unheard of could be made applicable to it: even then it required only wisdom to know how to act. And, if I am told, that no human wisdom was equal to the task, I have only to refer to the speeches of Mr. Fox and the writings of Mr. Burke. They disagreed as to the course to be pursued: the former said *peace*, the latter *honourable war:* the former said, let the revolution exhaust itself upon France; the latter said, attack the revolution and kill it in its birth. But, they both said, and they said it over and over again, and in every stage of the war, that the course which Mr. Pitt pursued would lead to the fearful aggrandizement of France, to the overthrow of the balance of Europe, and, of course, to the imminent danger, if not, at last, the subjugation of England. This is a fact which no one can deny, and which every one ought to remember. Continually; year after year and week after week, did Mr. Fox, as any one may now see in his speeches, warn Mr. Pitt of the consequences of the war, and, I will be bound to point out, in those speeches, more than one hundred passages, in which the former specifically predicted, that a perseverance in the war would lead to such an extension of the power of France as would endanger the independence of England. And, as to Mr. Burke, we now find, from his posthumous publications, that he began in 1791, and did not cease to the day of his death, to warn the minister of the consequences (just as have now happened) of a system of warfare such as he had adopted. Here are, then, proofs, that Mr. Pitt was either much less wise than others, or, that he had some object which he preferred to the good of the country. He rejected the advice of others: he followed a course of his own choosing: he suffered no one to thwart him in it: he had all the means of the country in his hands: and, shall he not, according to the doctrine of my MOTTO, be made *responsible;* shall he not yet be made *really* responsible for the disgraceful result? Shall he, who was uniformly surrounded with majorities up to the teeth; he who was constantly boasting of those majorities; he who let pass hardly a week without loading his opponents with contempt; he who had obtained so complete a mastery over the people as to keep the habeas corpus act suspended for years, and to impose and collect ten per centum upon the income of every man, assessed by the means of an inquisition into his most private concerns; he who, to the very eve of the peace, exulted in the inexhaustible resources of the country: shall this man, now that the fatal effects of his measures are perceived and felt; shall he be

suffered to plead the "difficulty of the "times," in which he has had to act? Forbid it justice! Forbid it common sense! Let us not, by admitting this plea, stamp our character for ever with the mark of cullibility!——"He has *hitherto*," the hireling tells us, "steered the vessel of "state safely through the tempest, and will, "we *doubt not*, convey her, ultimately, "into the port in safety." It is a wonder they do not drop this unlucky simile. Lord Belgrave, that fine promising "young "friend" Lord Belgrave assured us, rather more than three years and a quarter ago, that the great man, his "Right Honourable "friend," *had*, even then, conveyed her, actually conveyed her and *anchored* her in safety, "in her native port," where she was "riding *triumphant!*" And so said that other famous "young friend," Mr. Canning, in his *Birth-day Ode*, every stanza of which concluded with "the health of the "pilot that *weathered the storm*." My readers will do me the justice to recollect, that I then besought them not to regard the storm as *over*; that there was only a treacherous calm; and that the storm would soon revive, a storm not to be weathered by a Pitt.—— But, it seems, we are now to be told, that there were two things to combat in the French revolution; its *principles* and its power. "Having first to contend with the "*principles* of France, he has *now* to con- "tend with her *arms*. The former *he* has "defeated." Defeated by *him!* Good God! by *him!* What has he ever done to defeat them? It is Buonaparté who has defeated them, in the only respect in which they have been defeated. But, in *what way* were they *dangerous?* In the means which they afforded of extending the influence, the domination, the power, *the arms* of France. It was in this light that Mr. Burke always regarded them as dangerous to England, and in which he, in his writings (particularly his papers presented to the cabinet, and now published in the VIIth volume of his works) always described them as dangerous to her: so that, Mr. Pitt's way of *defeating* the principles of France has rendered them productive, in the fullest extent, of the very consequence that was apprehended from their success! "He has now to contend with *her* "*arms*." Yes, and not with her arms such as *he found them*; not with her arms such as they were before he was our minister; not with her arms such as they were before he began a war upon her principles; but her arms such as they have become, strengthened as they have been during his administration, formidable as they have grown in consequence of those principles which he has so "happily *defeated!*"——The way, and the only way, consistent with any principle of reason or of justice, to estimate the measures, and, of course, the wisdom, of a minister, is to take the two ends of his administration, and make a comparaison of the state of the national affairs, internal and external, at the two epochs. Let us try Mr. Pitt by this rule. As to the prosperity and comfort of the people, he found the poor-rates of England and Wales (when the average price of the quartern loaf was about 7d) amounting annually to 2,167,749l. sterling: he brought this amount in 1803 (the average price of the quartern-loaf being about 10d.) to 5,348,205l. and the number of paupers to about *twelve hundred thousand*. As to the credit of the nation, he found an abundant currency of gold and silver, and he has procured to be passed an act, making paper-money, as to all practical purposes, a legal tender; having, during the progress, swelled the annual sum raised upon us to pay the interest of the national debt, from 9 millions to more than 27 millions. As to our external affairs; he found our ancient rival, and, whenever at war, our enemy, shut up within her long acknowledged limits; he found a balance of power in Europe quite efficient to the purpose of keeping her so; he found her with exhausted resources, with distracted councils, with a feeble and almost tottering government. What she is *now*; what she has become during the time that *he* has had the purse and the sword of England at his absolute command, I leave to be *felt* by the once-swelling but now-palpitating hearts of the Grocer's Company. And, shall we still be told, that he is "a *great man?*" In what part of his character or his measures; in which of his acts, or of their consequences, are we to look for wherewithal to justify this appellation? "He is a great speech-maker." Certainly he is; and a friend of mine, upon the ground of this admission, *proves* him to be a great man; as thus: "A talker's a man; Mr. Pitt "is a great talker; *ergo*, Mr. Pitt is a great "man." But, the Pittites take a still shorter course, contenting themselves with the intuitive proposition, that *he has kept his place for 20 years*. With those, who, like Boyd and Benfield, will, doubtless, want no other proof of greatness, Mr. Pitt will still pass for a "great man;" but, those who estimate the mind and the merits of a statesman according to the effect which his opinions, his declarations, and his measures produce upon the country he has to govern; those who reflect upon the professions and the conduct of



Mr. Pitt with regard to the questions of parliamentary reform, and of negro slavery: those who heard his loud and repeated promises to put an end to the wars and the plunder in India, to reduce the debts of the company, and to make that company assist in defraying the annual expenses of the mother-country: those who heard him vaunt of his discovery for reducing the national debt, and congratulate himself, that, while other ministers had been distinguished by the burdens they had laid upon the people, it would be his glory to be distinguished by the removing of those burdens: those who compare the satisfaction which he expressed at the prospect of having his name inscribed on the proud column raised to national credit, with the law which he has since introduced and procured to be passed for making bank-notes a legal tender: those who reflect on the consequences of his conduct with regard to the partition of Poland: those who now take a review of his measures during the late war with France, not forgetting his repeated assurances to the parliament, that the enemy was upon the brink, nay, in the very gulph of bankruptcy, and must, of course, soon yield for the want of resources to carry on the war: those who recollect his false, his wild calculations, his extravagant exultation (repeated in a pamphlet issued from the Treasury itself and bearing the name of his Official Secretary) upon the subject of the Income-Tax, which he termed the solid system of finance: those who, in the same year, heard him vow, that he never would make peace with France, without obtaining, as a preliminary, a full and adequate security for the future, not only for England but for all and every one of the states upon the continent of Europe; and heard him, at the same time, declare, that he could carry on the war, for any length of time, without the creation of new debt: those who saw him, in less than three years after this, create new debt to the amount of 73 millions sterling, and, within the same space, advise, defend, and extol, a peace completing the total overthrow of the balance of Europe, and leaving no small part of its formerly-independent states in absolute subjugation to France, while he consoled the nation with the efficient balance which, in India conquests and the establishment of the Republic of the Seven Islands, he had provided against the acquisitions of France: those who saw him, in the year 1801, retiring from the cabinet upon the openly avowed ground, that he could not in honour and in conscience remain unless permitted to propose to the parliament the measure of what was called Catholic Emancipation, and who have since seen him, having first returned to his former place, and all the circumstances continuing the same, not only refuse to support or countenance, but *oppose* that very measure: those who have had the patience to follow him through his volunteering dinners and reviews, have seen him mounted in his cars, and have read (in his own prints) the description of his cheering huzzas, while his right worthy comrade was engaged in the war of catamarans: those who now see combined fleets, and ports friendly to the enemy, created by his war of "*precaution*:" those who have viewed him in the Reports of the Naval Commissioners, and in the parliamentary proceedings consequent thereupon, and have compared the facts now brought to light, with his former opinions, professions, and boasts: those who have thus observed, and thus reflected, will be at no loss justly to estimate the character and merits of Mr. Pitt; and, if they love their country, they will, I am persuaded, turn, with indignation, from the assertion of this hired writer, that, let whatever charges will take place, "the *people* will *demand*, that Mr. Pitt shall have a principal share in the ministry." Such persons will clearly perceive, that all the dangers, to which the country is now exposed, have proceeded from the bad measures of Mr. Pitt; and, as the most favourable to him, and the least likely to be unjust, they will impute those measures to his deficiency in that sort of wisdom which is necessary to the conception and execution of measures calculated to promote the true and permanent interests of a state. They will have perceived, that, even in the department which he has made his chief study; in which he seems to have aimed at excellence; and, as to his skill in which he has received so much applause, he has, upon every material point, every point requiring profundity of thought, been conspicuous for nothing but his errors. His expertness at estimating a tax; his dexterity at defending his impositions of all sorts; his art in enlisting all the selfish feelings on his side, in laying fear under contribution, and in opening the hand of avarice; these he possesses in an admirable degree, and to these he owes the admiration, with which he is always spoken of by those who have spent their lives behind the counter. But, in the science of political œconomy, what are these? At most, they render a man, amongst real statesmen, what a punster is among poets. Of all his errors respecting the French revolution, none was greater, or more fatal in its consequences, than that re-

lative to the *financial resources* of France; and, we now find, that he erred, too, and in spite of good advice. The warning, the predictions, of Mr. Fox we cannot blame him for having viewed with an eye of distrust; but, the same apology cannot be made for him with regard to the advice of Mr. Burke, who, in a memorial submitted to himself privately, in 1791; even at the very onset, warned him, earnestly besought him, not to place any reliance on what was looked forward to as the effects of a national bankruptcy in France.* He was not only *told*, that no circumstance of that sort would have any effect as to the progress of the revolution, or that extension of French power and dominion, to which the revolution naturally tended; but, the *reasons* upon which the opinion was founded, were amply laid before him. Still, however, did he reckon upon the *poverty*, the approaching *bankruptcy*, of France; and, by the aid of his worthy fellow-labourer, Sir Francis D'Ivernois (a man of exactly the same size of mind), succeeded, in persuading the parliament, year after year, that they had only to make *one more effort*, to draw their purses once more, in order to bring the enemy to their feet. To me, who used to read the English papers in America, it really appeared that the stupid citizens of London were in expectation of seeing Carnot and Barras brought up before the Commissioners in Guildhall. Here we have a striking proof of the difference between the mind of Mr. Burke and that of Mr. Pitt, and of the vast superiority of the former over the latter. If Mr. Burke had been the minister of England at the epoch referred to, no reliance would have been placed upon a bankruptcy in France; no false hope would have been entertained; the people would have been amused with no delusion; they would have seen the enemy and the nature of the contest in their true light; and, they would have made exertions proportioned thereunto, or they would have demanded peace. By either course their security *might* ultimately have been provided for; but, by following neither; by taking no decisive part: by inspiring all the parties on our side with distrust, and by acting with just vigour enough to call forth the charges, and to furnish a pretext for the aggressions, of the enemy, the consequences that we now see and feel were produced. It is not, then, in the "difficulty of the times," but, in the want of wisdom, or, in some other want still more important, in the minister, that we are to look for the cause of the dangers, to which we are now exposed; and, I trust, that the reader will be of opinion with me, that, for all these dangers and for whatever calamities may result from them, Mr. Pitt owes to the nation a complete responsibility.

* See Burke's works, Vol. VII. p. 17.

INVASION.—"Why, so, being gone, "I am a man again!" And so is the Editor of the Morning Post, who now talks as big as he did last year, when he published the *first* account of the catamaran expedition. —The public, and the "fashionable world," for whose particular use the Morning Post is published, will recollect, that it is only about three weeks, since that paper assured its readers, that the ministers had received "*certain* information, that the Corsican Usurper" (for so now they call their old friend) was coming with a most formidable force; and, it will not be forgotten, perhaps, that the public were cautioned against believing what the ministers so confidently believed. It now appears, that that caution was not without reason; for, instead of invading England, Buonaparté seems to have been, even at that moment, preparing for an invasion of the dominions of Austria. Great, however, is the exultation of the hireling papers; and, it is necessary to lay before the reader some few of the passages, wherein they express it, in order to point out to him what he has to guard against; for, if Buonaparté should, in a few months return to his projects of invasion, and find us in the state which these exultations are calculated to produce, the danger will be much greater than it ever yet has been. "It "is now," says the Morning Post of the 6th instant, "known for *certain*, that Buo- "naparté has suddenly raised his camps at "Boulogne and its neighbourhood; that "the 112,000 men which he was so lately "reviewing, previous to their embarkation "for the invasion of our shores, he is now "marching to meet or to attack the Aus- "trians, and to seize the more favourable "chance that offers of victory, before they "can effectually co-operate with Russia. "This, no doubt, was the secret policy that "dictated all his panegyrics on peace, and "all his commentaries on the calamities of "war; while, under the affected menace "of an invasion of England, he was ac- "cumulating the means of prosecuting his "conquests, and extending his domination "over the Continent. It must, however, "be no slight alarm that compels him to "suspend or abandon a project, with the "accomplishment of which he has so long "fired the passions, and familiarised the

" hopes of his army. He must also feel no " small degree of *shame and humiliation,* " not unmingled with regret, at relinquish- " ing even the outward shew of an enterprise " of which he was so boastful, which he " *foolishly imagined struck such terror into* " *the minds of Englishmen,* that they could " attend to nothing but defensive measures, " and the security of their homes."——On the 7th the subject is continued thus: "Dis- " patches were yesterday received at the " Admiralty from Lord Keith, which con- " tain an ample confirmation of the intelli- " gence given in our last, relative to the " breaking up of the camps on the French " coast, and the march of the troops towards " the Rhine. We are further informed, that " the flotilla to convey these troops to the " invasion of Britain, is to be forthwith " dismantled, and that considerable progress " has already been made in this work of " *undoing* what was done with so much " ostentation of power, and so much in- " solence of menace. Like the vast pre- " parations of Caligula for the conquest of " Germany, the mighty threats of Buona- " parté for the subjugation of Britain, are " thus turned to *his scorn.* The design of " invasion, which, not long since, mini- " sters knew to be seriously entertained, " appears now to be, at least for a time, " *completely abandoned.* Upon this subject " we shall take an early opportunity of " offering some remarks; contenting our- " selves, for the present, with the brief " remark, that the enemy having *declined* " the combat they provoked, is to them " a virtual *defeat* while to us it is in effect " equal to a *victory.*——Having no longer " 200,000 disciplined soldiers placed in a " position from which they might pour in " upon us, in a few hours of favourable " coincidence, and watching for the op- " portunity; having the advantage of ac- " ting with allies, capable of engaging, " and we trust, defeating the greater part " of the vast armies that were to be pour- " ed down upon us, horde after horde, " till we should be consumed, even by " the destruction of continued victories, " if we should be fortunate enough to gain " them; we have now to congratulate our- " selves that the time is arrived, when " we can, with effect, act on the offen- " sive, and *alarm the threatner with inva-* " *sion* in our turn. We can now spare " thirty or forty thousand men to attack " the enemy in any quarter where such an " enterprise may appear to promise most " effect and advantage."——The most ef- fectual way, perhaps, of cautioning some readers against confiding in the opinions (if they can be called opinions) of bab- blers like this, will be to quote, word for word, what he wrote and published on the 5th of October last, just as the news of the Pitt and Dundas expedition arrived in London. " The result of this expedi- " tion, planned with as much secrecy as " judgment, and executed with the most un- " paralleled bravery, will prove both to foreign " boasters and factious Britons, that this " is a country which cannot be insulted or " menaced with imounity. The enemy " threatened us. Let them look to their " own shores. Their innumerable flotilla " was to land their invincible army in this " country, which was to prove a rich and " easy conquest; it was to bear the for- " tune and destiny of France to our coast. " Where is now this boasted flotilla? " What is the present state of the for- " tune and destiny of France, which were " so pompously committed to it? All that " was *accessible* of it is *destroyed. Sea,* " *fire, and air, have witnessed and con-* " *tributed to its destruction.* What is be- " come of that part which is not destroyed? " It *skulks in its harbours,* and *even doubts* " *whether its skulking ensures it safety?* " —— This is a most fortunate thing " for the country."——Reader, put not your trust in such writers: their busi- ness, their trade, is to amuse, to deceive you; by turns to alarm and to cheer you; they are paid for it. Believe them not, I conjure you, upon any subject, but particu- larly upon the subject of invasion. Observe, they now tell you, that they are *certain* that Buonaparté is *not* coming; and this they do with just as much confidence, and, appa- rently, with the same expectation of being believed, that they, only twenty days ago, told you they were *certain* that he *was* coming! And, I earnestly beg you not to regard the scheme of invasion as " *aban-* " *doned.*" No: do not think that we have gained a " *victory*" over the flotilla. Join with me, rather, in regretting that Buona- parté has discovered so effectual a mode of annoying us by the means of a force, which, at a moment's warning, he can direct against the powers of the continent; and, I may, surely, desire you to recollect, that, I have frequently stated, that part of the plan of Buonaparté was, by the maritime camps, if I may use the expression, to keep an army in preparation for a continental war; and this you will find laid down as part of his plan, in a French essay upon the sub- ject, part of which will be found in the sup- plement to the first volume of this work.

Nothing, therefore, is so foolish; nothing so empty; nothing at once so contemptible and so dangerous as these boasts about *victories* over the flotilla.

[In the next number I shall endeavour to pay the arrears due to the *Pitt and Dundas faction*. They are hard at work, both in Scotland and in England. Their instruments, of all sorts, are in motion. But, let us hope, that there will be found industry on our side sufficient to counteract their efforts.——The *dinner* at Edinburgh will merit particular attention.]

Botley, Thursday, }
12th Sept. 1805. }

PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE CAPTURE AND DETENTION OF CAPTAIN WRIGHT, COMMANDING HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S BRIG EL VINCEJO, TAKEN BY THE FRENCH IN QUIBERON BAY, MAY 20TH, 1804: MOVED FOR BY MR. WINDHAM, AND LAID BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS JULY THE 12TH, 1805.

Letter from Mr. Marsden, Secretary to the Admiralty, to Mr. Cooke, Under Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies, dated Admiralty Office, 17th July, 1804.

SIR,—I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you herewith the enclosed copy of a letter from M. Riviere, of the Office of the French Minister of Marine, to the Commissioners of Transports, relative to the capitulation of the enemy's forces at the Island of St. Domingo, and to request you will lay the same before Lord Camden, for his lordship's information and directions thereupon. I am, &c.—WM. MARSDEN.

Translation of a Letter from M. Riviere to the Commissioners of Transports, dated Paris, 12th June, 1804.

GENTLEMEN,—The Minister of the Department of Marine and Colonies being informed that the crews of different vessels, as well as the several garrisons which evacuated the Cape in the Island of St. Domingo (in virtue of the capitulation made on board the frigate La Surveillante, the 30th of Nov., 1803), are detained prisoners in England, his Exc. has ordered me to claim, in his name, on the grounds hereinafter stated, the return to France of these crews and garrisons, in conformity to the 2d article of the said convention. It is conceived in these terms—"The garrison of the Cape, embarked on board of the different vessels, and the crews of these vessels shall be prisoners of war, and sent to Europe as soon as possible, upon their parole, not to serve until exchanged," &c. It is readily to be conceived that the spirit of this article, would, for greater exactness, require the word France to be substituted for that of "Europe."—But it would be an offence towards the English national character to suppose that its government could take advantage of a mere defect of precision in the choice of words, to infringe a capitulation, of which the very spirit is so explicitly developed by the very conditions which they who capitulated have subscribed.—In effect, if the intent and spirit of the capitulation had not been, that the garrisons and crews, who thereby constituted themselves prisoners of war, should be sent to France the soonest possible, instead of being detained in England, it is evident that their conveyance to Europe would not have been shackled by the condition of giving their parole not to serve before being exchanged.—No doubt but the military men on both sides, as well those whom the events of war forced to abandon the post which they had to defend, as those to whom they were forced to yield it up, frankly and fairly understood the spirit of the conditions which they signed, without a grammatical arrangement of the phraseology. And they never supposed that any discussion about mere words would afterwards arise upon a matter so thoroughly established by the essential condition of Art. II.—His Exc. is therefore led by his own innate equity to think, that if the British govt. believes itself authorised to retain the troops and sailors who capitulated at the Cape, that belief can only be owing to its not having sufficiently fixed its attention on this second article of the capitulation, and especially on these expressions, which form so very essential a part thereof, viz. "and shall be sent to Europe on their parole not to serve until exchanged." —His Exc. orders me to request you to lay these important observations before the Lords of the Admiralty; and he likes to cherish the belief, that the very line of conduct he himself would pursue, in a similar case, namely, to conform to the manifest spirit of the capitulation, will turn out to be that which their lordships will not hesitate to adopt in this. His Exc. observes, that the misfortunes of war are sufficiently grave in themselves, without those persons, who called by their places to such extensive influence over the lot of humanity, descending to aggravate them by resorting to evasions and quibbles unworthy their public character.—It is come round to his Exc's ears, that certain persons in England have supposed, that prisoners of war, sent back to France upon parole, have been there employed before

they were exchanged. Without chusing to dwell upon an allegation which has only reached him indirectly, his Exc., however, charges me to acquaint you, that no infraction of this nature has taken place.—On the other hand, I have laid before him the representations which you have desired me to submit to him, concerning the treatment of prisoners of war detained in France.—His Exc. has very lately had occasion to carry on some correspondence with the most distinguished among these prisoners, and nothing in course of it has led him to perceive any tendency to complaint on this subject. Nevertheless he has, inasmuch as the police over them depends upon the Minister of War, applied to the Marshal of the Empire, having that department, for proper attention to be paid to your representation on this head, should it prove founded. And, as soon as his answer shall come to hand, you shall be informed of the real state of things.—But you may rely upon it before-hand, gentlemen, that none of the duties which humanity prescribes in favour of prisoners of war will be neglected; for such is the formal intention of his Imperial Majesty. I have, &c. (Signed) RIVIERE.

Letter from E. Cook, Esq. Under Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies, to W. Marsden, Esq. Secretary to the Admiralty, dated, Downing Street, Aug. 28, 1804.

SIR,—I have had the honour to lay before Lord Camden your letter of the 17th ult. inclosing the copy of a letter from M. Riviere, written by order of the French Minister of Marine and Colonies, to the Commissioners for the custody of Prisoners of War, claiming the release of the French crews and garrisons that were made prisoners by his Majesty's squadron off Cape François, in the island of St. Domingo, on the 30th Nov. last, in virtue of the 2d art. of the convention then agreed to by the English and French commanders; and in answer thereto, I am directed to communicate to you his lordship's sentiments, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in order that they may be transmitted through M. Riviere to the French govt. In that letter M. Riviere states, that the minister, under whose orders he acts, directs him to observe, "that the misfortunes of war are sufficiently heavy in themselves, and call particularly on those who, by their situation on either side, are so powerfully enabled to influence the fate of humanity, not to seek occasions reciprocally to aggravate those misfortunes still more, either by evasions or discussions unworthy of their public character;" and he concludes his dispatch by remarking, "that the Admiralty may be assured of the direct and decided intention of the French govt., that none of the duties of humanity shall be neglected in favour of prisoners of war."—The sentiments thus avowed, are congenial with those which are entertained by his Majesty's ministers; and, however much the conduct hitherto adopted by the French govt. has differed from those sentiments, I am, notwithstanding, directed by Lord Camden to lay before you the following statement, as he cannot, from M. Riviere's expressions, but entertain the expectation, that when the justice of the cases which I proceed to lay before you for his information, shall be considered, the French govt. will afford that satisfaction to this country which she has a right to expect.—At the very outset of the war, even before his Majesty's ambassador had left France, a very considerable number of his Majesty's subjects who resided in France by the permission of the French govt., and on the faith of the law of nations, or under protection of passports from the ministers of France, were, in defiance of the established practice of European nations, detained as prisoners in France, and have since been confined in distant fortresses in that country. Whilst this flagrant violation of those laws and customs, by which civilised nations have been so long guided, has taken place in France, his Majesty's govt. have yet allowed all persons who are of the class known in the cartel of last war by the designation of "Non Combatants," to return to France; and 526 persons of this description have been actually sent to France, whilst only one person of the same description is known by the Transport Board to have been sent from France to this country. Lord Camden conceives that this plain statement sufficiently marks the different principles which have actuated the conduct of the two nations, and therefore makes no further comment or observation upon it, but directs me to state to you other circumstances connected with this subject.—In the month of June, 1803, a detachment of his Majesty's troops landed on the Island of St. Lucia; and on terms of capitulation being refused, they stormed the chief fortress on that island, and took the garrison prisoners of war; but so far from using the power which a victory so obtained might have afforded him, his Majesty's commanding officer, though he might have kept the garrison prisoners in the West Indies, though he might have sent them to England, stripped of all their private property, there to be retained in prison; yet, upon the highest

principle of honour and humanity, he sent them to their own country on their parole, with an entire confidence of their being immediately exchanged. No acknowledgment of this generous conduct has been made, and not a single British prisoner has been released in return for the garrison of St. Lucia.—In the same month of June, 1803, the Island of Tobago was attacked by a strong British force, and, on being summoned to surrender, Gen. Berthier, the Commandant, not being in a situation to make resistance, proposed a capitulation the most favourable to the French garrison, which consisted only of 80 rank and file. It was in the power of his Majesty's commanding officer to have forced the garrison to surrender at discretion, yet he humanely agreed to the capitulation proposed, and sent the garrison to France at the expense of G. Br.—In Oct., 1803, the French garrison of Pondicherry, consisting of 177 persons, cut off from all possibility of support, were summoned to surrender, by a strong detachment of his Majesty's forces, when, on their proposing a capitulation, the British commanding officer, who might have reduced them without the danger of loss, consented to allow them the most favourable and generous conditions; they were to be carried to France, and to receive their full pay till their arrival from the Indian Company, and were only debarred from serving again for a year and a day.—A cartel ship, named the Matilda, was taken into employment for this service, which a few days ago arrived in the Channel, and immediately proceeded off Havre. That port being blockaded, the cartel was directed to proceed to Fecamp. Upon its arrival off that port, no notice being taken of the ship, several of the French officers requested to be allowed to enter the port in a boat. This was permitted; but, on advancing near the harbour with a flag of truce, the boat was so repeatedly fired upon, that they were obliged to relinquish the attempt, and the cartel has arrived in the Downs.—Notwithstanding these circumstances, and that the last public cartel ship was fired upon from Morlaix, which is pointed out by the French govt. as the port to which flags of truce are to be sent, the cartel has been ordered to proceed to that port, and to make another attempt to carry the capitulation entered into at Pondicherry into execution.—I now proceed to state individual cases, to shew the spirit which actuates the govt. of France. Capt. Parien, commander of the French frigate the François, was allowed to go to France, on his parole to return to England in 3 months, if he could not procure the exchange of Capt. Brenton, of his Majesty's frigate the Minerva. The liberation of Capt. Brenton has been refused, and the French govt. have proposed to substitute; 1st, Col. Craufurd; 2dly, Mr. M'Namara; and, 3dly, a Col. Smith; the two former of whom being resident in France at the time of the rupture between the two countries, were detained as prisoners contrary to the law of nations; and Col. Smith is not known to be in the army or navy of this country.—I am next to advert to the capture and detention of Lieut. Dillon of his Majesty's frigate L'Africaine. He was sent into Helvoet on the 20th of July, 1803, in a six-oared cutter, with a flag of truce, and was there seized and detained with his crew. Upon a representation being made on the subject, a letter was received from the officer commanding at the Texel, under date Oct. 16, 1803, to the officer commanding his Britannic Majesty's ships off that port, stating, that orders had been issued by the Council of the Batavian Navy, to the commanding officer at Helvoet, on the 30th of July preceding, for the entire release of the said Lieut., flag of truce, and equipage; in consequence whereof he departed the same day, but that he was on his return carried back by a French armed boat, and transported on board the ship of the commandant of a French division stationed at the same port. It appears that remonstrances have been made by the Batavian republic to the French govt., for the liberation of Lieut. Dillon, but notwithstanding these circumstances, Lieut. Dillon is still detained a prisoner in the territory of France, in open violation of every privilege in relation to flags of truce established and acknowledged by civilized nations.—But the case of Capt. Wright deserves and requires more observation than even any of those I have laid before you: it appears that Capt. Wright, commanding his Majesty's sloop El Vincejo, (which was taken off the coast of Britanny, on the 23th of May last, by several gunboats) instead of meeting with that liberal treatment which has uniformly been experienced by French officers in similar cases, was sent, with circumstances of peculiar indignity and severity, to Paris, subjected to close imprisonment in the Temple, and obliged to undergo repeated interrogatories before a court of justice, when none of the facts alleged against him would, if true, authorise the French govt. to consider Capt. Wright in other light than as a prisoner of war, and as entitled to every privilege of that situation. Lord Camden finds it difficult to permit me to advert to a case of this flagrant nature in the terms and expressions to which

this communication ought to be confined; for he believes that no age has yet produced an instance of a gallant officer, who, after defending his ship to the utmost, was obliged to surrender, and who, thus becoming a prisoner of war, was entitled to all the respect which his conduct merited, was yet dragged to the capital of the hostile country, and interrogated there, in a manner most unjustifiable, upon a subject to which he could not, and ought not to answer. Capt. Wright's judgment and firmness appeared to be as conspicuous, under the circumstances in which he was placed, as his gallantry in his particular profession; but he yet remains a close prisoner in the Temple at Paris, an example of the honour, the firmness, and the spirit of the British character.—Here I close this statement: and I now proceed to state to you for the information of M. Riviere, that, in order to lessen the evils of war, and to consult the interests of humanity, his Majesty has twice invited the French govt. to accede to the principle of a general cartel, founded on the basis of that which existed between the two nations in the last war. The accession to those proposals has, however, been evaded by the French govt., by insisting that the Hanoverians are to be considered as British prisoners, when they cannot be ignorant that the cause of the invasion of Hanover, and the war with the King of G. Britain, are perfectly distinct in all their circumstances; when they know, that during several years of the last war, the electoral dominions of Hanover were at peace with France, and that no mention was made of Hanover in the treaty of the peace at Amiens, as forming in any manner whatsoever a part of the British empire; and when they equally know that no Hanoverian is a British subject; but, on the contrary, considered by the laws of G. Britain as an alien and foreigner, and over whom there is no control in this country.—Having laid before you this statement, it only remains for me to advert to the particular subject of M. Riviere's letter, viz. that those French prisoners which surrendered at Cape François, by capitulation, in Nov. 1803, should be sent to France without delay. On this part of the subject, I am, in the first place, directed by Lord Camden to refer you to the enclosed copy of the statement to Vice-Admiral Duckworth, by Capt. Bligh, respecting the said capitulation, in order that, by a communication thereof to M. Riviere, no pretence may be made of ignorance with respect to all its particulars. Upon the statement of Capt. Bligh, Lord Camden directs me to make the following observations: First, it appears that in a moment the most critical to the French garrison, all possibility of their escape cut off, their position being such, that their falling a sacrifice to the vengeance of the inhabitants of St. Domingo was inevitable, no time being allowed for consideration and adjustment of the terms and niceties of a formal capitulation, a paper of articles already prepared by the French commanding officer was presented to Capt. Bligh, who, actuated by motives of generosity and compassion, immediately consented thereto, with certain modifications, and with great difficulty induced General Dessalines also to consent to them: which modifications (as there was not time to reduce them into regular written terms) the French commanders, in the presence of Capt. Bligh and three of his officers, promised on their honour to ratify as soon as they should arrive at Jamaica. Secondly, on the faith of this promise, thus fully and distinctly given in the presence of four British officers, who certify the fact, the French garrison were received under the protection of his Majesty's squadron, and removed for certain immediate destruction; but as soon as by these means they were placed in a state of security, they retracted their promise, and refused to ratify the very engagements by which they were saved.—— Lord Camden has thought it necessary that a statement of the transactions which took place at Cape François, should be detailed to M. Riviere, in order that the French government may be aware of all the circumstances of the case, and how equitable his Majesty might be authorised in acting conformably thereto. Still, however, with that scrupulous adherence to capitulations and treaties which has ever distinguished this nation, his Majesty will not insist upon any point which is not included in the words of the capitulation of Cape François, and will be guided in his conduct by the written instrument alone. I am now, therefore, directed by Lord Camden, to desire that it may be stated to M. Riviere, that no time will be lost in carrying into execution the capitulation of Cape Françoise, whenever his Majesty's government, shall be enabled, from the conduct of the French government, to effectuate that measure; and that, so soon as a number of British prisoners, equal in number, and proportionate in rank to the garrison of St. Lucia, shall be sent to England, a proportion of the garrison which capitulated at Cape François shall be sent to France, in order to be exchanged. This proposition is made upon the principle of evincing the most scrupulous regard to the

capitulations agreed to by his Majesty's officers; but Lord Camden hopes that the French government may be induced to ulterior measurses, in which the cause of general justice and humanity is concerned, and which are calculated to alleviate those evils of warfare, which M. Riviere so truly states ought not to be aggravated.——I am therefore, secondly, to desire it should be proposed to M. Riviere, that if the French government shall release those persons, natives of Great Britain and Ireland, who were resident in France at the commencement of hostilities by the permission of the French government, or the passports of their ministers, and who have been detained in France captives contrary to the law of nations: and if Lieutenant Dillon shall be liberated, and Captain Wright released from his confinement, and treated as a prisoner of war, a general cartel, upon the basis so properly agreed to during the course of the last war, should be established between the two countries.——It must be obvious to M. Riviere, and to the French minister of marine under whom he acts, how deeply his Majesty must be impressed by the lengthened and unjust captivity of his subjects; and by the circumstances of Lieutenant Dillon's detention, and Captain Wright's imprisonment; and how reasonable it is to expect an honourable redress in these points, previous to the establishment of a general cartel. When this sentiment is conveyed to M. Riviere, I am directed to desire their lordships may at the same time impress upon him the confident expectation of his Majesty's government, that if the French government shall embrace the measure of a general cartel, they will not again impede its progress, by requiring terms in which it is known that it is impossible for his Majesty to acquiesce. I am, &c. (Signed) EDWARD COOKE.

Letter from Captain Bligh to Vice Admiral Sir J. Duckworth inclosed in the above Dispatch. Dated on board the his Majesty's Ship Theseus, Port Royal, Jamaica, December 11, 1803.

SIR,——On the morning of the 30th of November I received orders from Captain Loring to proceed to Cape François to ascertain the real situation of the French, and the reason of their remaining in the port after the forts had been taken possession of by the Blacks; and for my knowledge of the circumstances, to act as I should deem most expedient.——When I had proceeded as far as the entrance of the harbour, I was met by the guard-boat, which I thought proper to accompany on board the Surveillante. I acquainted Captain Barre, that, having perceived the coulours of the Blacks hoisted at the batteries, and every appearance of a strong north wind coming on, which would necessarily prevent their putting to sea, we were induced, by motives which always actuate a civilised people, to afford them once more an opportunity of entering into terms of capitulation, which would effectually prevent their falling into the hands of the Blacks. They instantly presented me terms of capitulation, to which I consented, with some exceptions, and for which I received Gen. Boyer's and Capt. Barre's word of honour (in the presence of the officers, whose names are hereunto subscribed) that they would alter, according to my explanation, or Capt. Loring's (the senior officer), on their arrival at Jamaica. ——I was disposed to concur in this arrangement the more readily, as I was assured by Capt. Barre, that they were threatened with being fired upon with red-hot shot if every ship was not out of the harbour by 6 that evening. The time was critical, and I conceived it necessary, in order to prevent this threat from being carried into execution, to have some written document immediately to produce to General Dessalines, to prove to him, that they had become prizes to His Britannic Majesty's squadron.——On my waiting on the Black General, at half past 5, it was with considerable difficulty I prevailed upon him to desist from his intention of firing into the ships if they did not leave the Cape within the appointed time; although, at this time, it was an impossibility, the wind blowing direct into the harbour, and nothing but their having surrendered to the squadron of His Britannic Majesty prevented him from doing so.——I feel extreme surprise, sir, in hearing that Gen. Boyer and Capt. Barre have refused to make the alterations they had pledged themselves to do on their arrival at Jamaica. They are well aware of the circumstances under which the capitulation was made, as well as the urgency of the time, which admitted only of verbal explanation and parole evidence.——According to those explanations, the 2d and 5th article of the capitulation were greatly restricted from the sense which, I understand, they will have them to bear.——By the 2d article it never was intended that any but the officers should have their parole; and that only to return to Europe meaning England, in order that their exchange might be effected without delay. And the 5th article meant only that personal property should be respected, of course, without including mer-

chandize, or public property which might be found on board the vessels. I have, &c. (Signed) JOHN BLIGH.

We whose names are hereunto suscribed do testify to the truth of the above explanations of the 2d and 5th articles of capitulation off Cape François, and likewise of the promise made in our presence by General Boyer and Captain Barre, that they would ratify them accordingly on their arrival at Jamaica. — (Signed) J. PERKINS, Capt. of the Tartar; F. MACDONALD, Lieut. of the Theseus; E. WROTTESLEY, Midshipman of the Theseus.

Letter from Lord Harrowby to the Chevalier d'Anduaga, dated July 18, 1804.

SIR,—The obstacles which have been opposed by the French government to all communication between the two countries, as well as the want of any authentic information respecting what passes at Paris, have hitherto prevented me from expressing his Majesty's sentiments as to the manner in which a British officer of distinguished character is said to have been treated. As, however, an opening appears to be offered (in consequence of the conversation I had the honour of holding with you on Monday last), of apprising that government, through the medium of the Spanish ambassador at Paris, of the light in which his Majesty views the proceeding which is understood to have taken place, it is my duty not to lose the opportunity which you are pleased to afford me, of endeavouring, by representation, to avert the consequences which must follow so great a violation of the rights of nations, and the usages of war.——If the accounts published in the French papers are correct, it appears, that Captain Wright, commanding his Majesty's ship El Vincejo, who was taken off the Coast of Britanny, on the 20th of May last, by several gun-boats, instead of meeting with that liberal treatment which has uniformly been experienced by French officers in similar cases, was sent, with circumstances of peculiar indignity and severity, to Paris, subjected to close confinement in the Temple, and obliged to undergo repeated interrogatories before a court of Criminal Justice. ——It is unnecessary for me to enter into the discussion of those pretences by which this treatment is attempted to be justified, as none of the facts would, even if true, authorise the French government to consider Captain Wright in any other light than as a prisoner of war, and as entitled to every privilege of that situation.—— To call upon a prisoner of war to answer interrogatories, in order to produce proof against himself of some alleged crime, supposed to have been committed previous to his capture, and even anterior to the present war, is evidently inconsistent with every principle of justice, and to abridge his personal liberty, much more to confine him as a prisoner of state, is contrary to that mitigated exercise of the rights of war, which has formed the boast of civilized Europe.——I have been directed, sir, to state these sentiments to you, in the confidence that you will take the first opportunity of conveying them to the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, and of requesting him to communicate them to the French government.——His Majesty, ever unwilling to add to the calamities of war, is desirous of trying, through a friendly channel, to procure that redress, by remonstrance, which he must ultimatelybe compelled to seek by means less agreeable to his inclinations. He will abstain from having recourse to those means while he entertains the hope, that such an answer will be given through the same channel as may satisfy his just expectations; but, if he learns that, notwithstanding this representation, the imprisonment of Captain Wright is still continued, he will no longer feel himself justified in delaying to treat with the same rigour some officer of equal or superior rank, whom the chance of war has placed in his power, and to consider such officer as an hostage for the safety of Captain Wright.——I must beg you, sir, to accept my best thanks for the obliging manner in which you have allowed me to make use of your intervention, upon an occasion equally interesting to humanity and to justice. I have the honour to be, &c.——(Signed) HARROWBY.

Letter from the Chevalier d'Anduaga to Lord Harrowby, dated Portland-place, 19th July, 1804.

MY LORD,——I have received the note your lordship has done me the honour of addressing to me; in which I am desired to forward its contents to his Catholic Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, to the end that his Britannic Majesty's sentiments on the treatment which has been exercised towards Captain Wright, may be made known to the French government.——At our last interview, I had the honour of expressing to your lordship, how much I should be flattered at being able to render myself at all useful to his Britannic Majesty's government, in facilitating its means of communication with that of France on this head. I consequently hasten to assure your lordship, that I will seize the first occasion which may offer for making such communication. —— Meanwhile, I have the satisfaction of expressing to you my very sincere wishes to see this

step crowned with such a measure of success, as may prove satisfactory to his Britannic Majesty.——I beg your lordship to accept my assurances, &c. (Signed) THE CHEVALIER D'ANDUAGA.

Letter from the Chevalier d'Anduaga to Lord Harrowby, dated Portland-place, Sept. 24, 1804.

MY LORD,——At length I have the satisfaction of announcing to your lordship, the success which has attended the steps taken in favour of Capt. Wright. By a letter from M. Talleyrand, addressed to his Catholic Majesty's Ambassador (a copy of which I have the honour of transmitting to you), your lordship will perceive, that the French government is disposed to order Mr. Wright to be placed at the disposal of his Britannic Majesty; and, for his deliverance, only waits to learn the place where this prisoner is to be consigned.——After the lively interest which is evident to have been felt by his Britannic Majesty, in the fate of this individual, I cannot but be infinitely flattered at the resolution thus taken by the French government, and I shall be no less so, as being instrumental towards the perfect conclusion of this affair.——In expressing these sentiments, I do but fulfil the wishes, and even the very orders, of the King, my master; for, no sooner was his Majesty informed of the desires of the British government, with regard to Captain Wright, than he charged his ambassador at Paris, most particularly, to omit nothing which could aid their obtaining a favourable result.——I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) THE CHEVALIER D'ANDUAGA.

Letter from M. Talleyrand to M. Gravina the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, enclosed in the preceding letter; dated, Paris (10th Fructidor, XII.), 27th August, 1804.

SIR,——I have laid before his Majesty the Emperor, the letter which you have done me the honour of communicating to me. By his order, I must recapitulate to your excellency some facts, which relate to the object of that letter. Mr. Wright was taken by our cruisers, at the very moment he was landing Jean Marie and two of his accomplices, on the coast of Britanny. Prior to this, he had already landed at three times consecutively, banditti of a similar description, who have since been brought to judgment, convicted, and punished, for having conspired against the state, and attempted the life of the First Consul. These species of acts, under whatever point of view they may otherwise be contemplated, certainly do not appertain to war. There is no age, nor any nation, in which they would not be regarded as crimes, and one may, with truth, aver, that it was *flagranti delicto*, that Mr. Wright was captured by French mariners, then officiating as an armed force.——According to accounts, to which full credit must be given, this officer had been demanded from the English Admiralty. The lords directing this department were, of course, not ignorant of the kind of service to which he was destined. The shame attached to the premeditation and execution of a project, as atrocious and vile, as it was cowardly, remains entirely with the men who devised the plot, and, with him, who undertook to accomplish their views.——I am ordered, Sir, to declare to your excellency, that his Majesty the Emperor will never suffer Mr. Wright to be exchanged. No Frenchman belonging, with whatever rank he may, to the imperial navy, can ever consent to be placed in the balance with that person, in a cartel of exchange. But, Sir, the Emperor, having at heart to do every thing which depends upon his Imperial Majesty, to mitigate the scourges of war, and willing to prove, that in his breast such a disposition preponderates over even motives of useful and just severity, has authorised me to declare, that his Imperial Majesty will give orders, that Mr. Wright be placed at the disposal of the English government. May I beg of you, therefore, to make known to Lord Harrowby, this generous determination of his Majesty. You will see in it, Sir, the marked intention of doing what may be personally agreeable to yourself, and his Britannic Majesty's new ministry will be constrained to recognise in it, a proof of the disposition so often manifested on the part of his Imperial Majesty, to shew himself above not only those sentiments which offences in general excite, but even above those which might spring from the attempts, of which his own person has been the object. I shall, therefore, remain in expectation of learning by your means, the place which the English government wish the prisoner of state, claimed through your intervention, to be delivered over.——I avail myself of this opportunity of renewing to your excellency the assurance of my most high consideration.——(Signed) CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND. Certified as a copy. (Signed) FREDERIC GRAVINA. Certified as a copy. (Signed) THE CHEVALIER D'ANDUAGA.

Letter from Lord Harrowby to the Chevalier d'Anduaga, dated Downing-street, Sept. 25, 1804.

SIR,——I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday,

and to assure you, that his Majesty's government entertain a just sense of the liberality and generosity, with which his Catholic Majesty has been pleased to interpose his good offices, in favour of Captain Wright, and of the very obliging manner in which you and M. Gravina have complied with the request contained in my former note to you upon this subject.——As the French government has consented to liberate that officer from his present confinement, and to allow him to return to this country, I do not think proper to make any observations upon the contents of M. Talleyrand's note to Admiral Gravina. I have, therefore, to request that you, Sir, will be pleased to communicate, through M. de Gravina, to the French government, in consequence of the wish they have intimated, to know the place to which Captain Wright should be sent; that it is the desire of his Majesty's government, that he should be sent to Dover in a flag of truce; or, if there is any objection to that mode of liberating him, that he may be allowed to quit the territories of France, for the purpose of proceeding to Embden, or any other neutral port or place. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) HARROWBY.

BATAVIAN FLOTILLA.—*Vice-Admiral Verheuil's detailed Report of the Engagements of the 17th and 18th July, addressed to his Majesty Napoleon I. Emperor of the French and King of Italy. Dated Ambleteuse, July 26th,* 1805.

(Concluded from p. 381*)*

These results of the combats, as obstinate as unequal, are all in our favour, since we have not lost a single armed boat; and although the enemy had at least 900 cannon directed against us, and that we had only 180 on our 21 gun-boats and our three praams, they were not able to stop us a single moment on our passage, nor even to derange our order of battle. Although there were several boats much damaged, there was only one that quitted the line, and that only as she was about to sink. I ought again to do justice to the officers who commanded in this last affair, and I have the honour to name them here, in order to make them known to your Imperial and Royal Majesty; they are, for the 3 praams, M. M. Coren, Mestdagh, and Cloupet; and for the 21 gun-boats, M. M. Van der Lœf, Bolken, Metma, Schotman, Waardenburg, Ribbing, Van der Hart, Hinxt, Van der Pels, Reigig, Tuchs, Victor, Gerhards, Sels, Caspers, Lutkens, Van Bereusten, Bödel, Morrel, Olyve, and Ossewarde, jun. They all merit the greatest praise, as well for their promptitude in executing my orders, as their exactness in answering my signals, and the valour with which they sustained the combats; so that one gun-boat fired 245 times with her battery of two 24 lb. cannons. The officers of the 11 gun-boats which were obliged to go into Calais, are M. M. Bezemer, Sail, Houlkoper, Reins, Van Ginkel, Berghuis, Memeling, Dillie, De Visscher, Hemmes, and Hoogdaleen; they also merit my praise.—Without permitting myself to estimate the damage that may have been sustained by the enemy, every thing leads me to presume that they have suffered more than ourselves, if it be considered that the great bodies of their ships offer a point made more certain of being hit than our small vessels, so little elevated above the surface of the water.——I ought to render the justice that is due to the two English Rear-Admirals who were engaged in the action; they made every effort to destroy us; their order of battle was well preserved, and some of their vessels shewed an audacity seldom to be met with; the obstinacy with which they fought us is worthy of having been opposed to the united arms of your Imperial and Royal Majesty and the Batavian Republic.——My good fortune in having on board the brave Marshal of the Empire, Davenot, has afforded me the highest satisfaction, since he was an eye-witness of the ardour with which the crews and garrisons rivalled each other; and I dare flatter myself that your Imperial and Royal Majesty will see in this affair a new proof of the ardour of all the Batavians for the glorious cause which they are called upon to support. ——I commend myself to the high protection of your Imperial and Royal Majesty; and I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect, and the most inviolable devotion, Sire, your Imperial and Royal Majesty's most humble and most obedient servant, VERHEUIL, Vice-Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Batavian flotilla.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

BATAVIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.——*Speech of the Grand Pensionary, Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck, at the Opening of the Legislative Assembly, on the 3d of September,* 1805. *From the Batavian Official Gazette.*

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,—I have considered it necessary to call you together out of the usual course of your meeting, to propose some measures, the speedy adoption of which appears to me to be of importance for the interest of the state.—A number of regulations, which have been drawn up in pursuance of taxes already decreed, shall be laid before your high mightinesses for your deliberation. In framing these regulations,

my principal object has been to assure, on the one hand, the due distribution and collection of the taxes imposed by your high mightinesses; and, on the other hand, to take care that the people should be secured against all unnecessary embarrassments and vexations, in order that the contributions may be discharged with as little trouble and pressure as possible. Your high mightinesses must feel how nearly these measures are connected with the improvement of the finances; and that reflection will be alone sufficient to convince you of the great importance which belongs to their consideration. The wisdom, zeal, and anxiety for the welfare of the country, which distinguished the councils of your high mightinesses in your former sitting, affords me a pledge that the affairs which on this occasion shall be submitted to your high deliberation will also receive that serious consideration which their importance demands.—I could have wished, high and mighty lords, to have been able, at the critical period of the present meeting, to open to your high mightinesses a prospect from which you might have derived a well founded hope of peace; but gloomy as the political horizon may at this moment appear, we have, however, no reason to despair of a happy change, and perhaps a more solid peace will soon yield us an acceptable reparation for the present delay. Such a peace we certainly may promise ourselves from the Godlike protection of the great genius of our mighty ally; and doubtless it will be most agreeable to your high mightinesses, in so critical a period as the present, to hear from me, that during the whole of my administration I have constantly received from that illustrious ally reiterated proofs of regard and friendship, and the most solemn assurances of good-will towards the republic. This is an union of sentiment and interests which I shall ever endeavour to cherish and maintain by an unchangeable fidelity to our engagements.—With respect to the internal situation of the republic, it appears to me, high and mighty lords, that under the present circumstances we have every reason to be satisfied. The new order of affairs has, within a very short period, acquired that consolidation, and commanded that respect, which, in the ordinary course of human transactions, can only be expected to result from long established institutions. The government receives from all parts of the republic proofs of esteem and co-operation, and is thereby equally honoured and supported in the arduous task it has to perform. Our country now exhibits the grand spectacle of a wise and brave people, fully sensible of the difficult position in which they are placed, ready to make every unavoidable sacrifice for maintaining their character among nations, and therefore unanimously resolved to sustain the power of their government.—High and mighty lords, I take leave of your meeting with an earnest prayer, that the proceedings of your high mightinesses may be calculated for the benefit of the country, and that they may be crowned with the blessing of the Almighty.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.——*From the London Gazette.*

Whitehall, August 25, 1805.——This evening, about half-past eight o'clock, departed this life, at Gloucester House, after a long illness, his Royal Highness William Henry Duke of Gloucester, to the great grief of their Majesties and the Royal Family.

Lord Chamberlain's Office, August 27, 1805.——Orders for the court's going into mourning on Sunday the 1st of September for his late Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, his Majesty's brother, viz.—The ladies to wear black silk, plain muslin, or long lawn, crape, or love hoods, black silk shoes, black glazed gloves, and black paper fans.——Undress, black or dark grey unwatered tabbies.——The gentlemen to wear black cloth without buttons on the sleeves or pockets, plain muslin or long lawn cravats and weepers, black swords and buckles.——Undress, dark grey frocks.

The Earl Marshal's Order for a General Mourning for his late Royal Highness William Henry Duke of Gloucester.

In pursuance of his Majesty's commands, these are to give notice, that it is expected that, upon the present occasion of the death of his late Royal Highness William Henry Duke of Gloucester, all persons do put themselves into decent mourning; the said mourning to begin on Sunday 1st the day of September.——August 27, 1805.—NORFOLK, Earl Marshal.

Horse Guards, August 27, 1805.——His Majesty does not require that the officers of the army should wear any other mourning on the present melancholy occasion, than a black crape round their left arms with their uniforms. By command of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief.——HARRY CALVERT, Adjutant-General of the Forces.

Admiralty Office, August 27, 1805.——His Majesty doth not require that the officers of his fleet or marines should wear any other mourning, on the present melancholy occasion of the death of his Royal Highness the late William Henry Duke of Gloucester, than a black crape round their left arms, with their uniforms.——WM. MARSDEN.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 12.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1805. [PRICE 10D.

"To horse-racing I am, personally, no more an enemy than I am to boxing; though, in making this "observation, I am far from meaning to disparage boxing so far as to put them upon an equal footing; or "to insinuate, that so poor, mean, and wretched an amusement as the one, is, at all to vie in importance "with the other, which is so closely connected with ideas of personal merit and individual dignity."—— MR. WINDHAM'S Speech in the House of Commons, 24th of May, 1802.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

BOXING.——Whether the enormously over-grown size of the metropolis has rendered indispensably necessary that anomaly in our administration of justice, that innovation upon the constitution, the establishment of POLICE MAGISTRATES, receiving a considerable salary, and removeable at the pleasure of the Crown, or, in fact, at that of the minister of the day; and, whether, supposing such necessity to exist, the commissions of those magistrates ought to have been so extended as to enable them to act as justices of the peace through the whole extent of the counties of Middlesex, Essex, Kent and Surrey, and thereby putting into the hands of the minister the means of obtaining, in each of those counties, a decided preponderance as to all matters usually settled at the general Quarter Sessions, including, of course, the appointment to the county-offices and the selection of persons to be engaged in county-contracts: these are questions, which may, upon some future occasion, be thought worthy of the attention of parliament. But, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the necessity of the establishment in question, or as to the propriety of so widely extending the sphere of its influence, none, one would think, can possibly exist as to the nature of that influence upon the execution of the law. It is not meant to make any insinuation, or to leave any impression, injurious to the character of the gentlemen, who have been selected to fill the offices of Police Magistrates. But, it cannot be denied, that the establishment has greatly tended, and indeed, must tend, to give to the execution of the law, as far as regards the common people, a sharpness, a severity, heretofore little known in England. Men in the constant habit of hunting through the labyrinths of knavery and thievery; of selecting the wiles of the strumpet and extracting the secrets of the assassin; of witnessing scenes in the last degree disgraceful to humanity; such men must, in proportion to their zeal, become severe. They do not forget, that they ought to discriminate; but, they do, and they naturally must, adopt, by degrees, a principle of discrimination, which, though, in some respects, well suited to the metropolis, is certainly unsuited to the rest of the kingdom, over which, however, little by little, this their principle is extending; and, if we consider the weight they derive from their talents; from the constancy of their employment, and their consequent experience; from the professional aid they have always at their command; from the regularity, with which all their proceedings are conducted; from the number and variety of their decisions; from the circumstances of their having been selected by, and of their acting immediately under the eye of the government; from their being at the seat of fashion as well as of power; and, above all, from the publication, the wide diffusion, of the accounts of whatever they say or do in their offices, together with the praises (I will not call them puffs) so plenteously bestowed, on some of them at least, by the sages, to whom is committed the task of instructing the nation by the means of that powerful engine, the press: All these duly considered by us, we shall not be surprized, that their practice is very fast becoming the practice of the country-justices, some of whom, for want of gangs of pick-pockets and bevies of strumpets, on whom to inflict chastisement, have shown their zeal in applying the severity of the law to men boxing for a wager and to girls running for a smock; insomuch that all athletic and rustic sports, every exercise requiring great bodily exertion, and tending, under the name and the feeling of pastime, to strengthen the frame, and to produce hardihood and valour, seem to be doomed to extirpation, and that too, by the instrumentality of those very laws, under the mild spirit of which they have so long flourished and so long contributed to the forming and the preserving of that at once resolute and amiable character, for which the people of England have ever been distinguished.——These remarks I have regarded as not an unsuitable preliminary to a conclusion of the subject, begun in page 193, and continued, in an extract from a

work of Dr. Bradsley, in page 371. If the reader has, with an ordinary degree of attention, perused the articles here referred to, he will have perceived, that much does not remain to be said in defence of the practice of boxing, especially after the statement of incontrovertible facts, for which the public are indebted to Dr. Bradsley.—— As to boxing, in general; as to boxing considered as a mode of terminating quarrels amongst the common people, Dr. Bradsley not only perfectly agrees with me, but he has, as the reader will have perceived, produced numerous and most apt and striking facts in support of his opinions. In short, he has clearly shewn, that, unless boxing is revived in those parts of England where it has most declined, cuttings and stabbings will, in a little time, become as prevalent in those parts as in any of the countries, whose manners, in this respect, we have been accustomed to regard with the greatest horror. The only question, therefore, that remains to be decided, is, *how* is the practice of boxing to be revived where it has declined, and, where it has not declined, to be cherished and preserved? The answer is, by making the practice *respectable*; and, it would be odd indeed, if it were to acquire respectability in a way different from that in which respectability is obtained to every other practice and science. Dr. Bradsley simply says, without stating his reasons, that he would have no *prize-fighting*, none of those contests, in which men engage for *gain*. But, he seems not to have considered, that gain is not the *sole* object, which the combatants have in view; he seems not to have recollected, that gain, of some sort or other, mixes itself, and must mix itself, with all the motives that lead to eminence in any of almost infinite pursuits of men. A desire to lessen the ills of human nature can scarcely be looked upon as the sole object of the physician's or the surgeon's studies: the divine, looking up to the mitre will hardly forget that its possession is accompanied with riches: the lawyer may burn with a love of justice, but it will not be very eagerly contended, that he entirely overlooks the harvest of fees: the soldier and the sailor, I mean the officer, fights for his king and his country, for fame and glory, but does he not look forward to something in the nature of *reward*, to some *prize*, to something which is, as a matter of course, accompanied with pecuniary acquisitions? What is the mode pursued, when we want to revive or preserve any art or science or pursuit? The giving of *premiums*, or *prizes*. Sometimes we give them in the form of medals or of cups; but, these are not made of lead or tin; and the gold medal ever signifies a greater degree of merit than the silver one. Yet, we must not conclude, that *gain*, that *mere lucre*, is scarcely ever the principal object of the persons endeavouring to obtain any of those prizes. We must look upon the prize merely as the *mark of merit*; and the contest will, then, fairly be considered as important in proportion to the value of the prize. But, indeed, so obviously useful are prizes for the purpose of reviving or keeping up, in its perfection, a practice like that of boxing, that Dr. Bradsley himself *proposes the adoption of* "*prizes* at wakes "and public amusements for the encouragement of those who excelled in *sparring* "*with mufflers.*" With due deference, however, to this gentleman, I must say, that I think such a scheme would entirely fail of success. Sparring with mufflers is one thing, and boxing is another. Those who learnt the *former*, would not, when they came to fight in consequence of a quarrel, think themselves bound by the laws observed in their combats with mufflers.—— So right as Dr. Bradsley is as to the principles, upon which the practice of boxing is founded, it is almost impossible, that, from his own mind, any suggestion unfavourable to prize-fighting should have sprung. Men, even of great talents and, as to motives of interest, perfectly independent, are, nevertheless, frequently led to act upon the opinions of others; and, I cannot help thinking, that, to some cause of this kind, we ought to attribute the inconsistency which appears in this part of Dr. Bradsley's essay. He wishes to see boxing revived where it has declined, and preserved where it still exists in its former state; and, I think, the reader will be of opinion, that, if there is no boxing for prizes, there will be no other boxing, where the laws, the generous principles, of that combat will be observed. Why are horse-races established by law? Why are prizes given to the owners of winning horses? Not merely that there should be races, at such and such places, and that there should be gambling and pocket-picking and all manner of profligacy carried on for three or four days successively; but, that the breed of horses should be kept up; that there should always be some of the *very best* for racing, and, that there should always be a supply of *good ones* for general use. Men now pride themselves upon having a good horse; upon his capacity of going swift; upon his having some *blood* in him; and all this with reference only to the races. The proof that the same observations are

applicable to boxing is found in experience. How comes boxing to have declined, and, in some parts of the kingdom, to have been nearly lost, but because contest between persons fighting for fame and profit have been suppressed? Why does it now seem to be reviving, but because, in spite of the combinations of puritanical persons (some of them in places of power) such contests have, of late, been more prevalent? It is the fame acquired by these contests, which contests never fail to attract general attention and to excite a deep interest, that teach people to think the thing respectable, and which diffuses a knowledge of, and gives effect to, the laws in those contests established. To talk of suppressing *public contests* of this kind, as *barbarous* and *brutal*, and yet to suppose that boxing, as a mode of deciding *private quarrels*, will continue in use, is to discover but a very small degree of reflection upon the tendency which public spectacles have upon men's conduct in private life. But, those who will have the notions of barbarous and brutal attached to this practice, might find, in truth, much more to say in favour of their opinion, if the practice were confined *wholly* to the decision of quarrels, than when the practice is mixed, and is partly used as the means of revenge upon an adversary, and partly as a trial of skill and *manhood*, according to the good old phrase. The object is to exclude *bitterness* and *rancour* from contests, as well as to limit the extent of the mischief; and, nothing will do this so effectually as the example and habits of men engaging in these contests perfectly without enmity, and whose great study it is, with a view to their own success in each particular instance, and their general eminence in the art, to keep their breasts free of all irritation and passion. One of the fine characteristics of the art is, that passion, that is to say (ill-will and vindictiveness) is adverse to success in the contest itself, and that to harbour ill-will after it is over is, by its laws, rendered odious and disgraceful. Amongst persons of a refined education, one can easily conceive, that this sort of generosity will always be kept up; but, let any one shew me, if he can, any other means than those of prize-fights, of supporting it amongst the common people. From the grand boxing stages, the proceedings of which are, and always will be, amply promulgated, emanate *the laws*, by which men are governed in the decision of their private quarrels. The laws (if we ought to apply so dignified a term to so paltry a pastime) of cricketing are handed down to, and are observed, by the very children who are seen under the trees in Saint James's Park bowling at a hat. From Lord's Cricketing Ground extend all over the nation the principles and rules of the game, as well as the fame of the players; and I will venture to say, that the fame of Beldam has created cricketers, not only upon the skirts of the Holt Forrest, where he was born, but in every part of the kingdom; and, be it observed, by the way, that the persons engaged in this game, contend for *prizes*, and that Beldam, and other poor men who are eminent players, are always *paid* for their time and for the use of their talents. If, then, prize-matches and the fame arising from them, do so much in this case, what must they not do in the case of boxing, where the fame is of so much louder a voice, where the powerful feelings are all so deeply interested, and where the personal merit is so much greater! Indeed, Dr. Bradsley allows, that, "It has been asserted, by those qualified to judge, that, since the late diffusion "of the knowledge of the pugilistic art, by "*itinerant practitioners*, amongst the northern inhabitants of the kingdom, the "mere exertions of *brutal* strength and *ferocity* have somewhat *fallen into disuse*, "both as exercises of pastime, as well as "means of offence and defence." After such an acknowledgment, is it not wonderful to hear him conclude with recommending prize-matches *with mufflers!* And is it not still more wonderful to hear him condemn prize-fights (where alone these itinerant practitioners have learnt their art) as brutal and ferocious!——The *other exercises* of the common people, conducing to bodily strength and hardihood, and, through hardihood, to bravery, should not be forgotten. Boxing, wrestling, quarter-staff, and single-stick, were all once in great vogue in the several parts of this kingdom; and they have all declined, not because the nation has become more *civilized*, as it is called, but because it has, unhappily, and from causes evident enough, become more *effeminate*. The tendency of them all is the same; their necessary effect is to produce trials of bodily strength, and thereby to create strength; to render strength valuable in the eyes of the people, and thereby to produce great exertion of it; to teach men to *bear great bodily pain*, and to bear it *with patience and even with good humour*, and, amongst the common people, this is the great foundation of military bravery; it is the very reverse of effeminacy, which word is descriptive of that assemblage of degenerate feelings, which make men cowards, and which gradually prepare a nation for slavery. ——These truths are so evident, they have been so completely established by experience,

that the only objection which some of our adversaries have urged against prize-matches is, that they draw the people from their work; that they produce "*idleness* and *rioting*." As to the *idleness* produced by prize-matches, a better answer cannot be found than what is contained in the reported speech of Mr. Windham, from which my motto is taken. "I regret," said he, "that many "gentlemen should be anxious to deprive "the lower orders of their amusements, "from a seeming apprehension, that, if they "are suffered to enjoy those recreations, "they will *no longer labour sufficiently*, and "may become, from their improvidence a "burthen to those rates, to which the rich "must contribute. This is a most inconsiderate way of thinking, and I caution "the rich against acting upon it. The efficient part of the community for labour "ought to be encouraged in their exertions "rather by furnishing them with occasional "amusements, than by depriving them of "the few that remain; for, if to poverty be "added a privation of amusements, I know "nothing that can more strongly goad the "mind into desperation, and more directly "tend to prepare the poor for the adoption "of those dangerous sentiments, the fatal "effects of which to the state need not be "dwelt on. Independent, therefore, of the "injustice of encroaching upon the few "small amusements of the poor, I beg the "House to consider the consequence of rendering them discontented or dispirited, "by leaving nothing for them but *the wide* "*waste of labour*. The reason why our "labourers perform so much more work "than slaves is obvious; because they feel, "that they work for themselves; and, according as their profit, or their prospect "of pleasure, which is the same thing, is "increased, just so does their labour usually "increase." These are the expressions of true wisdom, and of real friendship to the people and to the throne. Never was any thing truer than the old saying, that "all "work and no play makes Jack a dull boy;" and, accordingly, all wise legislators, and, indeed, all legislators, till of very late, have taken care to reserve a certain, and not inconsiderable, portion of the year, to be devoted to rest, leisure, and amusement; and, the most dangerous of all the changes that the predominance of commerce has introduced, is the disposition so very prevalent amongst the rich, to leave the poor no leisure or amusement at all. You find, in almost every village, especially where the great manufacturers have an influence, a sort of superintending and inquisitorial system established, as to the affairs of the poor. Sometimes this system assumes the garb of religion, at other times of charity, but the pretext is, in general, to encourage *labour* and *economy*. There is frequently, as in the case of Lord Mulgrave (who distributes *prizes*, the newspapers say, amongst his cottagers to encourage them to labour and to live economically) much good intention that mixes itself with this prying propensity; but, his Lordship, yielding to the first emotions, excited by the contemplation of poverty, does not take time to reflect, that it is not in his power, nor in the power of all the rich men in the kingdom, were they to unite and co-operate, to prevent the existence of poverty, or, upon *a general scale*, to diminish its quantity, without such a change in the state of things, as I am certain he does not wish to see effected. All that individual compassion can do, in this way, and all that it ought to attempt, is, to administer relief as far as the party administering is able; but always with as little of reproof, with as little even of admonition, with as little of the dictator as possible, and never, upon any occasion, with a condition, either as to labour or good-behaviour, on the part of the persons relieved; for, the moment such a condition is proposed, the gratitude ceases, and thus, that which might otherwise be accomplished by the benefaction is pretty sure to be prevented. But, when the condition extends to a deprivation of pleasure (for, let refinement say what it will, wakes and prize-matches afford *real pleasure* to the people), then the benefaction becomes an affront, which, though it be not openly resented, will always be remembered, and, when occasion serves, become the ground of action. —— As to the "*rioting*," to which prize matches give rise, this rioting is a word, of the double meaning of which a very great, a very general, and, let me add, a very unfair advantage has been taken. Rioting means *noisy mirth*, in which if there be any harm, some apology will certainly be necessary for those who see the plays, or hear the speeches, of Mr. Sheridan; but, a similar noise (for a horse laugh has always the same sound, whether issuing from the lips of a lord or from those of a labourer) is heard at a prize-match, it calls forth the application of the term rioting, in its legal, in its *criminal* sense, whereby is conveyed the idea of a number of persons assembled together for some purpose of *sedition*, or of violence *against the peace* of the realm, and against the crown and dignity of the King! Was there ever so glaring a perversion! Was there ever such partiality of

construction? No; it is not amongst those who delight in prize-matches, that persons of a discontented and seditious turn of mind are found. That such scenes tend to produce hardihood; that they cherish an admiration of great bodily strength and of great fortitude under bodily suffering; that they tend to make men set a high value on their personal merit; that they, thereby, keep alive an independence of mind, and render the possessors unfit for the trammels of slavery, was before observed, when it was also observed, that, "if you render the whole nation effeminate; if you suffer no relaxation from labour or from care; if you shut all the paupers up in workhouses, and, if those that are not so shut up, you work in gangs, each with its driver; if you do this, it is evident that you will have no internal commotion; it is evident, that you will hold the people in complete subjection to your will; but, then, recollect, that they will be like the ass in the fable, and that they will stir neither hand nor foot to prevent a transfer of their subjection to another master." Indeed, as far as *plotting* and *conspiring* will go, they will be very likely to aid in such transfer. They will make no *noise*; no *turbulence* will be discovered amongst them, but it is amongst such people that you may always look for the origin of *treasons*. Very wide indeed is the difference between the disposition and the feelings which produce resistance to real oppression, and those which produce gloomy disaffection and lurking conspiracy against the person or office of a king; the former naturally inhabit a manly and generous mind, and the latter as naturally inhabit a mind of a contrary stamp; to the former we owe all the glorious efforts that have been made to preserve the liberties of our country, and to the latter all the disgrace which disloyalty and treason have, at any time, brought upon the English name.

FAMILY QUARREL.——As both the Pitts and the Addingtons now seem to have dropped this subject, we shall, at present, have no occasion to revive it; but as circumstances *will come*, that will compel us to revive it, it will be useful to have the close of their disputes upon record; and, for this purpose, I now insert the following article from THE TIMES of the 3d instant, to which I beg the reader's attention, as well as to the few observations, that it appears to me necessary to subjoin to it:——"As an even-"ing paper, whose misrepresentations on "the causes of Lord Sidmouth's resignation "we have so often had occasion to notice, "has professedly said its last word, we de-"sire also to have a word at parting, and "first to submit the following specimens of "its consistency, to the observation of the "public:——"The real cause of Lord "Sidmouth's retirement from office, was "the desire to dictate, and domineer in "the cabinet, particularly on some naval "and military questions." Vide Courier, July 17.——"An attempt is now making "to form an administration of the Ad-"dingtons and the Prince's party, with a "reversionary promise to the Foxites. "This is the secret of Lord Sidmouth's "retreat." Vide Courier, July 19.—— "Lord Sidmouth's real motive for resign-"ing, was the non-appointment of one "of his friends to a particular office." Vide Courier, July 29.——"The real "fact and truth is, that they resigned, "because they were disappointed in their "expectation of getting certain places." Vide Courier, August.——This writer then proceeds to state, that they (the Addingtons) are "reluctantly brought to "acknowledge, that because it was intimated to Lord Sidmouth, that arrangements "for some of his friends, which had voluntarily been proposed by Mr. Pitt, could "not be carried into effect, on account of "the conduct of those gentlemen in parliament, on questions relating to Lord Melville, Lord Sidmouth's continuance in office was rendered impossible." Instead, however, of "reluctantly acknowledging," we have always distinctly avowed, that the mode thus adopted, of requiring unconditional submission on the part of Lord Sidmouth and his friends, upon all questions respecting Lord Melville, was the chief and immediate cause of Lord Sidmouth's resignation. This intimation was first given, not only after Mr. Pitt was apprised of Mr. Bond's intended motion of the 11th June, but in consequence of his knowledge of such an intention; and it was repeated immediately after the memorable motion of Mr. Leycester. The threat, however, was lost upon the friends of Lord Sidmouth, and they discharged their duty with fearless integrity. The declared determination to execute that threat, was justly resented by Lord Sidmouth, as involving conditions for his continuance in office, insulting to his feelings, disgraceful to his character, and utterly destructive of the means of being useful to the public: conditions, the more offensive and unwarrantable, because they were in direct violation of a reservation, made by Lord Sidmouth previous to his connexion with the government, and ac-

quiesced in by Mr. Pitt; viz. that his acceptance of office was not to be considered as in any degree fettering his conduct, or that of any of his friends, upon such points as might arise out of the reports of the Naval Commissioners, or with respect to the commission itself. It is therefore evident, that if Lord Sidmouth and his friends would have concurred in screening Lord Melville, those differences would not have arisen which produced his lordship's resignation: that "the rupture was occasioned by the aversion they felt at being called upon to follow Mr. Pitt through his measures relating to Lord Melville;" and that they preferred an honourable retirement, to the attainment or the continuance of official rank and emoluments, at the expense of their own honour and consistency, and in violation of their parliamentary duty, and the claims of public justice.——We will only add, that it was our wish to treat with silent contempt such attacks as those which we have so repeatedly, and, as we are convinced, successfully repelled; but we know that the grossest falsehoods too often obtain credit, if they are suffered to pass without contradiction. We are incapable of employing such weapons as those with which we have had to contend; but to the basest calumnies, the foulest misrepresentations, and the most direct and positive falsehoods, we have uniformly opposed facts, which must be felt, and may be railed at, but which, we know, cannot be disproved."—— The reader will have observed, that here is a *new fact*, of some importance, come out. It is positively stated, that a *threat* was communicated to the Addingtons, *previous* to the motion of Mr. Bond, that, unless they desisted from pursuing their course, with regard to Lord Melville, they should be turned out of the ministry! This is the plain sense of what is here stated, and, as the statement has remained uncontradicted, we have a right to regard it as true. This certainly makes a very material alteration in the case. I have waited to see, whether the Pitt and Melville papers would contradict it; and, I have observed, not without some surprise, that they have made no attempt at such a contradiction. The whole of the representations, on both sides, is now before the public; and, it should be frequently referred to; for, it will be of vast importance when we come to hear the discussions that must take place in a few months, probably in a few weeks time. That the breach is irreparable there can be no doubt; the odium of a rejunction would be too great even for the Pitts and Huskissons to support. The youth of "Spartan virtues," might, indeed, bear up, or rather drawl along, under it; but, I am sure it would be too much for any one not capable of suffering his sisters to subsist (according to the statement of the "PLAIN REPLY") upon the eleemosynary grants of the man, whom he was in the daily habit of contemning, and whom he was constantly endeavouring to deprive of that power, in virtue of which the said grants were made. In this contest for power, it must be confessed, that though the Addingtons do not stand so clear of all suspicion as their friends could wish; yet, that, *compared with that of their rivals*, their conduct has been manly and upright. There wants much explanation upon the subject of the *title* and the *pecuniary grant* to Lord and Lady Melville, and there is yet great obscurity hanging over the conduct of Mr. Bragge, respecting the putting a stop to Mr. Trotter's practices; and I can by no means bring myself to look upon the apology, set up by some of their advocates, of their having acted under the influence of Mr. Pitt, as satisfactory; but, again I say, that, *compared with the Pitts and Canningss*, they come out solid gold. They have obtained a decided triumph over the whole of that set of "young friends," by whom they were abused only, as it has since appeared, because they were put in possession of those offices and powers, to which the "young friends" looked upon themselves as the only legitimate heirs.

THE WAR.——The principal theatre of the war is, it would seem, from the nature of the preparations making here, as well as from the movements of Russia, to be on the side of the Mediterranean. The plan may be good enough; but, if the borders of the Mediterranean should become the chief seat of the war, how plainly will men then see the fatal consequences of the peace of Amiens; or, rather, perhaps, of the conduct of that war, which, according to the statement of its defenders, rendered that peace *necessary to this country!* By that peace all our possessions in the Mediterranean were given up, and, in the war, no proper use was made of them. What might not have been done in the Mediterranean, if Toulon had not been abandoned, in order to pursue conquests in the West-Indies; in order to pursue *a' the trewley bleeteesh oaljacs* of that profound statesman Mr. Dundas, to whom the country was, as it now appears, under so many other obligations at

the same time? Nay, even after the abandonment of Toulon, what might not have been done, if due advantage had been taken of the disposition still existing in the South of France, Spain still being in alliance with us? We had then all the harbours of the Mediterranean open to us, with the single exception of Toulon. All the countries upon its shores friendly to us, though, certainly, less disposed to act, after the example of our desertion of them at that port. Of all these advantages, the sole that now remains to us (for even that is not an acquisition as to our use of it) is the harbour of Malta. Every other port is shut against us (except possibly Sardinia) and every other shore hostile. Yet, in these circumstances, upon this remnant of his ample stock in trade, is our grand shop-keeper now going, in all appearance, to open shop in the Mediterranean, in speculation of a business, which he before abandoned as a losing concern, when, for the purpose of carrying it on, he was in full possession of all the advantages above recited! Nothing can mark more strongly the contrast of the last war to the present; I mean in the circumstances in which we are placed; for, as to the manner in which it was conducted, we may safely defy all that the present, or any other, ministry can do, to exhibit misconduct that can come in any competition with it. There is not room, or opportunity in any war, now to be carried on, to show such complete misjudgement, views so false, so mean, so grovelling, as those which guided the last war from the beginning to the end. Look at Mr. Pitt in the greatest crisis in which statesman was ever placed; possessing the greatest powers, which statesman, in this country, at least, ever possessed; with the ablest advisers, telling him beforehand, with perfect exactness, how he ought to proceed; and then, look at what he did! He neither could decide nobly and grandly at the outset; he could neither be made to see the thing justly at the beginning, nor, when experience had made him feel the error of his first judgment, could he ever bring himself to retrieve it, or break through that circle of mean and petty policy, in which the faults of his character, if not of his understanding, had originally involved him. The last war always puts me in mind of the curse upon the Serpent (though the subtlest beast of the field): "upon thy belly shalt "thou go, and dust shalt thou eat, all the "days of thy life!" However high the personal ambition of Mr. Pitt may soar, there is a downward propensity in his politics, which will never suffer him to rise; and, even if he were to endeavour to do it, what opportunity has he now left to himself? He has done the mischief. He has depressed the country to a state, from which it can never be raised, by any means, which *he* will or which *he, can,* have resource to. There must be such a change in our system of politics, and especially of our *political economy* as he never can propose. Without this change, I am thoroughly convinced, that England will never know another hour's real peace or safety; and, I repeat it, this change Mr. Pitt never can propose. The very proposition would utterly destroy that which he has chosen for the foundation of his fame. The opinion now entertained of him by the thinking few, would communicate itself, with the swiftness of lightening, to all those who have never yet taken time to reflect. This he well knows, and he goes on hoping, in his usual way, to stand by the influence of those means, which he has hitherto so amply and so successfully employed.——Our spirits are now to be kept up by the prospects of success upon the continent; but, if that success come not? If the war should linger two or three years, without producing any material impression upon Buonaparté? If a peace, including the surrender of Malta should be concluded, without wresting from France any part of her conquests? What will *then* be our prospect? What will it be, if Austria should be defeated, and if Russia should be humbled? What will our prospect *then* be? And, these are not impertinent questions; but, such as every rational man, who wishes well to his country, will ask. The ministers' news-papers tell us of the hundreds of thousands of Russians and Austrians that are marching; but, can they tell us, *whence* are to come the subsidies to maintain them? Will any one of them, or all of them together, undertake to prove, that, with only our present expenses, we can, with our present system of funding, support the war for five years? And, will they venture to tell us, what are the means they, or their chief, have fallen upon to meet the effects of a financial deficit? Unless they can do this, very little hope will any sensible man derive from the assistance to be obtained upon the Continent.

PARTIES.——From the change of language, so very evident, in the Pitt and Melville news-papers, within these ten days or a fortnight, it is not improbable, that some scheme may again be on foot for wheedling the Opposition into a junction with the Pitts and Melvilles. Some persons exclaim, "impossible!" What! Mr. Pitt sue for suc-

cour to Mr. Fox! Mr. Pitt, at the end of a twenty years' warfare, thus knuckle down to his rival! Thus acknowledge him his master!——Alas! these persons do not know Mr. Pitt yet; and still less do they know of his underlings, who would not only excuse, but justify, and even applaud, such an act; and, they themselves would cheerfully take their places; move downwards, and eat their crust in quiet, under the inferiors of Mr. Fox.——No, no: it is by no means impossible, or improbable, that Mr. Pitt will make the proposition; but, I think it quite impossible, that it should succeed. It would, even in the spring of 1804, have been very doubtful, whether the Opposition ought to join him; but *now*, there can be no doubt at all. The proceedings of last winter have put it out of the power of any one to join him, who wishes to have any share of the confidence of that part of the people, who disapproved of the conduct brought to light by the reports of the naval commissioners.——So hard is Mr. Pitt pressed, however, that I shall be very much deceived, if he does not *try* the scheme. His views will be somewhat of the same sort as those which he entertained last year; but, he did not succeed in them then, and he will not now. He was then compelled to seek the aid of the Addingtons, after having tried the Opposition twice; but, as there are no Addingtons now left *for him*, his tone and attitude will be lower than before. Last year there was, his creatures told us, "an insurmountable obstacle, in "*a certain quarter*, to the admission of Mr. "Fox." It would be curious enough, *if that obstacle were now to be overcome!* Let the public mark the sequel; for, if it be true, that the parliament is to meet for dispatch of business early in November, the scheme, which, from the softened tone of the Pitt and Melville papers, is certainly on foot, must be tried very soon; and, I do not think that the Pitts and Melvilles will a second time endeavour to *divide* the Opposition.——In the mean time, the "Right "Honourable Charles Long" (the gentleman who conveyed the forty thousand pounds of the naval money to Mr. Boyd) is, we are informed, appointed Chief Secretary in Ireland, in lieu of Mr. N. Vansittart, who was appointed to that office, but who resigned with his friend Mr. Addington, now Lord Sidmouth. This is as it should be. Where there are Pitts and Melvilles and Huskissons, and Cannings and Old George Roses, there should be nobody of another stamp. They are made for one another; and, it is much better that the nation should go on under their clutches exclusively, than that others should come and take a share with them. When they are left to themselves, it will bring matters to a close, we can calculate with tolerable accuracy; but, if they were to be propped up by the talents and reputation of others, there would be no principle whereon for us to calculate.

Lord Melville.——Some fresh communications respecting the proceedings of the partizans of this person having just reached me, I think it better to defer the exposition of the whole to the next sheet.——The passage in the *Welsh Judge's charge* is very curious indeed; and, will, doubtless, be thought worthy of particular attention.

Botley, Thursday, 19th Sept. 1805.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Note transmitted by Baron de Hardenberg to the French Minister, M. Laforet, dated Berlin, July 11, 1805.

The undersigned Minister of State and of the Cabinet, with the deepest regret finds himself under the necessity of communicating to M. Laforet, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, the Note which M. Novosiltzoff has addressed to him, upon returning him the French passport (the original is hereby annexed); at the same time announcing to him the order which his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias has transmitted to him, in consequence of the recent changes in Italy, and especially the union of the Ligurian Republic with the French Empire, not to proceed upon his journey to France. His Majesty could not but feel the greatest concern in seeing thus confirmed the fears which, from the moment the intelligence of that unexpected event transpired, it was impossible not to entertain, respecting the effect which it might produce on the salutary negociation which it was under deliberation to open. The earnest desire which his Majesty has always cherished, and of which he has given repeated proofs, for the restoration of peace, is the strongest assurance of the sentiments of concern with which he is affected upon the occasion.—— The undersigned has the honour to offer to M. Laforet the renewed assurance of his high consideration (Signed) Hardenberg.

Neutral Commerce.——*Letter from the Consuls of Neutral States resident at Cadiz, to Admiral Collingwood; dated Cadiz, July* 23, 1805.

Sir,——In answer to your excellency's letter, of the 19th instant, directed to the neu-

trade consuls residing in this port, we beg leave to assure you in the most honourable manner, that none of us have received any kind of information from our respective ambassadors at the Court of Saint James's, nor from those residing at the Court of Madrid, respecting the notification of the blockade of this port, and San Lucar, under date of the 18th April ultimo, which your excellency is pleased to mention. Your excellency certainly knows, that at the same time that Danish, Swedish, and Imperial vessels sailed from this port in ballast, not being able to find freights, other vessels of the same, and other flags, especially Americans, sailed with cargoes to sundry places, and that we would have prevented them doing so, had we had any idea that other dispositions besides those contained in Vice-Admiral Sir John Orde's letter, were about to be adopted by his Britannic Majesty's forces. As the vessels of our respective nations are loaded, and having come into this port without the least notification from any of his Britannic Majesty's vessels, we flatter ourselves that your excellency will not hinder their going with their own and neutral property to their respective destinations. In this your excellency will do an act which will evince the justice with which the English government and its naval officers treat the property of their neutral friends. Your excellency will please to observe that there are neutral vessels actually in this bay, that arrived about the middle of May, at which period it was impossible they could have known the official communication which your excellency alludes to of the 18th of April. Inclosed we hand your excellency the original documents of the Portuguese schooner, alluded to in our former letter, for your excellency's government.—We have the honour to be, &c. &c.—Signed by the Portuguese, Danish, Prussian, Imperial, United States, Russian, Consuls and Agents.

Dreadnought, off Cadiz, July 25, 1805.

Gentlemen,——I very much lament the inconvenience, or loss, which the subjects of neutral states may suffer by the suppression of the Spanish trade, in the ports of Cadiz and St. Lucar. But his Majesty's order for its prohibition having been publicly notified, and sufficient time given for its general promulgation throughout Europe, ere it was acted upon by his squadron before Cadiz, I cannot, notwithstanding the most sincere disposition I have at all times felt to give every security and facility to the lawful trade of neutrals, allow the ships which have received cargoes on board since my arrival upon this coast, to proceed on the voyage with them. If there were any impediments to the regular notification of the measure by the respective ministers, I am sorry for it; but the appearance of the squadron off this port, and their having, in view of it, turned off to other ports all neutral ships which approached with the purpose of entering it, were sufficient indications of the service they were employed on, and so clearly marked Cadiz and St. Lucar to be blockaded ports, as they are defined in the existing treaties, and particularly in the convention of Petersburgh, in June, 1801, that no doubt could remain, or other notification be necessary. These ships, many of which were Americans, that had received their cargoes, or a principal part of them, before my arrival here, I have allowed to proceed on their voyage: for it is the trade of Spain alone that I would interrupt: if neutrals are involved in it, and their interests in some degree suffer, it is an accident that I regret, but cannot prevent. Those that were in port may now depart in ballast; but the American brig which entered on the 20th, in breach of the blockade, will be seized whenever she comes out, though she may be in ballast. The complaint of the master of the Portuguese schooner, I find is too well founded; you may depend I shall take proper notice of it with respect to the officer; and measures, that I hope will prevent the recurrence of such a conduct in future, towards those who in their lawful pursuits are entitled to kind offices, rather than harshness and severity, and unjustifiable treatment. I have the honour to be, &c. &c. (Signed) Cuthb. Collingwood. P. S. I have ordered the notice in the Portuguese Papers to be altered.

Russia and France.——*Extract from the Gazette of Frankfort, of the 18th of August, upon the Note published by M. Novosiltzoff, previous to his departure from Berlin. Berlin, July* 16.

The arrival of M. Novosiltzoff at Berlin excited considerable interest throughout Europe. That journey will be considered in history as little better than a serious comedy, with a farcical conclusion. The note which this minister presented by way of apology for the suddenness of his departure, is even a greater object of curiosity, than the levity of his proceedings; and if it were allowed to indulge in pleasantry upon a subject involving the happiness of mankind, many instances could be pointed out in the conduct of M. Novosiltzoff, which prove that he was qualified to perform the part of an arrant coxcomb.——He announced himself as the

bearer of a pacific mediation, and the public journals rang for six months with the reports of his journey. He at last presented himself as commissioned to open a negotiation; all the world applauded this happy disposition; France received it with ecstasy; the passports which he requested for France are without any previous explanation sent to him, and at the moment that the hopes of Europe were highest, M. Novosiltzoff, without having made any overture, without having mentioned a single proposition, without having even demanded a conference, suddenly quits Berlin, declaring that he is no longer authorised to negotiate. He does more, and this confession enables us to judge of the sincerity of his mission; he declares that he is not authorised to negociate, either with the Emperor of the French, or with the King of Italy, or with the actual Sovereign of Genoa, but with the head of the French government. We really know not how to call this diplomatic reserve. Without doubt, if his excellency had been satisfied of the complete submission of the Emperor of the French to the absolute commands of Russia, he would feel himself authorised to grant him a title which Europe has acknowledged, and which needs no farther confirmation. The reservation in the note of M. Novosiltzoff does not, nevertheless, appear the less imprudent to all impartial and candid persons; it certainly will have no influence upon the determination of the Emperor Napoleon, who is not a man to sacrifice things to words, and who weighs proceedings according to their due estimate. The illustrious Emperor of the French well knows that a century is not yet elapsed, since one of his august predecessors refused to give the Autocrat of Russia the title of Majesty, and would only allow him that of Highness; but as he wishes for peace, he will not argue with the Emperor Alexander upon this historical proof of the newness of his family. Napoleon judges of men by their personal merit, and judges of Sovereigns only by the importance of their states. It is not the less surprising that a Monarch, animated, according to the declaration of M. Novosiltzoff, by so sincere a wish for peace, should begin by calling in question the principles by which social order and the tranquillity of states are protected. The political confusion which prevailed in France, appeared for a long time the only reasonable cause which could obstruct the pacific intentions of powers, and furnish an excuse for their uneasiness and coolness: they could wish for nothing more conducive to their vital interests, than to treat with a government analogous to their own, which should at the same time assume the majesty of regular authority, and acquire all its solidity. But what extravagance has the Russian cabinet, losing sight of this principle, involved itself in that ambiguity of expression, in that confusion of qualifications? There must be then in the views of Russia an interest paramount to the general interest of Europe. What could have been the real obstacle to the negotiation? Was it the nomination of the Emperor Napoleon to the sovereignty of Italy? But he previously governed it under another title. The title of King cannot be offensive to princes, more than that of President of a Republic. Was it the union of Genoa? Genoa was already under the natural protection of France; the treaty of Luneville left it at perfect liberty respecting the choice and form of its government; and besides, the interest, the free will of two nations, which unite with each other, are above all treaties.——In reading the observations of M. Novosiltzoff upon the temporary changes which have conditionally taken place in Italy (changes which have added nothing to the continental strength, which have in no degree altered the situation of France), one finds difficulty in believing that they should proceed from a court whose power has assumed a political form so different, and aggrandized itself so prodigiously, which seems to have revived the ancient influence of Turkey to add to its own; which advances with a rapid and steady pace equally in the Asiatic and European provinces of that tottering empire; which has openly put itself in possession of its commercial and political advantages, and to which, to become the absolute master of it, nothing is wanting, but to erect the Russian Eagle upon the mosques of Constantinople. The stile of this note appeared no less extraordinary than its substance. It is easy to discover in its exaggerated complaints against the power of France, the zeal of England, anxious to wrest from her naval port, and dispute with her the liberty of the seas; who thinks that she can no longer preserve her tyrannical power but by re-kindling war upon the Continent. This extraordinary style is not suited to an independent state. Great surprise was particularly excited, that the negotiator should dwell so carefully upon the efforts and sacrifices of England for the general tranquillity. Such an apology would have appeared, in the mouth of any other person but M. Novosiltzoff, as the most bitter sarcasm upon the breach of the treaty of Amiens; upon the massacre on board the Spanish frigates; upon the plots and the corruption which

England continues to maintain on the Continent, for the purpose of renewing war and revolution.——Some awkwardness, therefore, was discovered in the note of M. Novosiltzoff. We are justified in suspecting, that under the guise of an ambassador, he was, in fact, only the emissary of a faction; and it is thought that the personal opinion of the Monarch went for nothing in this pretended mediation, in which courtesy and good sense were so far lost sight of, that a mission, the object of which was a negotiation for peace, began with an insult to the august person to whom it was addressed.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Jerome Buonaparté Capitain de Vaisseau, commanding a Division in the Mediterranean, to his Excellency the Minister of Marine and Colonies, dated on board the Pomona, Genoa Roads, Aug. 31, 1805.

Monsieur le Ministre,——I have the honour to announce to your excellency that the mission with which his Majesty was pleased to charge me has been happily fulfilled. The division under my orders has anchored in the Port of Genoa, having on board 231 slaves, all in good health, as well as the crews. In two days I shall disembark them conformably to the instructions I have from his Majesty. The City of Algiers and the neighbouring places enjoyed at the epoch of my departure a perfect state of health, according to the declaration made to me by M. Dubois Thainville, the Emperor's Charge d'Affaires.—This expedition would have been more promptly terminated had I not been forced to go to Toulon, by unavoidable circumstances, of which I had the honour to render an account to your excellency, in my dispatch of the 11th instant.—I was not long detained, thanks to the care and activity of the maritime prefect. In seventy-two hours the division was in a state to set sail again, and to pursue its destination. I had expedited, two days before, the corvette L'Abeille, under the orders of Captain Eydoux, to inform the Commissary-General of Commercial Relations, at Algiers, of my approaching arrival, and the object of my mission. I had at the same time, written to him, instructing him to negotiate before-hand, for the liberty of the slaves, in order that I might by this means avoid the difficulties and delays which I might otherwise experience.—I got under weigh from Toulon on the 14th inst. at ten in the morning, with a brisk wind at N. W. I directed my course for Mahon, where I hoped to meet with some of the enemy's cruizers. I passed it a league without seeing or visiting any vessels, except neutrals and allies, amongst which was a Ragusan, 22 days from Gibraltar. I learnt from the Captain that Rear Admiral Bickerton, with five ships, was at that time employed in refitting and taking in provisions, and that Lord Nelson was cruizing before Cadiz.—On the fourth day after my departure from Toulon, I arrived at Algiers. The corvette l'Abeille had arrived 48 hours before me. M. Dubois Thainville, immediately on the receipt of my letter, had endeavoured to set on foot the negotiation with which I had charged him, but had been stopped by difficulties which it was out of his power to remove. The Dey was little disposed to acquiesce in the demands which M. Dubois Thainville had made; he was not disposed to comprise in the number of slaves which I claimed those who had been taken at Oran, and who for more than twenty years had been in the power of the regency. He observed, that having been made prisoners whilst fighting under the Spanish flag, they ought not to participate with the others in the same favour, and besides, that the request had been refused to France at several times. He added, however, that for the honour of the Emperor's brother, he would consent to give up to me 30 of those slaves.—I replied to the Dey, through the medium of M. Dubois Thainville, who had come on board La Pomone to render me an account of what he had done, that it was not my intention to fulfil the mission by halves with which I had been entrusted by his Majesty; that the thirty slaves which he had offered me were not sufficient, but that I must have all the French, Italians, and Ligurians, whom he had in his power, and that if my proposition was not acceded to within 24 hours, I should make no other propositions to him, and should break off all negotiation.—The next morning I received a favourable answer, and in the evening I received on board the squadron 231 slaves, which the Dey had ordered to be delivered to me, contrary to the custom of the country, after sun-set.—I set sail again the same evening, the 20th; on the 25th, twelve leagues to the N.E. of Mahon, I saw a frigate nine miles to windward, the wind was shifting to N.N.E. and blowing fresh, the sea ran extremely high. Under these circumstances I could not hope to come up with the vessel, which kept the wind on her starboard quarter. Two other sail coming in sight at the same moment, I determined to chace them, as they were to leeward.—I manœuvred the squadron for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of these vessels in case they should have the addi-

tage in sailing. I lost sight of one of them, a frigate, in the course of the night. The other, which I soon came up with, was an American, from Leghorn to Boston. The captain informed me, that the evening before, he had met with two English frigates I presume that they were the same which I had seen; and which had escaped in consequence of their position. I continued my course, and after five days of calms and slight winds, I arrived in the road of Genoa this day, at six in the morning.—Please to accept, Monsieur le Ministre, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.—J. Buonaparté.

Foreigners at Vienna.——*Circular Note to the Magistrates of the different Bailiwicks, relative to the Residence of Foreigners; dated Vienna, July* 20.

An official letter we have just received from the President of the Aulic Police informs us, that several foreigners, furnished with passports by their respective ambassadors, left Vienna since the disturbances which took place on the 7th and 8th instant; and circumstances induce us to believe, that those foreigners have taken a more or less active part in them, and that the fear of just punishment has made them take flight.——In consequence, therefore, of superior orders, it will be necessary to watch, with great attention, strangers, and in general all persons who have left Vienna after the period of the said event, whether they have passports delivered them by the foreign ambassadors resident in Vienna or not. Proper measures are directed to be taken to arrest such persons, and send them, without delay, before the police of Vienna. It is therefore enjoined to all magistrates of bailiwicks, as their particular duty, and upon their responsibility, to use the greatest diligence to discover all persons suspected, and to adopt both themselves and their deputies in each parish, the necessary arrangement to examine the passport of every foreigner coming from Vienna, and passing through their province. In case such an individual shall have no passport, or a passport delivered on the 7th July or later, he is to be arrested immediately, as if he had refused to produce his passport; and whatever be his rank, he is to be sent in irons, and under a sufficient escort, to this city. Every magistrate is to understand, that wherever there shall be a military force, it is duly required to lend assistance; and that in places where there is none, the escort is to consist of a sufficient number of trusty persons, under the command of the gendarme of the bailiwick. If the arrest takes place in a village, the arrested person is to be delivered to the bailiff. The same orders are given to all postmasters: who, as well as the magistrates, will expose themselves to the severest responsibility, in case it shall be discovered that they shall have failed to arrest a suspicious traveller, and that such traveller shall escape; or in case they shall not have used all possible measures to cause him to be arrested.——Given at the bailiwick of the Circle of Tabor, July 19, 1805. (Signed) Jhikitsch.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Jamaica.——*A Proclamation by the Lieutenant-Governor,* Nugent, *relative to the Importation of Provisions, &c. from the United States of America: dated 20th May,* 1805.

Whereas it appears, by the memorials and returns from sundry parishes, that there is at present a very general scarcity throughout the island of American provisions and lumber, and that a real and urgent necessity exists for my exercising the discretionary power vested in me by his Majesty, relative to the intercourse between this colony and the United States of America: I do therefore issue this my proclamation, permitting, for the space of six months, to be computed from this date, the free importation of flour, corn, corn-meal, bread, rice, pease, beans, and lumber of every description, in vessels belonging to neutral and other states in amity with Great-Britain, upon the like terms, charges, and conditions, and subject to the same rules, regulations, visitations, and searches, as are observed with respect to British vessels in the like cases.——And I do hereby also permit all vessels importing the foregoing articles, under the authority of this proclamation, to export from hence rum and molasses, from any port or ports, place or places, of this island, upon the like terms, stipulations, charges and conditions, as are observed with respect to British vessels in the like cases. And in case any person or persons importing provisions or lumber to this island, under the authority of this proclamation, shall attempt to introduce any other articles than are therein particularly enumerated, measures will be immediately adopted for the forfeiture of the ship or vessel and cargo, so contravening the laws of navigation.

Jamaica.——*Speech of the Lieutenant-Governor,* Nugent, *to the House of Assembly: made on the 2d of July,* 1805.

Gentlemen of the Council, Mr.

SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY—The late declaration of martial law in this island, and the circumstances which attended it, have induced me to convene you once more, notwithstanding the regret which I feel in calling you from your homes after so many interruptions to the attention due to your private concerns, but I trust that your meeting will not be of long continuance.

MR. SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY,—I am confident that you will cheerfully make such provision for the payment of the expenses incurred by the assembling of the militia, the establishing of depôts of articles of subsistence and ammunition in the interior, and other necessary measures which have been adopted for the security of the island, as those services may require.

GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL, MR. SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY,—Although I have no certain information of the present situation of the combined forces of the enemy, yet the arrival of a British squadron at Barbadoes, in pursuit of them under the command of Lord Nelson, on the 4th of last month gives me reason to expect that they have left the West-Indies; and I trust that the preparations made here to receive the enemy had they presumed to *have attacked* us, will give you great confidence of success against any attempts they may make in future.

Answer of the House of Assembly.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,—We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, beg leave to thank your Honour for your speech at the opening of this session.——The necessity of declaring martial law, and the consequences attending it, having induced your Honour to call us together again, we most cheerfully obey the summons, confident that our meeting will not be of a longer continuance than the exigencies of the country may require.——We will take into consideration the expenses incurred by the assembling of the militia, the establishing of depôts in the interior, and such other measures as have been adopted for the security of the island, and will make such provision for them as the public faith, and the existing circumstances of the country, render necessary.——From the arrival of a British squadron in the West-Indies, under the command of Lord Nelson, and the time which has since elapsed, we have great satisfaction in concurring with your Honour in the belief that the enemy have left these seas, and our hopes of success, had the combined forces attempted to invade us, are greatly augmented by the preparations made by your Honour for our defence.

———

Answer of the Lieutenant-Governor.

MR. SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY,—I beg you will receive my best thanks for this address, and for the assurances which you are pleased to give me, of making the necessary provision for the expenses incurred during the late martial law.

BULL-BAITING.

[The following article is the former part of the pamphlet of DR. BRADSLEY; the latter being inserted in p. 371 et seq.——I differ from him as to *bull-baiting*; but, I shall reserve my reasons for that difference, till the reader has had leisure to peruse the Doctor's remarks; for, if our cause cannot be supported by fair argument, fairly employed, it will not prevail, and it ought not to prevail.——I will just add here a request, that the reader will well consider the apology made for *hunting*.]

Human nature is so constituted as to require both bodily and mental recreation. This instinctive propensity to amusement in man, is sufficiently proved by the universality of the appetite, in every stage of life, under every variety of clime, and constitution of government. But the regulation of this natural propensity differs greatly according to the circumstances under which he is placed. The recreations and sports of mankind are therefore diversified by the influence of moral, political, and physical causes. The means of gratification are various and complex: the end simple and uniform. To escape from the sensations which may be induced by too great or too little exertion of body or mind, and to enjoy the pleasure which sympathy extracts from the varied intercourse with fellow man, give rise to that fondness for public diversions and sportive contests, so conspicuously displayed in the history of mankind. The influence of physical causes, in regulating the nature of these diversions, may be readily conceived.—The hardy, strenuous and active amusements of the inhabitants of the temperate and frigid zones, would depress and exhaust, rather than enliven and invigorate, the residents of a torrid clime. Hence the supreme delight of the Asiatic consists in the enjoyment of those pleasures which are purchased with little fatigue of body, or agitation of mind. To inhale the grateful fumes of his pipe, and to foil his adversary in the stratag-

gems of chess, or other sedentary games, constitute the principal part of his amusements.—Although physical causes necessarily circumscribe the sphere of man's active pursuits, yet they have much less control than those of a moral and political kind. Man is endued above all other animals with a frame and constitution which can adapt itself to every diversity of clime and change of temperature. He can, in a measure, subdue physical obstacles, when powerfully stimulated by moral and political causes. The savage, compelled to hunt his prey for food, has little leisure to cultivate his intellectual taste and powers. If not exposed to danger from hostile neighbours, his recreations are mostly of a negative kind. He is happy when idle and at ease. But if he be stimulated by the prospect of war, all his amusements tend to accomplish him for carrying on successfully his military exploits. His songs are praises of the heroes of his nation; and his dances are connected with martial discipline. The public shews and festivals of his country are, almost without exception, of the character of savage war. * ——According to the degree of civilization will the public sports and amusements of a people partake more or less of the mixed character of corporeal and mental recreation. A display of the arts which refine and gladden life, can only flourish where the condition of man has been long meliorated by the enjoyment of moral and political advantages.—Indeed the kind and nature of the popular sports and exhibitions of a people, whether just emerging from barbarism, or passing through the various stages of improvement, or arrived at the highest pitch of refinement, serve to measure, as by a scale, the different degrees of their advancement to the acme of civilization. The two most powerful and celebrated nations of antiquity, Greece and Rome, afford ample proofs of the truth of this remark. The shews and public sports of each of these nations, while they issued from their character and manners, operated on this very character and manners, and rendered them more indelible and permanent. This connection between the character of a people and their sports, was forcibly impressed on their legislators and rulers. Their public games were instituted for other purposes than mere amusement and relaxation. They were rendered subservient in Greece to the noblest views of legislative policy. Intimately connected with the whole system of government, whether civil, military, or religious, they had a moral as well as a political tendency. To promote ardour, emulation, friendship, patriotism, and all the animated principles and connections of active life, the Olympic, and other solemn festivals, were instituted. In order to investigate some of the moral and political effects of these popular sports and public games, which contributed so largely in raising the Greeks and Romans to a height of unparalleled grandeur, it will be necessary to examine the foundation of a system, which, in some respects, when freed from its worse abuses, particularly those which the more ferocious character of Rome introduced, may not illaudably nor unusefully be imitated by the most civilized nations.—Though it may, perhaps, be admitted, that the difference in the state of knowledge and general policy, in the ancient and modern world, will not admit of a close approximation in the system of their public sports and amusements; yet the principles to which the Greeks directed their attention in controling popular amusements, deserve the limited imitation of every free and enlightened people. For, their aim was to direct to innocent and useful objects, two of the most powerful principles of the human breast;—the love of pleasure and the love of action. Hence arose the institution of the * gymnastic exercises, which formed the principal part of all the solemn games. The gymnastic art consisted in the performance of bodily exercises calculated for defence, health, and diversion. That branch of these exer-

* The savage tribes of America furnish various proofs of the truth of this remark. Likewise in Collins's account of the natives of New Holland, there is a curious illustration of the propensity of a rude and savage people to those amusements which are adapted to their peculiar situation. Indeed the singular and ludicrous ceremony of initiating youth into the rank of warriors, at the celebration of their military exercises and games, is a striking instance of that disposition to amusement, which even the most savage and wretched state of life cannot eradicate.

* Lycon, according to Pliny, first instituted the gymnastic games in Arcadia, whence they were extended throughout Greece and successively contributed to the highest gratification of both the Greeks and Romans, in their private schools and public solemnities.—They were performed in the Gymnasium, where not only youth were instructed in these exercises, but also the philosophers taught their different doctrines. The Palæstra, which formed a part of the building, was the school for the gymnic exercises.

cises, called the athletic or sportive, must be considered as coeval with the formation of society.* The five † gymnic exercises, so accurately described by Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, and Pausanias, formed the principal branch of the education of youth.—To be enabled to excel in the performance of these, they were trained with the greatest care; and every means was employed to excite powerful emulation. Their object was, to recreate and strengthen the body, as well as fortify and exalt the mind. For, the firm organization acquired by perpetual exercise, counteracted the propensity to vicious indulgence, which a voluptuous climate naturally inspires.—They likewise infused a courage, depending on animal strength and vigour, which was excited to the highest pitch among this warlike people. ‡. Besides, the ambition of honest fame (the sure § reward of excellence in these sports and contests) taught them to control the appetites of the body by the affections of the soul.—But the chief aim and end of the institution of athletic gymnastics among the more warlike states of Greece, were, perfection in the military character. Their philosophers inculcated this doctrine by their precepts and example. Plato, in his book of laws, after having viewed the high importance of acquiring bodily force and agility, adds, "a well governed commonwealth, instead of prohibiting the profession of the athletic, should, on the contrary, propose prizes for all who excel in those exercises, which tend to encourage the military art." And, perhaps no better plan could have been contrived to foster a warlike spirit amongst a people devoted to military enterprise, than the training of youth in these hardy and laborious exercises, and in proclaiming rewards for those who excelled in their public exhibition. If man were only destined to conquer and triumph over the weaker and less valiant of his race; if the lust of dominion were the only appetite worthy of gratification, then the cultivation of bodily prowess and ferocious courage would properly form the business, as well as pleasure of life. But man has a nobler part to act in society; and enjoyments more pure, lasting, and better fitted to the dignity and character of his nature, become necessary to his well being in an advanced stage of civilization. It may readily be conceived, that those arts which sooth and embellish human existence, and which depend on the cultivation of feeling and of taste, would be neglected by the Greeks, when only bodily strength, activity, and address could carry off the palm of victory. In the distracted state of the first settlers in Greece, when the bodily energies were constantly in action, courage and personal strength decided the day in most of their military conflicts. Hence courage became associated with every idea of patriotism, honour, and virtue. It is the opinion of Aristotle, "That the nations, most attentive to the formation of the body, strive to give it too athletic a habit, which injures the beauty of the shape, and stints the growth of the person. The Lacedemonians avoid this error; yet, by imposing excessive labour on the body, they engender ferocity in the mind, thinking this conducive to martial spirit. But mere warlike courage, taken separately by itself, is a doubtful and defective quality, and, cultivated too assiduously by the hardening discipline of toils and struggles, will degrade and debase the man, blunt his faculties, narrow his soul, and render him as bad a soldier as he is a contemptible citizen."* This necessity of rendering the gymnastic art subservient to nobler pursuits, was felt and acted upon by the Athenians, and other polished states of Greece.——The cultivation of poetry and music was encouraged by bestowing the highest honours and rewards on those who excelled in these delightful arts at the celebration of all the public games. To such a happy combination of mental with corporeal excellencies, cherished and displayed under the most pompous and fascinating appearances in their popular diversions and

---

* In almost every island of the great Pacific Ocean, we find a similarity, more or less striking, in the athletic and warlike exercises of the natives, with those practised in Greece.——† These five exercises were called Pentathlum by the Greeks, and Quinquertium by the Romans. They consisted of leaping, running, throwing the Discus, darting the javelin, and wrestling; but instead of darting the javelin, others mention boxing. The last exercise was combined with wrestling; and then took the name of Pancratium. See Hieronymus Mercurialis, de arte gymnasticâ; and Potter's Archæologia.

‡ Hac arte, Pollux et vague Hercules
Innixus, arces attigit igneas.—Hor.
"Thus mounted to the towers above,
"The vagrant hero, son of Jove."

§ Such as gained victories in any of these games, especially the olympic, were universally honoured, and almost adored.——See Plutarch's Sympos. lib. 11. Quest. VI. and Potter's Archæol.

* Gillies's Aristot. polit. p. 250.

solemn festivals, may the splendid achievements of this distinguished people be attributed.* Considered in the light of affording amusement, exciting generous emulation, and of creating robust and hardy citizens, endowed with energy to resist slavery at home, and enemies from abroad, the gymnastic exercises, with some exceptions, and under proper regulations, are worthy of the admiration and imitation of all free and civilised states. But there was another kind of popular sport, common to the less polished states of Greece, and which has been practised by mankind, not only in the rude and barbarous, but (to the disgrace of humanity) in the most advanced and polished period of civilised life. This amusement depended on the contests of ferocious animals, whose natural antipathies were made use of, and designedly enflamed to gratify a depraved and barbarous taste. "They delight," says Lucian, (speaking of the Greeks,) "to behold the combats of bold and generous animals, and their own contentions are still more animated." The savage ferocity inspired by the frequent repetition of such barbarous exhibitions, accounts in some measure for the conduct of the Ephori of Sparta, who, when they declared war against the Helots, ordered that the young bull-dogs should be employed in worrying these miserable slaves. To the Greeks may be attributed two barbarous diversions which have been eagerly adopted by succeeding nations. The fighting of cocks, and the diversion of bull-fights. The former was first introduced by Themistocles, as a religious festival: it soon degenerated into a sport for the gratification of avarice and cruelty. The latter had its rise in Thessaly, and was afterwards transported to Rome by Julius Cæsar.*——To Greece, Rome was indebted for almost every institution of popular sports and bodily exercises; but the Romans carried them to a height of splendour and magnificence unknown to their first inventors. The Circus and Amphitheatre of Rome, exhibited, on a scale proportioned to the immense extent and power of the nation, all the popular sports† celebrated at Grecian solemnities. In their gymnassia, youth were likewise carefully instructed in the gymnic exercises, and likewise the athletic combatants trained up for public exhibition: but the barbarous policy of the state, or rather the rude and ferocious manners of the people, gave rise to the alliance of bloody shews and combats, with manly sports and exercises. A gloomy and ferocious superstition, operating on the minds of a people inured, like the Romans, to foreign warfare and intestine broils, suggested the practice of shedding the blood of captives, as a grateful sacrifice to the manes of illustrious warriors. This practice, at first a superstitious rite, became a ceremony of more pomp and ostentation at the obsequies‡ of distinguished persons. Hence the origin amongst the Romans of the profession of a gladiator—and when the people had once acquired a taste for bloody exhibitions, the detestable spectacle of gladiatorial combats was presented for their amusement.

(To be continued.

* Montesquieu is of opinion, that the want of employment for the majority of the citizens, compelled the Greeks to become a society of athletic and military combatants; for, he observes, "they were not permitted to follow the ordinary occupations of agriculture, commerce, and the baser arts; and they were forbidden to be idle; consequently, their only resource was in the gymnastic and military exercises." But this assertion is contradicted by the practice of some of the Grecian states. We know that in Athens commerce was highly esteemed and successfully cultivated. This writer must therefore be understood in a restrictive and qualified sense, when he says, "Il faut donc regarder les Grecs, comme une societé d'athletes et des combattans."—Montesquieu de l'esprit de loix, liv. IV. chap. VIII.—The Pancratium, in which the antagonists voluntarily threw themselves on the ground, and annoyed each other by pinching, biting, scratching and every kind of savage attack, ought not to be endured in a civilized country.

* See Pegge's Dissertations on Cock-fighting in the Archæologia—Brittan and Potter's Antiquities of Greece.

† The Ludi circenses, or Circensian games, included all the diversions of the Circus, viz. The Penthalum, or Quinquertium, chariot races, Pyrrhic dance of the Greeks, to which were added sports of Roman origin. The Naumachia, or sea fights, and bloody combats of gladiators, and the contests of ferocious animals with each other and with man.

‡ The first shew of gladiators was instituted by Marcus and Decius Brutus, on the death of their father, in the year of the city 490.——See Kennet's Antiquities of Rome.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 13.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1805. [PRICE 1O½.

"Corruption, like Jealousy, is a Monster which makes the meat it feeds on."—SWIFT.

LORD MELVILLE.

SIR,——I enclose you the copy of what was actually the answer to a letter justifying Lord Melville in general terms.——I am, your humble servant, &c. &c.——A. B.

I have been favoured with your letter on the subject of the charges made against Lord Melville, and observe, that though you acknowledge that he has acted imprudently, you are of opinion that he is not grossly culpable. I have not the least doubt of your candour, nor is it any impeachment of that, to say you may have been led to take erroneous views, and to avoid the investigation of a disagreeable subject, from old habits of friendship. I think you cannot have considered the evidence, direct and presumptive, against his lordship, with your usual attention and discrimination, when you declare your conviction, *that he never had a corrupt idea or conception in the conduct of the Treasurership of the Navy.*—In the earlier period of his public career, I had opportunities of studying his character, and I think I knew it well. I was convinced that he possessed none of what is called public principle, or that which leads a man to act independently of selfish views. His objects were place and power, and his grand one, in those days, to have the management and patronage of Scotland; to attain which, he was ready to serve any minister, and to support every measure of government.——It were easy to exhibit a portrait of him as a private individual, a politician, and a statesman; but to you it is unnecessary, and it might be thought foreign to the present purpose; though I apprehend not, for charges such as occur here will be believed with more difficulty, when applied to a man of liberal education and refined sentiments, than to one who has not the least pretensions to either.——But with all his imperfections, he seemed to me totally regardless of money, and to be generous and profuse to a fault, as he was always in want, and thereby exposed to situations humiliating and degrading, if he had any feeling. I do not mean to impute to him any action dishonourable in private life. I never heard him accused of any thing of that kind.——Such was Mr. Dundas when I knew him. No man, I thought, had less of avarice and apacity in his composition; and, though of late years I have seen little of him, so strong was the impression made by my early acquaintance that when the charge of his having participated in Trotter's peculations was broached, I maintained it could not be true. Though people who knew him better, told me that latterly he was much altered, I could scarcely conceive so total a change, as that the careless man I had been led to consider him, should have become capable of sharing in illegal and scandalous profits. But facts are stubborn, and inferences are sometimes irresistible; and, I cannot now resist the evidence, that though Lord Melville may not properly have been in partnership with Trotter, or had a specific share in the profits, yet he permitted Trotter to make those profits; he knew their extent, and he did not scruple to take and keep money which he was conscious came, and could only come, from that corrupt source.——In his speech to the House of Commons, Lord Melville *for the first time* disclaimed the knowledge of Trotter's having used the public money to the extent, and in the way he did. Till then, there was not a man in the House or out of it, friend or foe, who did not understand the fact to have been acknowledged, and accordingly, the resolution charging him with *connivance* had passed without a dissenting voice, after there had been inserted, in parenthesis, on the motion of Sir William Pulteney (whose accuracy was remarkable, and who certainly had no hostility to Lord Melville) these words after connivance, "*as acknowledged by his lordship.*"* His warmest advocates did not attempt to deny the connivance, though they maintained it was not to be stigmatized as corrupt. The fact was on all hands understood to be confessed, and if it had not, it is impossible to believe that he who saw Trotter living for many years at an expense infinitely beyond his salary, buying estates, and building a palace under his lordship's own eye, never inquired how he could afford it; and at the same time *lend* large sums of money to himself. It cannot be believed that he supposed the small premium, which in the same speech, *for the first time*, he said, he imagined that Mr. Coutts might give for the money lodged in his hands, (a fact

* See Parl. Debates, vol. IV. p 321.

pretext and after-thought) could support all Trotter's extravagance. Lord Melville must have conceived that all was produced by a miracle, if he now speaks truth.——To a person of the disposition, and in the circumstances I have mentioned, the office of Treasurer of the Navy, as formerly administered, was most desirable and convenient, as it gave the command of money; which, I believe, he made little other use of, at first, than supplying his temporary necessities—a systematical traffic in money is foreign to his temper and habits. The reform in the conduct of the public offices introduced by Mr. Burke, could not be resisted, and Mr. Dundas assumed the merit of extending it to the Navy Office, consoled for the loss and inconveniency he was thereby to sustain *for a time*, by the increase of his salary. Mr. Trotter was appointed Paymaster, and a plan to counteract the intentions of the legislature was adopted, which I firmly believe was suggested by him, and as firmly that, in the outline at least, it was approved of by his patron. It has been solemnly asserted by Trotter and his friends, that there was no partnership between Lord Melville and him, no sharing of the profits made; and, I am inclined to give them credit that his lordship neither stipulated for, nor received a specific share. That he did not examine strictly into the detail of the business, or the amount of the profits, I can readily believe, but I have not the least doubt, that he saw an advantage to himself from the plan, and meant to share, *in his own way*, and actually did. Mr. Trotter became his bank of resource, and began the joint trade by relieving his principal from a pressing embarrassment. Perhaps Lord Melville, at first, only intended to take that temporary accommodation which he had been accustomed to before the act passed, but Trotter soon came to be able to afford large sums out of his profits, and they were given and taken without scruple. All this was perfectly in character.——The act of parliament against using the public money, in any shape, for private emolument, could be mistaken by none. It would have been bad in any one to transgress it, but for the man who made the law, and took merit from making it, to transgress it instantly, and go on for a course of years in systematical transgression, whether for his own emolument, or for that of his deputy, was dishonourable and inexcusable. Nor does the blame consist merely in transgressing the act. Lord Melville stood by and saw Trotter's salary subsequently augmented from five to eight hundred a year, upon the express condition that the augmentation was to be in lieu of all profits and emoluments whatsoever; and yet, at the moment, he was *confessedly* suffering Trotter to make profits, and the permission was continued. Of a person capable of such an act of duplicity every thing is credible.——I have stated my belief, that Lord Melville not only took large sums from Trotter, but that he *kept* them. There is not from the beginning to the end of the evidence such an assertion, either by him or Trotter, as that the money was repaid. An equivocal sentence which has been so interpreted by the charitable and the inattentive, no doubt occurs. "To be sure," says Trotter "the money was repaid, because it was part of the public money, and my account with the public was brought to a balance and cleared."——True, but the profits and not the repayment by Lord Melville, enabled him to keep the account square.——The great difficulty when men are endeavouring to conceal the truth, fabricating a story, and accounting for various circumstances, is to preserve consistency. Lord Melville seems to me to have ruined his cause by what he said in the House of Commons, of his having applied certain sums received from Trotter, as well as the 10,000 l. he confesses taking in Douglas's time, to public purposes not known to any of the ministers at the time; and which, consequently, cannot have been replaced out of any more appropriate fund: with the happiest propriety, Mr. Wilberforce termed this declaration, *the very infatuation of guilt*. It is possible to believe that money taken for his own use might have been repaid, but it is impossible to believe that he repaid what he had expended for any laudable public purpose, and if the purpose was not laudable, what is to be said for him. There was no such thing as this in Lord Melville's mind, when he wrote his last letter to the Commissioners; the strain of which is altogether inconsistent with the after-pretence. He had no idea, then, that Trotter would *blab* the story of the first 10,000 l.—Trotter, however, let out the fact without consideration, and as it had come out it was necessary that something should be said. The tale stands thus: Lord Melville expended considerable sums of the public money, for public purposes, and he afterwards replaced those sums out of his own pocket. Can any man believe this? And, yet it must be taken literally, or it is not true that the loans made by Trotter were *bonâ fide* repaid by his lordship, as some people say, though neither he himself nor Trotter have ever said so.——You are persuaded, you say, that the purposes for which the 10,000 l. was applied

were proper and justifiable. If so, it is most wonderful that he should refuse to disclose them. I confess myself unable to figure any use to which a minister (allowing Mr. Dundas to have been at the time a minister which he was not) is at liberty to apply money voted by parliament, for a particular purpose, except for that purpose singly. Say it was expended in charity; to improve the agriculture and commerce of the country; to repel foreign invasion; or to help a worthy friend to a seat in the House of Commons. I fancy, if the story has any foundation, the last comes nearest the truth; but take any of the cases you will, and still I deny it was justifiable. If it was, I may pick your pocket and plead the same sort of excuse.——But it seems to me, that when the first 10,000l. is spoke of as a detached sum, the real circumstances are lost sight of. During the time that Douglas held the office of Paymaster, the whole money was in the power of Mr. Dundas as Treasurer, and actually and legally used by him. Supposing that he did expend 10,000l. in the way you imagine, it was his own money at the moment, and he had a right to spend it as he pleased, provided he was sure of being able to replace it when wanted. That time came upon him when he was not prepared; and the truth seems to me evident, that when he came to make up his account, and ought according to the act to have paid the whole balance to the Bank, he found himself 10,000l. deficient; and not being able to command that sum, he threw it on Trotter, as the price of his place; and what was a man who entered on an office of barely 500l. a year, advancing 10,000l. at the outset to do, but just what Trotter did, to bring up his *lee-way*. I have heard, that at one stage of the business, Trotter's friends acknowledged that they advanced this *deficit*, or engaged to make it good. If this is denied, then Lord Melville should explain when and how he paid the deficiency. It is clear that it must have been replaced immediately after the act took effect through the medium of Trotter, while his lordship seems to confess, if I can pretend to understand him, that he retained it, or remained the debtor for a considerable time at least. Indeed, I do not find him any where asserting or insinuating, that he ever replaced it, for it is remarkable, that while he acknowledges the receipt of different large sums, not characterised as loans, there is a total blank even in assertion, as to the time and mode of repayment. All that it said is, *they must have been repaid*; and I have already alluded to the equivoque of this expression. Thus through the whole of the business there are, on the one hand, facts warranting the strongest suspicion, and on the other, nothing but mere assertion, attended by the highest improbability.——Independently of what precedes, the conduct of Lord Melville, as well as of Mr. Trotter, since the investigation commenced, to me affords evidence the most satisfactory of his lordship's guilt. There cannot, I think, be a surer or fairer test than the conduct of the person accused. Innocence courts inquiry, and is ever bold and open. Guilt seldom fails to betray itself by shunning the trial, by concealment and prevarication. A guilty person, however artful, should if possible avoid speaking, and must not act in a way in which an innocent one never would have acted, otherwise the conclusion is unavoidable. I am not speaking of evidence sufficient, *per se*, for conviction on a legal trial, but of what must be convincing to private judgment.——If the facts were as Lord Melville now, after full time for preparation states, and there were no other in the case, why did he refuse explanation to the commissioners? He confessed that he had to a certain degree violated the law, because that was in proof otherwise. He confessed that he had permitted Mr. Trotter to make some use of the public money, and to derive some profit by it; because, if he had denied the fact absolutely, he was sure of being confuted by Trotter, who could not be willing to expose himself to exemplary punishment, by stating that he acted without the knowledge of his principal, while the books of Coutts and Sprott proved his use of the public money. But to the question, whether an advantage was derived to himself from the trafic of Trotter, Lord Melville refused to answer, sheltering himself under the clause of the act of parliament establishing the commission. He tacked to this a reason than which nothing could be more flimsy. Having received pecuniary accommodation from Trotter, and finding that in the fund, from whence it came, the public money and Trotter's private money had been blended, he pretended that he could not say whether the advantage he derived from the accommodation, was owing to Trotter's being possessed of the public money. But why did he not state this delicate scruple, this almost unintelligible wiredrawn distinction to the commissioners as his only reason. I say, with confidence, that if what he says had been the truth, he would have answered the question explicitly thus: I made no advantage, unless my accepting accommodation from a man, who, it now appears may have been

enabled to give it by being possessed of the public money, can be called an advantage, though I was not aware at the time, that the accommodation came from that fund. Instead of this he chose to answer in a way which made the commissioners, and every one else suspect him of participation with Trotter. Again, why did he come out with his defence piecemeal, just as facts were extorted from Trotter, or blabbed by him? An honest, though mistaken man, would at once have made a clean breast. *So much I did, but no more.* By the time his lordship wrote his last letter to the commissioners, he had discovered that the reason he formerly assigned for not answering that question, did not apply to a particular period. He then asserted, and offered to swear, that he had made no advantage, in any sense, previously to Trotter's appointment. The story of the first 10,000*l.* then came out unexpectedly, and he was driven to the statement concerning it, which he made in the House of Commons.——Above all, if Lord Melville had participated with Trotter no farther than he acknowledges, and had not been sensible that he was at Trotter's mercy, would he have acted towards that man as he did? Would he have continued him in office after the discovery of his peculation? (Shall I be told, it was not Lord Melville who continued him?) Would he have lived in habits of daily intercourse with him, down to the day of the vote in the House of Commons, which compelled his dismissal? Will any man who has a regard for truth, or who paid the least attention to the circumstances, say he does not believe that if the vote had been other than what it was, Mr. Trotter would have continued Paymaster, and the agent and bosom friend of Lord Melville to the present hour? Will it be pretended that his lordship did not attend to the proceedings of the Commissioners which touched himself so nearly? When it was discovered that Trotter had used the public money to a vast amount in the purchase of stock, the discount of bills, &c. &c. what would have been Lord Melville's conduct, if he had till then been ignorant of these operations, or had never authorised them as he now asserts; or, if he had imagined till then, as he alleges, that Trotter only made use or derived some profit from the money appropriated for paying trifling demands for which drafts on the Bank could not be given with propriety or convenience.* If the present assertion be true, it necessarily follows, that he discovered he had been grossly deceived by Trotter, whose conduct had been infamous, and exposed both the character and fortune of his principal to ruin. And yet Lord Melville did not resent this behaviour in any shape!——Mark the question repeatedly put to Trotter by the commissioners *after the discovery.* Did Lord Melville derive any advantage from the use which was then made of the public money? He refused to answer. He exculpated Mr. Tierney and the other treasurers, *after some hesitation,* when he had reflected on the consequence of throwing suspicion on innocent and honourable men; but he persisted to the last in refusing to speak as to Lord Melville. How would his lordship, if innocent, have acted on hearing this? Will it be said that he did not hear it? If he had put Trotter to death he could scarcely have been blamed; but he took all with the meekness of a primitive christian, he returned good for evil, and hugged the viper to his bosom.——What could induce Trotter thus to blast the character of his patron and benefactor? His own interest could no ways be served by implicating Lord Melville falsely. He must have been sensible, that by inducing a suspicion of his lordship without just ground, he was sealing his own ruin, as it could never be forgotten or forgiven. I defy charity, or simplicity, or idiocy, not to draw the conclusion, that he was instructed by Lord Melville to decline answering the question.——Then I say, that Trotter would at once have exculpated Lord Melville, if it had been in his power; and, if he had not, Lord Melville would have eagerly exculpated himself. His silence and refusal to answer, and Trotter's, are evidence (out of court) as satisfactory as the most explicit acknowledgment that Lord Melville did participate in the illegal profits.—I have heard it said, that Mr. Trotter has sworn that Lord Melville did not participate directly or indi-

* Lord Melville's pretence for going against the statute, and his only excuse for allowing money to be lodged at Coutts's is equally flimsy and false. If the pretended inconvenience had really been felt, (which the practice shews it was not) the proper course, undoubtedly, was to have got the law amended. But, in fact, no small drafts were made on Mr. Coutts any more than on the Bank, nor would any banker or merchant of character have submitted to be the paymaster of such drafts. The act could not be so rigidly interpreted, as to prevent the drawing for small demands of the same description in the aggregate. There necessarily must be cash kept in the office to pay trifles, and there was as much while the traffic was going on at Coutts's as before.

rectly in those profits. I am ignorant whether the fact be so, but supposing it true, it would have no weight with me. I would deem it equivocal; for, though his lordship may not have taken money *eo nomine*, or as a share of profits, he took it knowing those alone enabled Trotter to give it; and, secondly, I know, and Mr. Trotter knows likewise, the difference between a judicial and an extra judicial affidavit. I will not believe what a man swears extra judicially, who refuses to speak when under a judicial examination.—The same person has certainly sworn *extra judicially*, that his income from every source does not exceed 1,150 l. a year. And, supposing that to be true, what is the inference? Extravagant as his style of living was, that alone cannot account for his having so little left. But who will believe, that he has reserved no more? I am informed, that he has been heard to regret the having made that affidavit, and to allow it was not perfectly correct.——I shall not dwell on the burning of the papers, and the terms of the mutual release, farther than to say, that those circumstances certainly afford grounds of suspicion. I doubt extremely, if, from the beginning of the world, two men ever sat down deliberately to destroy (not *vouchers*, but) *all papers*, *memorandums*, *accounts*, and *books* relative to large and complicated money transactions, unless they were conscious that their preservation might injure them. I do not believe that any conveyancer ever inserted such a covenant as appears in this release, without instructions or a hint from his employer; and, it can scarcely be doubted from whom the instructions or hint in this case came. The coincidence of the destroying the evidence and the commencement of the investigation, is also entitled to weight in the scale. If Lord Melville is *innocent*, (by which I always mean if he is not more guilty than he has yet acknowledged himself to be,) he is a most unfortunate man, and has acted with more imprudence than ever man probably did. Every step he or his friends have taken; every circumstance speaks against him.——On these grounds I believe him to have been guilty of gross corruption and malversation in office. He connived at Trotter's making profit by the use of the public money, against honour and against a clear law; and the presumption that he participated indirectly in those profits is extremely strong. But, I do not mean to say, there is yet legal evidence of any thing except what he has himself confessed. What he has confessed seems to me fully to warrant the punishment (as it is called) which he has already suffered. As to the rest let him have a fair trial, and if acquitted from want of legal evidence or otherwise, let him enjoy that acquittal. But no acquittal can efface the suspicion, that his guilt goes far beyond his confession. He can never regain the confidence of the public, or of any man of virtue and sound judgment. He has himself destroyed the only evidence which could possibly remove the suspicion; namely, the accounts with Trotter; and he must be charitable indeed, who thinks that those would have been destroyed, if they had borne testimony to Lord Melville's innocence.——You seem to think that the suspicion which would attach to such circumstances, or the conclusion we would draw from them in most cases, flies off when it is considered that Lord Melville has always been remarked by those who knew him and his affairs best, for carelessness, inattention, and inaccuracy; but, you must further prove that he was utterly regardless of his character, and of his place in the country, dependant in a great measure on character, before I can believe that he would have acted as he has done, if he had been conscious of innocence. I say again, it is not possible to account for his refusal to answer, and his countenancing Trotter after the nature and extent of the peculation were discovered, but on the supposition of his guilt, unless he be an absolute fool; which no man ever esteemed him.——It has been said that Trotter continuing on the scene, is a proof of Lord Melville's being convinced that the charge could not be substantiated by his evidence; but they were both perfectly confident to the last that the inquiry would be stifled.—But, supposing that his lordship's guilt in the matter of the Treasurership were doubtful, I ask in the name of all that is honourable and manly, what excuse can be offered for his asking and taking the Chamberlainship of Fife from the person and in the way he did; from Mr. Addington whom he was at the moment deriding, abusing, and undermining. He deceived the man he solicited as to the extent of the gift, for the sake of sweeping into his pocket 3,000 l. of the public money, lying in the hands of the collector, ready to be paid into the Exchequer, under the colour of its being *rents in arrear*. There is not a doubt, that a gift from a private person, acquired in the same way might have been set aside as obtained by fraud. I may be told, that this has no connexion with the question, whether he participated in Trotter's gains; but when an argument against the truth or probability of that charge, is attempted to be deduced from Lord Melville's alleged disregard of money,

and freedom from avarice, am not I entitled to state facts of his conduct, which can be ascribed to nothing but sordid avarice? Those who said to me that his lordship was much changed since the days I knew him, were in the right.——The only apology I have ever heard for his taking the Chamberlainship, and subsequently the pension of 1,500*l.* a year, is his *poverty*. Whether he is poor or not, and what his apologists call poverty I do not know. But, is a man enjoying 7 or 8,000*l.* a year of the public money, and every one of whose family and connexions is loaded with places and pensions, to be allowed to plead poverty, (which if true, must be occasioned by wild extravagance) as an excuse for rapacity and meanness? Where is such a plea to stop, or is one pension to be added to another, and the proper extent to be measured by the continuance of the extravagance they nourish? *Albeit appetens, sui profusus*, may perhaps with these apologists be a trait of a great and amiable character, or they may perhaps distinguish between private and public plunder. People who have nothing to do with places and pensions and grants of public money, except paying their share of them, will probably consider the one to be as bad as the other, and when the story of the Chamberlainship and the pension is stated, I believe every man of sense and worth will conclude, that he who solicited and took these gifts, notwithstanding what he then enjoyed, must be tainted with the lowest avarice, and rapacious in the extreme; and that, therefore, there is no improbability in the charge of the same man having participated with Mr. Trotter.——I hope it will not be said, as I think it cannot be said with justice, that I have been prejudging Lord Melville's cause. I speak only on the evidence as it now stands. I have admitted that the grounds I principally go upon, are not direct *legal* evidence; and, I am far from thinking, that a judge or jury will or ought to give a verdict of guilty on the suspicions or conclusions arising from the conduct of the party accused, which weigh so strongly with me. I mean only to set myself in opposition to that profligate effrontery, which maintained that there were not sufficient grounds for putting him on his trial; and to those who from weakness or an intention to screen the delinquent, argued that he had been already sufficiently punished.——I am, yours, &c. &c. *Sept.* 1805.

BULL-BAITING.

(Concluded from p. 442)

The progress of cruelty and the danger of gratifying barbarous propensities cannot admit of more striking illustration than what is afforded by considering the effects of these savage exhibitions on the manners and character of the Romans.——This is not the proper place to discuss the question, of right or expediency, which man has always claimed of rendering subservient to his wanton sports, the lives and feelings of the brute creation. It will come with more propriety under discussion in the sequel of these observations. But it may not be improper, at present, to animadvert on the consequences of rendering bloody scenes familiar and amusing to even an enlightened people.——The frequent spectacle of * animals conflicting with each other in the games of the amphitheatre, gradually hardened the public mind, and begat a necessity for diversions of a more animated and dangerous kind. Men were encouraged, and even compelled to enter the lists with wild beasts. At first, condemned criminals forfeited their lives in these contests. But these were not sufficiently numerous to gratify the appetite of a degraded and licentious people. Men † were professedly instructed and regularly hired to sell their blood, like gladiators, in these bestial contests. Such enormities, great as they are, hide their diminished heads, before the supreme wickedness and cruelty of gladiatorial exhibitions. When the susceptibility to humane and tender feelings became almost extinct by the bestial encounters, it became necessary to gratify their depraved appetites by the exhibition of human butchery and sacrifice. So lost to every spark of decency and humanity were this infatuated and ferocious people, that the highest ranks of society gloried in voluntarily taking a part in these encounters, and even the softer sex, throwing aside every trait of amiable modesty and timidity, were ambitious of displaying their personal courage in these savage contests. This conduct

* In the shew of wild beasts exhibited by Julius Cæsar in his third Consulship, twenty elephants were opposed to 500 footmen, and 20 more with turrets on their backs (sixty men being allowed to each turret) engaged with 600 foot and as many horse. There were three sorts of these diversions, under the common title of Venation. The first, when the people were permitted to run after the beasts and catch what they could for their own use; the second, when the beasts fought with one another; and the third, when they were brought out to engage with men. See Kennet's Roman Antiquities.

† These were called Bestiarii.

did not escape the lash of the Roman satyrist.

"Cum mille Maevia Tuscum
"Figat aprum, et multa tollat venabula
"Ut fortissimus vir."

"Or, when with naked breast the mannish wight,
"Shakes the broad spear against the Tuscan boar."

Persons of every age, sex, and condition attended these barbarous sports. The intoxication of the populace, from frequent gratification, arose to such a pitch, that streams of blood flowed annually from several hundreds, perhaps thousands, of the wretched gladiators, throughout the various cities of the empire. When the people had been so far steeped in blood as to prefer beyond any other these sanguinary combats, all the candidates for high offices bribed their favour, by outvying each* other in the number and pomp of these impious shews. Even the most powerful and enlightened minds among the Romans were tainted by the contagious influence of custom and the strength of national prejudice: Cicero, the humane and dignified statesman and philosopher, very faintly, if at all, disapproves of the excessive fondness of the people for this abominable exhibition in his time; and plainly expresses his approbation of the practice as antiently conducted. His words are, "crudele gladiatorum spectaculum et inhumanum nonnullis videri solet; et haud scio an ita sit, ut nunc fit: cum vero sontes ferro depugnabant; auribus fortasse multis, oculis quidem nulla poterat esse fortior contra dolorem et mortem disciplina." "The shew of gladiators to some persons may seem barbarous and inhuman; and I don't know as the case now stands that the censure is unjust: But when only guilty persons were the combatants, the ear might receive better instruction—it is impossible, however, that any lesson to the eye can better fortify the mind against the assaults of grief and death." A ridiculous and inhuman assertion (an eloquent historian exclaims) admirably confuted by the bravery of ancient Greece and modern Europe.——Indeed so little was the practice connected with military ardour and true courage, that before its establishment the Romans were perhaps more distinguished for bravery, steadiness of discipline, and contempt of death, than at any subsequent period of their history. It is, however, certain, that in proportion to the frequency and extent of these bloody exhibitions, did the military valour and discipline of the Romans sink into a state of degradation and contempt.—"After subsisting a period of 600 years" (according to the remark of Gibbon), "Honorius gave the final blow to this inveterate abuse, which degraded a civilized nation below the condition of savage cannibals."—Rome justly suffered moral and political evils from fostering such inhuman propensities: her existence was more than once at stake by the insurrection of the wretched and despairing victims of her barbarity. Besides, the corruption of the populace, through the medium of these diversions, was no difficult task to the powerful and wealthy. When man has been taught to subdue the humane feelings of his nature, he contracts an indifference to the purer and nobler virtues which fit him for discharging the duties of a good citizen. Indeed every habit that wears out the sympathizing sensibility of the heart, proportionably disqualifies man from exercising the pleasing duties and tender charities, connected with public and domestic life.—It would appear from this hasty sketch that the popular games and exercises of the Greeks, when compared with those of the Romans, were better calculated to promote the social as well as individual welfare of mankind. The Grecian sports fortified the body and disciplined the mind, without injuring the one or brutalizing the other.—Indeed the superior wisdom of Grecian policy rendered the public diversions subservient to the interests of the state as well as to the happiness of the people. The Roman government did not always neglect this branch of policy. For their sports, in the early and rude state of the nation, were adapted to the circumstances in which the people were placed. But incessantly harassed themselves, or employed in harassing others, they had neither leisure nor inclination to cultivate those arts which contribute to liberal amusement: ever occupied with warfare, all their amusements had a warlike tendency. The contests of savage animals and the conflicts of gladiators, suited alike the ferocious manners of the populace and the political views of their rulers. When the empire had subdued more polished nations, it might have

* Julius Cæsar, in his edileship, presented three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators; and Trajan, as averse, from cruelty as the former, brought out 1000 pair of gladiators, during a solemnity of 123 days. But the sanguinary Nero, enlisted 400 senators and 600 knights (if there be not a corruption of the text of Suetonius, the historian) as gladiators, at a celebration of the Circensian games. See Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

be expected, that its amusements would have assumed a different spirit and complexion. But the habits of the people were too deeply rooted and depraved to be easily changed; and, indeed, so far were their rulers from wishing to accomplish this reformation, that from corrupt and selfish views, they studiously excited the propensities of the people towards degrading and inhuman shews, by administering constant food for these savage enjoyments. In the progress of civilization, since the downfal of the Roman empire, great and important changes have taken place in Europe, with respect to religious, political, and civil institutions. The melioration of the condition of man in his social and domestic state, and the general refinement of his character and manners, have been the happy result of these moral and political revolutions. Yet still there remain sufficient vestiges of antient barbarity to throw a dark shade on the present state of improved civilization. The cruel sports still so highly relished in many parts of modern Europe, and which bear so near a resemblance to the savage contests of the Circus, exhibit lasting and disgraceful proofs of the relics of antient barbarism. Our own country has been but too justly stigmatized, even by her less polished neighbours, for the devotion of the lower ranks of the people to those amusements which are derived from the sufferings of the brute creation.——Although the resemblance (whether it be original or imitative is of little importance) between the cruel diversions of England and of Rome, may be considered a subject of just regret, yet the similarity in some of the manly exercises and hardy sports, practised by the two nations, cannot but claim our warm and just admiration.—If we have retained more of the barbarous sports of antiquity than the rest of Europe, there is the merit due to us of having more extensively adopted and practised those amusements and exercises, which inure the body to labour and fatigue, and inspire the mind with courage and emulation. In treating on the general character and spirit of some of the sports and exercises of the people of England, it will not be necessary to enter into particular detail. It is only proposed to hint at those of a popular nature, and which seem to be interwoven with the customs and manners of the bulk of the people. They may be comprised under two heads. 1st. The sports which are derived from the animal creation. 2d. The amusements which depend upon bodily exercises and personal contests.——I. It cannot be denied, that mankind, at every period of society and under every diversity of country and government, have rendered the animal race subservient to their wanton and cruel sports. But the universality and antiquity of a practice, founded on inhumanity and impolicy, are inadequate to sanction its utility and continuance. If it can be shewn that barbarous sports tend to brutalize the human character, and are inconsistent with the manifest intentions of Providence; the argument derived from long custom and authority must fall to the ground. There is a sympathy implanted in our natures, which renders us feelingly alive to the pains and pleasures of our fellow-creatures, and is even extended to every part of the animal creation. Upon the due exercise of this principle depends great part of our social and individual happiness. Whatever then has a tendency to diminish the influence of this principle, ought carefully to be avoided. Now every single act of cruelty contributes its share towards the weakening or extinguishing the principle of sympathy; and by the repetition of such acts, according to the general laws of habit, * a disposition to cruelty is likely to be generated. If a child be early indulged in sportively tormenting animals, and this vicious propensity be suffered to grow up into a habit, his sensibility to human suffering will be proportionably diminished; insensibility will harden into brutality; and at length he will not be restrained from positive acts of cruelty towards his own species, whenever goaded by the feelings of interest or of passion. Hogarth, our great moral painter, has admirably illustrated the progress of cruelty in the human breast. The first stage of his Hero's career is marked by sportive and wanton barbarity to animals. Upon this foundation crimes are soon erected; and at length grown callous to every social † and moral

* "The habitude which the people of this country (viz. Cape of Good Hope) necessarily acquire in witnessing instances of cruelty on human as well as brute creatures, cannot fail to produce a tendency to hardness of heart, and to stifle feelings of tenderness and benevolence. In fact, the rigour of justice is seldom softened with the balm of mercy." See Barrow's Travels in Africa, Vol. 2. p. 41.

† Such is the general impression on the mind of the power of habit to generate cruelty, that in most countries, those occupations which employ men in the destruction of animal life for the sustenance of human kind, are held in degradation and contempt. The lowest of the butchering tribe, in default of an executioner, is compelled to

feeling, he closes his profligate career, by the perpetration of a deliberate and cruel murder. Another excellent judge of the human heart, Dr. Moore, has forcibly depicted the effects of wanton cruelty to the inferior creation, in the character of Zeluco. The feelings of humanity became stifled in this monster's breast, from an early gratification of his caprice and passion in sporting with the torments of the animal race. It is likewise our duty as well as moral advantage, to refrain from all acts of wanton cruelty to the brute creation. The organs of sensation in all the inferior animals, are evidently adapted for receiving and transmitting impressions of pain and pleasure; and although deprived of speech, their groans and cries are intelligible indications of their painful feelings. Nor are animals less capable of expressing signs of pleasure as well as of suffering. This provision for the gratification of their several senses, is a sufficient proof of the intentions of the Creator. Like man, they were formed to feel and to enjoy. Here rests the foundation of their natural right to protection and humane treatment from mankind. ——It cannot be inferred from this mode of reasoning, that animal life should in every instance be held sacred. The laws of nature and necessity demand from us the painful sacrifice. Man must destroy life in order to live. Besides, we must consider that if man had subsisted only on vegetable food, the majority of the animal race which furnish his table would never have enjoyed life. Instead of increasing the breed of animals, he would have been compelled to destroy them to prevent a famine. But barbarously, wantonly, and deliberately, to torture and destroy animal life, is equally repugnant to humanity, duty, and the best interests of mankind. Experience teaches us, that the common sense and feeling of mankind, condemn that man whose greatest delight seems to consist in bloody and barbarous sports.—Youth, it must be observed, commonly inflict pain on animals in mere sport, without a due knowledge of the evil they commit. And the ignorant populace frequently err from the same cause. They are led to consider, but too often, from the connivance and even encouragement of their superiors in knowledge and station, that the animal race are equally indifferent to pleasure or pain; and only created for the purpose of gratifying the appetite, or contributing to the diversion of mankind.——If the question be asked, "whether all sports derived from animal suffering be entitled to equal condemnation?" The answer is decidedly in the negative. For, although perhaps none can be completely justified, yet there is still a wide difference in the degree of moral and physical evil resulting from their practice. That class of diversions pursued for the benefit of health and exercise, where the enjoyment of pleasure springs from the exertion of our active faculties, must not be compared with those depraved and cruel sports, which merely consist in the torture and destruction of the animal. In the present state of society, active diversions become almost necessary to the well being of the opulent and sedentary classes of mankind. Man cannot be happy without occasional active employment. He pines in the lap of ease and pleasure, and requires the stimulus of animated exertion. Hunting in all stages of society, has therefore formed a principal share of the business and pleasure of man. But in this kingdom especially, a considerable portion of its inhabitants devote part of their time to the active and vigorous pursuits of the chace. And although it may be urged in favour of this exercise, that it invigorates the spirits, teaches men to despise enervating pleasure, and inures them patiently to sustain hunger, cold, and fatigue; yet it cannot be denied, that it has a tendency, when too eagerly pursued, to blunt the sensibility, to render the manners rude and coarse, and thus to degrade the dignity of the human character. The man of enlarged understanding, liberal notions, and elegant manners, may occasionally call in the aid of the chace to relieve the fatigue of sedentary employment, or renovate the powers of nature, exhausted by mental exertion, without much apparent injury to his manners or morals; but frequently to take pleasure in that, by which misery to animals is inflicted, if not absolutely vicious, is yet of no good tendency; it conduces neither to form the gentleman nor the man. If it be considered as too nice and fastidious a delicacy to impute blame to the practice of destroying animals

---

perform his functions in France and many other parts of the continent. There is an opinion prevailing in England, that butchers, and even surgeons, are equally disqualified, by the nature of their occupations, to sit upon juries, in trials affecting the lives of their fellow-subjects. This is probably a popular error; or, if true, yet a much more honourable reason may be assigned, why surgeons are not required to act in the capacity of jurors. Their office is to administer to the sufferings and calamities of their fellow creatures; and it is fit they should every moment be disengaged and free to obey the summons to so humane a duty.

for the purpose of health, exercise, and recreation, it may, however, be allowed to call in question the policy and humanity of other diversions, once highly cherished, and still too much practised by the people of this country. Some of these national sports are sanctioned by the practice and encouragement of many persons distinguished for rank and talents. That there should be found such abettors of the bloody and barbarous diversions of cock-fighting and bull-baiting, is both a subject for surprise and regret. These two amusements seem to have survived the destruction of many other sports equally as unmeaning and barbarous; but that they should not have entirely yielded to the improved state of manners—or the interference of the laws, is a subject of just reproach to us by foreigners, and of deserved reprobation by the humane and reflecting of our own countrymen. The reciprocal influence of sports and manners on each other, may be shewn from these and similar diversions, as practised in various periods of our history. A late ingenious and laborious writer * has described the ancient and modern diversions of the people of Great Britain, from the earliest authentic records to the present time. This picture confirms the general truth of the position: that as a nation improves in manners and civilization, it loses its high relish for inhuman and ferocious diversions. It is more than probable, that the sports derived from animal contests, such as bull-baiting, bear-baiting, and cock-fighting, are vestiges of Roman amusements introduced by that people into this conquered island. It is at least certain they were practised † in the early period of our history. During the military enthusiasm of the middle ages, while jousts and tournaments furnished amusement to the nobility and gentry, martial exercises constituted the chief diversions of the body of the people. Hence arose the establishment of schools for teaching the "noble science of defence," as it was called. These laid the foundation for professed gladiators, or prize-fighters. The great prevalence of murder, robbing, and every species of barbarity, in consequence of these proceedings, during the reign of Edward the First, compelled the government to issue an edict to suppress the schools as well as the combats of prize-fighters. During the reign of Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth, these schools were revived in consequence of a supposed degeneracy in the military spirit of the people; and the baiting of animals at the same time became a favourite * diversion.—The Bear-garden, † during the 16th and the early part of the 17th century, was the place of rendezvous for the highest as well as the lowest classes of society. The Tatler, when treating on the barbarous sports of this national circus, and the comments of foreigners on the subject,

---

* See Strutt's Diversions and Pastimes of the People of England.

† The Jongleurs or Jugglers, in the reign of Henry the 2d made a profession of training bulls, bears, and even horses, for the purpose of baiting them with dogs. The sport of fighting cocks in pitched battles, first appears on record in the same reign. During subsequent reigns this sport became general; and, to the disgrace of our country, was countenanced by royal favour during James the 1st and Charles the 2d's reign. If the Romans set us the example in devising these sports, it must be confessed, we have "bettered the instruction." For to English refinement and ingenuity may be ascribed the noble invention of the Gaffle or Spur; by the aid of which, the gallant combatants of the cock-pit mangle, torture, and destroy each other; no doubt to the great satisfaction and delight of admiring spectators. Another instance of our barbarous ingenuity must not be omitted. No other nation but the British has contrived to put in practice the Battle-Royal, and the Welsh-Main. In the former, the spectator may be gratified with the display of numbers of game-cocks, destroying each other at the same moment without order or distinction. In the latter, these courageous birds are doomed to destruction in a more regular, but not less certain manner. They fight in pairs, (suppose 16 in number) and the two last survivors are then matched against each other; so that out of 32 birds, 31 must be necessarily slaughtered. See Pegge's Essay in the Archæologia Britannica.

* Stephen Gossen, in the latter end of Henry 8th's reign, considers that our ancestors had entirely sunk into the lap of effeminacy, as may be proved by the following singularly quaint and alliterative style of abuse. "Our wrestling at arms is turned into wallowing in ladies' laps: our courage to cowardice; our running to riot; our bows, into bowls; and our darts into dishes!"

† Another common diversion, during the period of Queen Elizabeth and in the two following reigns, consisted in several persons at the same time scourging with whips a blind-folded bear round the ring, whose sufferings and awkward attempts at revenge highly gratified the noble, as well as ignoble spectators.

addition, "I wish I knew how to answer the reproaches which are cast upon us, and to excuse the death of so many innocent cocks, dogs, bulls, and bears, as have been set together by the ears, and died an untimely death only to create us sport." Bull-baiting was not confined within the limits of a bear-garden, but was universally practised, on various occasions, in all the towns and villages throughout the kingdom. In many places the practice was sanctioned by law, and the bull-rings affixed to large stones driven into the earth remain to this day, as memorials of this legalized species of barbarity. The regular system of bull-baiting seems to have commenced with the reign of King John. Its general prevalence since that period, until within a few years, must have produced important effects on the manners and character of the people. The misery it has inflicted on the harmless and inoffensive brute, is a matter of no small regret and indignation with the humane and considerate part of mankind; but the injury done to public morals and social happiness, by an attachment to this degrading pastime is still more to be deplored. Numbers of bulls were, and still continue to be, regularly trained and carried about from village to village, to enter the lists against dogs bred up for the purpose of the combat. To detail all the barbarities committed in these encounters would be a disgusting and tedious task. All the bad passions which spring up in ignorant and depraved minds are here set afloat. The torments and blood of the suffering beast are purchased by money of his unfeeling master; and the owners of the dogs are not more gratified in gaining their sanguinary wagers, than in applauding the savage ferocity displayed by these animals. We cannot often appeal to the annals of bull-baiting; but if they were regularly laid open, it is probable that many instances of a similar kind to the following might be held up as a lesson to the abettors of such diversions. * "Some years ago at a bull-baiting in the North, a young man, confident of the courage of his dog, laid some trifling wager, that he would at separate times cut off all the four feet of his dog, and that after every amputation he would attack the bull. The cruel experiment was tried, and with success." Such detestable barbarity can only be exceeded by the following recital extracted from the public prints of 1709. At a bull-baiting in Staffordshire, after the animal had been baited by single dogs, he was attacked by numbers let loose at once upon him. Having cleared from his tormentors, they again fastened him to the ring; and with a view, either of gratifying their savage revenge, or of better securing their victim, they actually cut off his hoofs, and enjoyed the spectacle of his being worried to death on his bloody and mangled stumps. These facts speak more than a volume against the sophistic arguments of the advocates for exciting brave and manly courage by the exhibition of bloody and barbarous sports.—Although persons of rank and education, at the present period, have abandoned bear and bull-baiting to the lowest and most despicable part of the populace; and even amongst them these sports are much less frequent than formerly; yet the practice meets with countenance in some parts of the kingdom, and has been supported not long since, in one of the first assemblies of this nation, extolled by men of rank and abilities, as encouraging harmless amusement, manly spirit, and contempt of danger.—These opinions appear to be so much at variance with the present enlightened, liberal, and humane state of society, that to hear they have been defended by serious arguments and with persevering ardor, is sufficient to excite both regret and astonishment. Cruelty in every shape is unjustifiable; but wanton, deliberate barbarity is dishonourable to our nature, and contrary to the principles of natural religion, honour, justice, and humanity. Of all the cruel sports, bull-baiting, as generally practised, is, perhaps, the least defensible. It is not only a cruel, but a foolish and detestable diversion. That the spectacle of two animals endowed with courage, strength, and activity, exerting their antipathies to each other's destruction, upon fair and equal terms, should excite our curiosity and animate our feelings, is reconcileable to the constitution and nature of man; but that any human being should delight in beholding a noble and useful animal tied to a stake, and deprived in a great measure of the means of offence and defence, and then worried and tormented by dogs and men, is a sport so insipid, so unsportsman-like *, and so cruel, as to excite

* See Bewick's Quadrupeds. Article Dog.

* Throwing at cocks is another specimen of unmeaning brutality confined solely to our own country. After being familiarised to the barbarous destruction of this courageous bird in the cock-pit, it was only advancing one step further in the progress of cruelty, to fasten this most gallant animal to a stake, in order to murder him piece-meal.—This detestable barbarity has declined as our manners have become more polished and humane; but the strong hand of the law was obliged to interfere in many places

wonder as well as detestation. But the advocates of these and similar cruel diversions, exclaim in a tone of triumphant interrogation, "Do not these sports inspire manly courage and contempt of danger?" Certainly not. They are only calculated to generate cruelty and a thirst for blood. They may, indeed, inspire ferocity and insensibility to danger, but they are unfit to impart genuine and manly fortitude.——The Romans indulged, as before remarked, in these savage diversions to a greater extent than any other nation of antiquity; yet they did not excel the Greeks, nor have surpassed the moderns, in the display of military ardour and true courage.—It is a superficial and unphilosophical view of the subject, to consider the barbarous sports of Rome contributing to the establishment of her power and military fame. These spectacles never became common till after Hannibal's defeat; and that the Romans, subsequent to this period improved in valour and hardihood, is not recorded in the pages of their history. But may we not, with just pride, appeal to facts furnished by our own age and country? Has the valour, enterprise, or intrepidity of British soldiers and sailors shone less conspicuous, since the period that bull-baiting and other barbarous sports have declined, throughout most parts of the kingdom? The answer is recorded in the history of our late naval and military transactions.—The conduct of the Spaniards and Portuguese, when contrasted with that of our own countrymen, is a striking proof of the incompetency of savage and cruel amusements to create a courageous and warlike disposition. Bull-fights still constitute the only active popular amusement of the two countries. If these bloody sports were capable of inspiring active courage and manly fortitude, how are we to account for the acknowledged degeneracy of the people of Spain and Portugal in these warlike qualities?—The advocates for bull-baiting and similar sports, have recourse to another argument, or rather assertion, which they urge with great confidence: "cruel sports," they contend, "do not necessarily generate cruelty in a people." "The English, (say they) who are fond of these diversions, are, at the same time, less ferocious, and indeed hold the shedding of human blood more in abhorrence, than any other nation on the face of the globe." Granted, that we really deserve this honourable distinction: does it follow that human nature is differently constituted in England to what it is in other parts of the world? Can it be necessary to prove, that habits of indifference to human suffering are acquired by repeated acts of cruelty to brutes; and that the sympathy of our natures must be blunted in proportion to our familiarity with scenes of unnecessary and wanton barbarity? These are almost self-evident suppositions; at least they are such inductions from daily and repeated experience, as to pass current for intuitive truths. But if we admit that the English are more addicted to cruel sports, and yet hold human life more sacred than the people of other countries, it by no means follows, that such sports have not a tendency to create a disposition to cruelty. How then are we to reconcile this apparent contradiction? The paradox, if there really be any, is not difficult of solution.—The life of man is always most respected, where it is of most consequence. For, in a country like Britain, where the whole body of the people enjoy political and civil rights, their own importance, and that of their fellow-citizens will be felt and esteemed; and where just and equal laws protect the life and property of the meanest of the people, and consequently private injuries can be redressed by an appeal to the tribunals of justice, man will be less disposed to be the avenger of his own wrongs. Besides, ignorance is commonly the parent of cruelty. Now it may be safely asserted, that the knowledge of man's duties both towards his neighbour and his Creator, are better understood and more widely diffused amongst the mass of the people in this kingdom, than in those otherwise civilized countries, where a thirst for the blood of their fellow-creatures seems chiefly to prevail. These eminent moral and political advantages are the powerful counteracting causes of that spirit of barbarism which cruel diversions are calculated to excite. If it be desirable then to efface the harsh lineaments of rudeness, and a want of feeling nearly allied to brutality, which still mar the otherwise fair visage of the national character, let all barbarous diversions be entirely abolished; but especially let the sport of bull-baiting be the first offering to be sacrificed at the shrines of humanity and justice!

---

to hasten its abolition. The cruel treatment of the animal race might well lead an ingenious † foreigner to remark, when describing our popular diversion, as follows. "The women of Rome beheld barbarities and murders in cold blood; but the boxing-matches, the bull-baitings, cock-fightings, and the numerous attendance of both sexes at public executions, indicate that there is at least a remnant of Roman manners, and the taste of those times, left in England."

† Wenderborn, on the character and manners of the people of Great Britain."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LORD MELVILLE.——In verification of the truth of the remark contained in my motto, many of the circumstances connected with the endeavours to support Lord Melville, and finally to defeat the ends of justice, might be pointed out; and, however mortifying it may be, to reflect that one is made to contribute towards the means of screening those, by whose peculations one has already suffered, yet, it is almost impossible not to perceive, that such contribution does, in fact, take place. The numerous paragraphs, and, indeed, columns, that have appeared in the London news-papers, in support of Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, have not, the reader may be assured, found their way into print at the expense of either the proprietors of those papers, or of the persons communicating such writings to the editors. Corruption, in short, begets corruption, maggot engenders maggot, in the body politic, when rotten, just as in the animal body.——It was, sometime ago, observed, in the Political Register, that the partizans of Lord Melville, all those who had tasted of the wages of corruption, and all those who wished so to taste (a class by no means contemptible as to numbers) would, during the prorogation of parliament, be constantly at work, in all possible ways, to deceive the people, to assuage their resentment, to efface all the impressions made upon the public mind by the discoveries of the Naval Commissioners. The readers of the Register were cautioned against the tendency of these efforts, and, they will, doubtless, have, for weeks past, perceived, that the caution was not unnecessary or ill-timed.——The first attempt, of the sort we have now been speaking of, through the means of the press, was a pamphlet, entitled a "SPEECH OF LORD MELVILLE, delivered in the House of Commons, &c. &c." Assuredly, he had a right to publish his speech; but, then, it follows, as a matter of course, that every one has a right to comment upon it, and to *publish* those comments; for, we can never allow a man to claim a right to publish what he pleases in his justification, while the matter against him is pending, and, at the same time, to prevent others from publishing an answer thereunto. The next publication that made its appearance, was entitled, "*An Exposure of the* PERSECUTION *of Lord Melville: in a Letter to an intimate Acquaintance.* "Printed for J. Hatchard, BOOKSELLER "TO HER MAJESTY." This is, as will be seen hereafter, a most wretched production; but, the *advertisement* of such a title was no contemptible means of misrepresentation; and, the reader may be assured, that the giving of the appearance of *Royal sanction* to the pamphlet, or rather to the application of the word *persecution*, was not without design. It is probable that fifty pounds have been employed in presenting this advertisement to the eyes of the people, and thus spreading amongst them the idea of Lord Melville, who is now actually in the the receipt of about eight thousand pounds a year of their money, being a hard-used, a cruelly-treated man.——While these, and some other, publications were making in London, the *gude* friends of the poor, innocent, harmless man were not idle at Edingburgh, where, in a news-paper entitled the Edingburgh Advertiser, the following paragraph appeared on the 30th of August. "This day the Lord Provost, Magistrates, "and Council are to give a grand dinner at "Fortune's Tavern, to the Right Honour-"able Lord Viscount Melville, His Excel-"lency the Commander in Chief" [Earl of Moira], "and a number of other persons "of distinction." This some persons, in England, would have taken for a joke, had they not been informed by their Scots friends, that the Edingburgh news-papers do not joke, when the ministry, or any part thereof are concerned. Yet, that a man impeached, actually impeached, for high crimes and misdemeanors, should be publicly entertained by the corporation of the first city in Scotland! That a man so circumstanced should partake of such an entertainment! It did, at first sight, seem incredible, and especially did it so seem, that the corporation should place the names of Moira and Melville in the order, in which they stood in the paragraph. But, to those who had witnessed the impudence exhibited in London, during the winter; those who had witnessed the operations of the BRAZEN system; who had, at the very times and in the very places where some degree of shame might have been expected, from even the most profligate and hardened, beheld confidence the most undaunted, assurance the most inflexible, effrontery the most disgusting, that ever was seen or heard of amongst the most abandoned of mankind; those who had witnessed these scenes would rather be stricken with the modesty of the corporation of Edingburgh, and would, by no means, be inclined to doubt of the reality of the intended entertainment.——The entertainment took place, and the following paragraph, taken from the same news-paper of the 3d of September, will inform the reader who were the noblemen and gentlemen

to partake in the honour of dining with Lord Melville; and, I am persuaded, that he will not be surprised, that Lord Moira was *not* found amongst them. "On Friday, "the Lord Provost and Magistrates gave an "elegant entertainment at Fortune's to Lord "Viscount Melville, and a number of no- "blemen and gentlemen, among whom "were the Duke of Buccleugh, Earl of "Hopetoun, Earl of Haddington, Lord "Napier, Lord James Murray, Sir John "Steuart, Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Advo- "cate, the Members for the County and "City, the Secretary at War, the She- "riff of the County, &c. &c."——The reader need not be told, that the "Secretary at War" is Mr. *William Dundas;* and, it is hardly necessary to observe, that amongst the "Members of the County and City," is Mr. *Robert Dundas.* The Lord Justice Clerk, the Lord Advocate, and Lord Hopetoun, are also relations; and, as to the rest of the goodly company, their motives for attending are evident enough. The sequel of this dinner is not less amusing than its history is instructive. It was, it is confidently said, intended to try the temper of the people, and, if it succeeded, to be followed up by the other corporations through the country, in a tour proposed to be made by the hero of the entertainment. It was meant to invite *sixty* noblemen and gentlemen; but, upon Lord Moira publicly declaring his disapprobation, the number was limited to *forty*, of whom only *twenty-one* attended, and, the majority of these were relations of Lord Melville, persons who, for the most part, were, in some way or other, living upon incomes received from taxes raised upon the people. His lordship was, or affected to be, in great spirits; but, he attempted in vain to inspire the company with gaiety.—— The representatives of the City of Edinburgh (the *Town Council*, electors of the members of parliament) are only thirty-three, all of them *acquainted* with Lord Melville in a way which the reader will easily conceive. Amongst them, however, there are some persons in a state of life too low to be invited upon an occasion, where undiminished respectability and grandeur were to appear. These persons took offence. At the next meeting of the *Council*, they spoke of the recent dinner as an improper *waste of the public money*, a complaint that looked more than one way; but, they were, it is said, silenced by a patriotic declaration of the Lord Provost (the Chief Magistrate, a worthy *Grocer*, lately created a *Baronet*), that he meant to pay the bill out of his private pocket.——The detail of these circumstances will convince the reader, that the scheme completely failed; and, that Lord Melville feels, that Scotland is not, with respect to him, what it used to be. On account of this discovery it is, that you hear, in all the Pitt and Melville newspapers, such loud and incessant cries against the "*ingratitude*," as they call it, of those who owe their rise in the world to Lord Melville. Just as if the salaries attached to the places, which he gave, were paid out of his own private purse! Just as if all the pensions, all the grants, all the contracts, in which he was concerned, were defrayed out of his own property! Never was so unjust, so degrading, so abominable a principle. To hold such a principle is to acknowledge the minister of the day for your absolute master; and, it would be worth while to ask Mr. Canning for a full explanation of what he meant, when he said, that he wished anxiously for an administration upon a different scale, but that, when called upon to take part with his right honourable friend, he should hold himself to be the most "*ungrateful*" of mankind, if he refused to join him. It is necessary to explain the meaning of this; for, reason seems to say, that if a man receives favours at *the expense of the public*, it is to the public that his gratitude is chiefly due. Indeed, the conferring of favours, at the public expense, in order thereby to answer purposes of private interest, of whatever sort, whether in the way of emolument, honour, power, or friendship, is entitled to a name, which has so often been applied to the acts that have chiefly distinguished the political life of a certain courtier, who has recently given such indisputable proofs of his affinity to the *Spaniel* race.——The Scots will not, however, be much influenced by the cry above-mentioned. "They have been en- "riched and exalted by Mr. Dundas." *Some* of them have. But, allowing that all Scotland has. Is not Scotland compelled to own the Dundases? "The English "have not had their due share of the "honours and emoluments passing through "the hands of Mr. Dundas." It may be so. But, the Dundases are *not Englishmen.* And, is that *nothing!* The truth is, that the Scots, taken as *a nation*, have been losers by the enormous patronage and influence of Mr. Dundas, now Lord Melville. That patronage and influence have, indeed, enriched hundreds and thousands of Scotsmen, and, though they have, in one department or two changed hands as to their immediate operation, they are still at

worse, nearly the same way; but, they have not ruined *Scotland*; they have produced no good to Scotland. On the contrary, they have directly tended to injure her; to humble, to subjugate, to enslave, the people, by rendering the leading men of the country the mere dependents of the minister. This patronage and influence have done more, perhaps, than even the funding system to break down the aristocracy of Scotland. Indeed, they have charmingly co-operated with that system; the system has been constantly working the wealth and all the hands of the ancient nobility, so it has been constantly reducing them, one after another, to poverty, and the patronage and influence have constantly stood ready to take advantage of the dispositions which poverty seldom fails to produce. The Scots, therefore, considered as a nation, have nothing to regret at the disclosures relating to the conduct of the Pitts and Dundases. Scotland will not have less of the public patronage than she had before; but, that which was enjoyed by one family, by one set, will now be enjoyed by the Scots nation at large.——Amongst the publications which have, since the end of the session of parliament, appeared upon the subject of Lord Melville, there is one which merits particular attention; it being *represented* to be part of the speech of a JUDGE, delivered from the bench. It is taken from a newspaper entitled the SAINT JAMES's CHRONICLE, under the date of September, 14th, 1805; and, its words are as follow. "There are two other topics, upon which, though of a political nature, I wish to "risk a few words. One of them is the "fate of Lord Melville. To that person, I have "no attachment political or personal. But, "I am an Englishman. Mercy and *forbearance* "are inseparable from the name. I am also "conversant in judicial habits, which de"mand both candour and patience. I, "therefore, deprecate the *violence*, which "has devoted him the *victim* of *popular* "*clamour*, when he is in train for a dig"nified and constitutional judgment by his "peers."——The article, from which this is taken, is entitled, the "conclusion of Mr. Justice Hardinge's *charge* to the grand jury at Glamorganshire, at Cardiff, on Monday, 2d September, 1805." Of Mr. Justice Hardinge, I know very little, never having heard his name pronounced by any human being; and, though I have observed his name, or, at least, the name of Mr. George Hardinge (who is, I believe, the same person), amongst the members of the House of Commons, I never have noticed any speech of his making, except the one that he made against Mr. Reeves's pamphlet. But, though I have read this paragraph in five different ministerial papers, in every one of which it is represented as being part of a charge delivered by Mr. Hardinge to the Glamorganshire grand jury, I cannot believe it to be part of a charge, delivered either by him or by any body else. I look upon it as one of those tricks, by which the ready instruments of power and corruption, who have a controul over so great a part of the press, occasionally impose upon the people, and, it is with full confidence of being empowered to expose it as a fabrication, that I now submit it to my readers. For, in the first place, what in all the world had the case of Lord Melville to do with the business coming before the Grand Jury at Cardiff; where to introduce, and from the bench too, topics of a political and somewhat of an irritating nature, must, one would think, have been most carefully avoided by the person, to whom this pretended charge is imputed? But, the sentiments, the *sentiments*, forbid us to entertain, for a single moment, the opinion that they were uttered by a judge; by one of those venerable persons, on whose wisdom, whose integrity, and whose independence, we so materially rely for the equal distribution of justice, and, of course, for the due protection of our property, our personal liberty, and our lives. By such a person we must conclude, that sentiments like those above quoted were never expressed; for, do we not daily see our fellow subjects, our countrymen, our neighbours, and, to some of us they must be related and of some beloved; do we not daily see them suffering imprisonment, banishment, or death; and for what? For disobeying the law; the statute law; acts of parliament, made to prevent men from doing those things which are injurious to the commerce, or the finances of the country? To And, when a man like lord Melville; a man possessing great power; a man to whom great matters were confided by his Sovereign and his country; a man loaded with emoluments from the public purse, and with honours and titles from the hand of his gracious master: when such a man is detected in a gross violation of the law, a law which he himself proposed to parliament, and for which proposition he took great merit to himself; when such a man is heard openly to declare, and that too in the presence of the representations of the people, that he has disposed of ten thousand pounds of the public money, in a manner which he will never divulge,

while there was a particular and positive law forbidding him to touch the said money at all; when such a man is censured; when justice is demanded upon the head of such a man, shall that censure and that demand be imputed to "*violence*" and to "*popular clamour*"? Is this *justice?* Is the promulgation of sentiments such as this likely to inspire the people with confidence of that sort which is so essential to the preservation of reverence for the laws and the constitution?——"Violence!" I should be glad to be told, where, and in what, this violence has appeared. Never were people more cool, more mild, more gentle, than the people of England, than the aggrieved, the deeply-injured people of England, have been, through the whole of the proceedings relative to Lord Melville. There has, in no part of the kingdom, one act of violence, or a disposition to an act of violence, appeared. The meetings, called for the purpose of petitioning and addressing upon the subject, have been conducted in the most peaceable and orderly manner; and, in no one of those papers is there to be found an expressive indicature of "*violence.*" They all breathe a profound respect for the law, a confidence in the integrity of parliament, a satisfaction at its conduct, an attachment to the person, and an anxious desire to preserve, unsullied, the crown of the King, together with the character of the country. And, shall such demonstrances of the sentiments of the people be termed *violence?* Shall they be regarded as constituting "*popular clamour*"? And, let it not be forgotten, that even these expressions of the public feeling did not make their appearance, till *after* Lord Melville had been heard in his defence; till after he had been *twice* heard, once before the commissioners, and once by the means of a paper, written, at his leisure, as an *answer* to the report made upon his conduct by those Commissioners, a paper admitted not without an unexampled stretch of indulgence. Nor is this all; for the people did not *take the lead.* It was not the *people* that began. The voice of the people was not heard; there was not one popular meeting, nor was there, I believe, one proposition, publicly made, for calling a popular meeting upon the subject, until *after* the House of Commons had, in the most deliberate and solemn manner, declared Lord Melville guilty of a gross violation of the law and a high breach of duty. Where, then, is the *justice* of imputing the proceedings against Lord Melville to "*violence*" and to "*popular clamour*"? The House of Commons was not thought to be very violent in their *haste* to bring on those proceedings. The TENTH REPORT of the Naval Commissioners was laid before the House in February, and even early in that month. No one *hastened* to take it up. It was then withdrawn for the purpose of adding certain signatures. Nobody called for it. In time it came back again; and, finally, it was brought before the House in a printed state, about the middle of March. A day, a somewhat distant day, was then appointed for the purpose of taking it into consideration. When the day approached, it was put off for the sole purpose of giving Lord Melville time to write a letter, which letter was, too, upon motion of the other great man, Mr. Pitt, allowed to be brought up and taken into consideration together with the Report. At last, after the Report, after a knowledge of all the facts had been communicated to the House of Commons *more than two months*, the subject was, on the memorable 8th of April, discussed for the first time, and the decision was, that Lord Melville had, for the space of sixteen years, been constantly guilty of a gross violation of the law and a high breach of duty. Was there, then, any thing *violent* previous to the discussion? Did the House of Commons exhibit signs of violence, or of apathy? And, as to the people, it has been before shown, that they suffered not their voice to be heard upon the subject, till *after* the House of Commons had decided.—— But, may not the paragraph mean, that this violence and popular clamour have appeared *since* it was resolved on to impeach Lord Melville? "I therefore deprecate the violence, which has "devoted him the victim of popular cla"mour, *when he is in train for* a dignified "and constitutional judgment by his peers." This is, it must be confessed, not too good English, or any thing else; and, it may mean, that "violence and popular clamour" against Lord Melville have appeared since it was resolved on to impeach him; and, the only objection to this construction is, that the fact is wholly and notoriously false; for, let me ask the reader, *what* violence has appeared, any where against Lord Melville, since the impeachment was resolved on? *Where* has there been heard, since that, any popular clamour? Did not those who had been most active in maintaining the cause of the country, immediately declare, that now there ought nothing more to be said, till the trial should be over? A striking instance of this candour, this love of justice, was shown at the county-meeting in Wiltshire. A meeting had been demand-

ed early in April, but, in consequence of the Sheriff's being upon *a tour in Wales*, and of *his letters not being sent to him*, the meeting did not take place till the 18th of June! In the mean time the House of Commons had resolved to proceed by a CRIMINAL PROSECUTION; and, therefore, at the Wiltshire meeting, it was, upon the suggestion of Mr. Hussey, unanimously agreed to, that, *as it was fixed on to bring Lord Melville to trial before a Judge and Jury, it would be improper for the freeholders to enter into any resolutions upon the subject of his offences.* Was this a mark of "*violence*"? Was there any thing here of "popular clamour"? Or was there a little too much of delicacy; of that over-strained candour, which is not less injurious to truth and justice than is malice itself? After the epoch we are now speaking of, the greater part of the members of parliament having retired to the country, the decision of the House of Commons with regard to the criminal prosecution was, with only a day's notice, rescinded, and it was resolved on to impeach Lord Melville. There was not a man in the whole kingdom, who did not clearly perceive the object of this. It was evident to every one. Yet, has it excited any "*violence*"? Has ever this goading, this stinging measure, drawn forth any thing worthy of the name of "*popular clamour?*" And, shall we, then, quietly and silently hear ourselves accused of violence and clamouring and injustice? These being the facts of the case, shall we behold publications such as I have quoted above; shall we see them circulated with such malicious and indefatigable industry; and, shall we say nothing in reply?——The partizans of the Pitts and Melvilles always speak of those who demand justice upon Lord Melville as of persons opposed not only to the ministry, but to the constitution, to the very existence of the monarchy. But, the good of it is, it was the ministers themselves; it was THE FAMILY; it was the set of the Pitts and Addingtons; it was "His Majesty's *confidential* "servants", composing "the *king's government;*" it was they, they themselves, that produced the grounds of charge, and that, in fact, preferred the charge, against Lord Melville! The opposition took no part in it. There they were, left to themselves. They moved the parliament to establish a board of Commissioners. This motion was agreed to. The board was established; and, we know the consequences. It is, therefore, most shamefully unjust to complain of the Opposition in this matter; to accuse them of *prying* into secrets of government; of seeking for some such means of humouring the suspicions of the people. Great complaint has been made, that the Opposition, by the means of this subject occupied all the time of the ministry, and thereby prevented them from attending to the great affairs of the nation. But, to say nothing, at present, of the impudence of such a complaint, supposing the Opposition to have originated the inquiry, the complaint is totally unjust upon the other ground, that it was the persons composing the ministry who began the inquiry, and who, at last, brought it before parliament in such a shape, that the Opposition were compelled to take it up, or openly to give their sanction to corruption. And, with these facts before us; facts which nobody can deny, what assurance must not the partizans of Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville have, to talk of the hindrance to public business, arising from the discussions relative to the conduct of the latter, and to place this hindrance at the door of the opposition! It is, indeed, true, that the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry were not appointed by Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville, who, if they had established any such board at all, would, in all probability, have selected *very different men* to compose it: but, they were, at the time the Tenth Report was made, in the ministry, and in the ministry with the men, who had caused the naval commission to be established. It was, at any rate, amongst themselves. They had squabbled, and, at last, quarrelled; and if, in that quarrel, discoveries were made of importance to the state, were the members of the opposition to wink at them, to shut their eyes, to seal their lips, lest..... what! Lest the powers of the state should be taken out of the hands of those, whom they thought unfit to possess them; lest the world should, at last, see Messrs. Pitt and Dundas in their true colours; lest integrity should, after so long and arduous a warfare, triumph over corruption! To expect this degree of forbearance from the Opposition; to pretend, that it might have been expected, what effrontery must a man possess! How long must he have been in the habit of regarding the people of England, of whatever rank or degree, as made for the sole purpose of administering to the pleasure of Mr. Pitt and his creatures! No: Mr. Fox did not detect them; they detected themselves. They have been laid bare by their own hands. Mr. Fox has never *stooped* into their secrets; he has never employed himself in *hunting them out of their holes*; and, not having done it, he has much to take to himself. Had he attended to the ca-

penditure of the public money; had he strictly watched them there; they would never have arrived at the point where they, with so little ceremony, ventured to lend the public money, without interest, to members of parliament. Time, however, has now done what Mr. Fox neglected to do. Their system brought itself to an end: it could go on no further: there was not confidence enough left amongst the parties concerned to hold it together any longer: and, at the end of twenty years, the accumulated sins of twenty years begin to break forth to our view. Here are the men, who rose upon their professions of superior purity; who pledged themselves to the nation to promote economy even in the most minute particulars; who declared open and inextinguishable war against all peculators, against every one, be he who he might, who should be found to have the least concern in misapplying the public money: here they are, brought precisely into the situation, in which Mr. Fox must wish to see them, but without any effort of his. They are, as if by some invisible and over-ruling power, brought before him and made to lay open to him and to the whole world, the proofs, the undeniable proofs, of their being, and of their always having been, exactly such men as he had, for twenty years, been describing them. Talk not of his triumph *to come*: his triumph is already complete. His triumph was complete on the 3d of May last, when his constituents, lawfully and peaceably assembled, commissioned him to go to the parliament and to the throne, and there to declare, in their name, that, with respect to the persons whom he had so long opposed, proof was now come to light, that they always ought to have been opposed by all honest and honourable men. This was the day of Mr. Fox's triumph. His rival has, by one means or another, contrived to preserve his place for twenty years; but, *what else* has he left? The two men have been twenty years engaged against one another, the one possessing the power of dispensing favours and emoluments without bounds, and the other possessing nothing but his talents and his integrity. See them now. See them at the end of the twenty years, and consider what the historian, the *future* historian, will say of them.——Mr. Burke, too, should have lived to see this day. He should have lived to see the authors of the measure, relative to the Nabob of Arcot's Debts brought, at last, to account. Yes, he should have lived to see Mr. Pitt upon his examination before a committee of the House of Commons, touching a matter as to which a Bank Director was the informant; and, above all things, he should have heard him cross-examined upon the subject of his having lent to Boyd and Benfield, then members of parliament, a large sum of the public money without interest. There wanted this fact, this the most important of all the discoveries, to render complete the poetic justice of this grand drama. When, in the ever memorable speech upon the Nabob of Arcot's Debts, Mr. Burke was describing the nature and extent of the connexion between Messrs. Pitt and Dundas and Paul Benfield; when he was shewing how they set even their own law at defiance, for the sake of favouring Benfield, and of augmenting that wealth, which he so liberally employed in support of their power; when he was developing the intrigues of Benfield, laying open to public view the manner in which the money drawn from the people to be given to him was used in the subversion of the liberties of the people; when he was counting the number of members, which Benfield, by means of the wealth heaped on him by the Twin-Ministers, had returned to the parliament, then sitting, to vote for those ministers; when, having been tauntingly reminded of the defeat of himself and his party upon the subject of the India Bill, he exclaimed: "Well "do I remember every circumstance of that "momorable period! God forbid I should "ever forget it! O, illustrious disgrace! "O, victorious defeat! may your memo-"rial be fresh and new to the latest genera-"tions! May the day of that generous con-"flict be stamped in characters never to be "cancelled or worn out from the records "of time! Let no man hear of us, who "shall not hear, that, in a struggle against "the intrigues of courts, and the perfidious "levity of the multitude, we fell in the "cause of honour, in the cause of our coun-"try, in the cause of humanity itself! But, "if fortune should be as powerful over *fame*, "as she has been prevalent over virtue, at "least our conscience is beyond her juris-"diction." When, amidst these indignant strains, expressive, too, almost of despair, he saw the Twin Ministers sneering in conscious security of the well-disciplined majority at their back, little did he imagine, that *fame*, of whom he seemed to doubt, would ever do him and his party such ample justice as has now been done them! Little did he imagine, that Paul Benfield, in spite of his hundreds of thousands of pounds, in spite of his more than princely income, would become a bankrupt, ultimately a bankrupt, arraigned before the commissioners of

Guildhall! Still less did he expect, that Mr. Dundas, the great patron of Benfield, the great projector and executor of the Arcot job; Mr. Dundas, whom he so severely and so justly treated in the speech now referred to; that Mr. Dundas, who sat grinning at his reproaches, and, by way of *answer*, referred him to the votes of the House; still less did he expect that this man, in spite of all the means of protection, which he had gathered, and was gathering, about him, would one day be compelled to come into the very place, where he was then sitting in insolent triumph, there to shew why he ought not to be tried by a Judge and Jury for having misapplied the public money! And, less than all could Mr. Burke have imagined, that Mr. Pitt; that the then idol of the giddy multitude of the metropolis, misled by the arts of the commercial faction; that the "heaven-born" minister, whose real character and motives he so strongly and so truly described in his speech; less than all, could he have imagined, that this man would, at last, be shown in his true colours through the means of a set of commissioners (a sort of people of whom he was so fond), appointed by his own creatures, by creatures whom he had thrusted into place, in order to keep out his opponents, till it should be convenient for himself to return. If any one had, at the time we are recurring to, told Mr. Burke, that the time would come, when Mr. Pitt, having reduced the nation to the last stages of distress and disgrace, would be heard to throw the blame upon Providence, Mr. Burke would have easily believed it: nor would he have found much difficulty in believing, that, at some time or other, discoveries such as have been made, relative to the conduct of the Twin-Ministers, would be made; but, he could hardly have believed, that any thing so very apt, so strikingly appropriate and just, as the discovery of the misapplication of the forty thousand pounds, lent to Boyd and Benfield, would ever happen. Had he been alive when the report of the Select Committee, containing the confessions of Mr. Long and the examination and cross-examination of Mr. Pitt, together with the evidence of the Goldsmids and the Thorntons, he would have exclaimed, "Paul! Paul Benfield, thy spirit is mighty still!" Nothing was ever so fit! Nothing was ever so just! Nothing could have come to light so fully to confirm what had been constantly asserted by the Opposition, with respect to the real character and motives of the Twins. Mr. Burke had, over and over again, warned the people against the consequences of confiding in those Twin-Ministers; he took infinite pains to explain to them the manner, in which corruption worked; he showed the difference between personal and political corruption, and proved to them how much more dangerous the latter was than the former: but, he was talking to a people prejudiced, blinded, and, withal, prone to admire cunning, rather than great, men. He, therefore, for that time, talked in vain; but, *now* his words are remembered with great advantage; now his sentiments and his predictions are recurred to; now are his speeches against the Twins like bread thrown upon the waters. He told the people, that the money extracted from their labour, and given to Benfield, went, in part at least, to purchase seats in parliament, and thereby to give votes to the ministers, through whose means Benfield received the money. The people turned a deaf ear to him; but, now they listen; now they turn back to what he then said; now that it is discovered, that the "heaven-born" minister has since lent to this same Benfield and his partner, *without interest*, they being, at the time, *members of parliament*, a large sum of the public money; of the money of the people, without excepting the Grocer's Company, or any one of those wiseacres who stretched their throats in bawling out the praises of "the *pure*," the "*heaven-born* son of Chatham;" now they hear, they see, they believe, and they will not again be easily deceived.——From this digression, which is too long to admit of being lengthened by an apology, I should now return to the subject of the efforts that are making, by the partizans of corruption, to deceive and mislead the people, and, thereby, to obstruct the course, and defeat the ends of justice; and, the next publication of this sort, to which I should refer, would be a work, entitled, "A REVIEW OF THE REPORTS MADE BY THE NAVAL COMMISSIONERS: BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN." This work, which has been, and yet is, published in numbers, must have cost, I should think, not less than SEVEN OR EIGHT THOUSAND POUNDS. It has been advertised, almost continually, in *all* the newspapers in the kingdom: it has a stamp; and it is *given away*, with a profusion hardly credible. In short, it looks like *a great measure*; and, perhaps, it is one of those which is intended to save us from the fangs of Buonaparte! If one may judge from the principles it contains; from the flippancy of its language; from the shallowness it discovers upon all subjects, the discussion of which requires solidity of mind; the above

all, from that mixture of pertness and malignity, so predominant in every part of it: if one may judge from these, as well as from certain other circumstances of place and time, the principal conductor is THE UNDERTAKER; and the literary contributors are, in all probability, a well-known knot of subaltern peculators. This publication shall be more fully noticed in my next; and, in the mean while, I insert, in another part of the preceding sheet, a letter upon the subject of Lord Melville's conduct, being resolved to neglect no opportunity of endeavouring to counteract the unprincipled efforts that are making, and some of which I have above noticed, to pervert the minds of the people, and to defeat the intention of all the upright and salutary measures adopted by the House of Commons, in their last session, relative to the expenditure of the public money.

CONTINENTAL COALITION.——The following article is from the SUN of the 20th instant. It is worthy of attention; for, the reader may be certain, that it was approved of at the Treasury before it found its way into the SUN.——"According to letters "from Vienna, dated the 27th of August, "a manifesto will be published as soon as a "junction is formed between the Russian "armies and that division of Austrian troops "intended to co-operate with them. The "purpose of this expected manifesto is said "to be an explanation of the motives that "have led to an armed neutrality on the "part of the two Imperial Courts, and the "causes that have induced them to negotiate with arms in their hands, as well as "the conditions upon which not only the "peace of the Continent will remain uninterrupted, but a general pacification be "definitively settled. It is also stated, that "the aggressions and encroachments of "France have compelled the two Emperors "to require, at the head of their armies, "those just terms which their own and the "common safety of all independent countries absolutely demand, but which the "French government, instead of listening "to, have hitherto evaded, by continual intrigues, and only proceeded to new violence and outrage. The conditions upon "which their Imperial Majesties will consent, and procure the consent of England "to a general pacification, are, according to "rumours in the political circles of Vienna, "as follows:——France is to evacuate all "Italy, Piedmont, Switzerland, and Holland, into which, as well as Germany, no "French troops are, upon any pretext, to "penetrate. The offensive and defensive "treaty between France and Spain of 1796 "is to be dissolved, and the latter kingdom, "as well as Portugal, is to have its independence restored. The left bank of the "Rhine, and the Alps, and Pyrenees are "to be the boundaries of the French empire, which cannot, for the future, be "passed in time of peace without being "considered by the armed neutrality as a "declaration of war. The Powers forming "the armed neutrality and the future league "of pacification, are, besides Russia and "Austria, to consist of England, Turkey, "Denmark, Sweden, Saxony, Naples, Sardinia, Lombardy, Etruria, Spain, and "Portugal. Piedmont is to be restored to "the King of Sardinia; Lombardy, with "Parma and Placenza, are to be erected "into an independent kingdom, in favour "of the elder branch of the Bourbon family. Upon these conditions all the "Confederate Princes are to acknowledge "Buonaparté as Emperor of the French, "and England is to restore Malta to the "Order, Russia will evacuate the Seven "Islands, and, as well as the other Powers, "respect the independence and guarantee "the integrity of the Turkish empire.—— "Such, according to the letters which we "have received, and by the reports in the "chief diplomatic and military circles on "the Continent, are to form the prominent "features of the Manifesto which is speedily "to be issued by the allied Imperial Courts. "We lay these rumours before our readers, "without venturing to pledge ourselves for "their authenticity; but our correspondent "confidently states, that, in the opinion of "the best politicians in the countries that "dare to speak without fear of France, those "conditions alone can insure the safety and "independence of Europe from the restless "ambition of revolutionary France. We "confess, however, that, admitting such "proposals should really come from the "two Imperial Courts, we have little hopes "of a pacific result, considering the outrageous pride and immeasurable ambition "which constitutes the character of the "French Usurper. It is very probable that "blows will be struck before treaties are "concluded."——There is nothing that can astonish me now, in the conduct of Mr. Pitt, except he should quit his place without the application of physical force; and, therefore, I will not say, that some project of this sort may not be on foot. The project of a war against the person of Buonaparté seems to have been abandoned; and, that something in the way of project will be adopted we may be certain, if Mr. Pitt should, unfortunately, long continue to be

prime minister. Something in the way of *trick*. Something that shall furnish matter for a showy speech; and, if possible, obtain a majority of votes at the meeting of parliament. But, to *acknowledge* Buonaparté as Emperor of the French! Buonaparté would spurn at the offer. He will hold nothing in virtue of such an acknowledgment, well knowing that he could not possibly have a worse tenure. So that, the proposition, if it should be made to him, will only give him an opportunity of showing the people of [illegible] that it is not the glory of himself or family that he has in view, but the glory of the nation, whose permanent greatness he [illegible] his own. It will, besides, furnish [illegible] pretty materials for an article in the Moniteur, which will not fail to compare [illegible] anxious desire, recently expressed by the ministerial papers, to free the people of France "*from the grasp of a tyrannical Usurper*," and to "restore them to their former state of happiness, *under their legitimate Monarch*." This would be a very amusing contrast for the Moniteur to exhibit, in the views of the "*disinterested* friends of the French;" and there is very little doubt but it would produce an effect extremely advantageous to Napoleon.——The project was, however, probably thrown out, like the other, for the purpose of feeling the public pulse. The fact is, that the ministry, harassed as they are with the difficulties, which they themselves have brought upon the country, and alarmed for the safety of their places, know not what to do. The operations upon the Continent free them, for a little, from the dread of invasion, and, therefore, they have hastily rushed into the measures, which have produced those operations; but, the dread hangs lurking over them. They feel that, and they know not what to do to get rid of it. "*A League of Pacification*" is as likely to enter their heads as any other scheme; but, I think, the reader will agree with me, that a more childish one, especially as described by the Sun, would not be easily found out.—— The fluctuating from project to project is the natural consequence of a state of things, in which the persons at the head of affairs know not what to do, especially if they are persons of no solid political wisdom, and of no fixed principles. But, the people should be upon their guard against the false hopes, which such projects are calculated to excite amongst persons who do not reflect. They should never forget the Loans that Mr. Pitt held out to them, and the promises he made them, during the late war with France; and, their confidence now should be regulated upon their experience then. In short, they should place confidence in nothing that partakes of *trick*, no trick; they may be well assured, will save their country: if battles upon the Continent fail, there must and will be battles in England. Above all things, they should be prepared for a long war; for great exertions and great sacrifices; for an alteration in their manner of spending their time, in their eating, in their drinking, and in their dress. I am perfectly serious: I may deceive myself, perhaps, but I have no intention to deceive others; and I give it as my settled opinion, that there never will again be real peace in England (she continuing independent), until there be a very great change indeed in the *internal* affairs of the nation. Again I invite those who differ from me in opinion, upon this point, to state to me *the grounds* of their opinion. To point out the way, in which, our present system of political economy adhered to, we shall be able to preserve the throne of our Sovereign and the independence of our country; to show me how we are to maintain a war for the space of five or six years longer, and, at the same time, to continue to pay the interest of the national debt, which debt must be increased to seven hundred millions before the end of that time; to deny, if he can, that we must, unless we make some deduction from the interest of the national debt, beyond the five per centum now deducted, under the name of Income Tax, have *loans even in time of peace*, whenever the name of peace is obtained. This is what I have asked for; it is what I still ask for; and, let not him who refuses to satisfy me, or to attempt to satisfy me, complain of my desponding notions. It is easy to say: "Never fear; we shall get out of the "scrape somehow or other; and, in the "mean-time, are we not very well off?" This is easy enough to say: Old George Rose can say this; and, indeed, George is very well off. But, is this sufficient to satisfy any man, who is anxious for the honour and safety of his country? I state *the reasons*, why I think what I think; and, let no one condemn my conclusions, unless he will take the trouble to show that my reasons are not sound. *A change*, a *great change*, in our internal affairs, I again and again say, is absolutely necessary to the preservation of the monarchy and of the independence of England. The grounds of this assertion have been, over and over again stated, without the least reserve: the ministerial writers have honoured me with much abuse, but I have never yet received

any thing like an answer.——There is, at this moment, the greatest danger to be apprehended from the people being buoyed up by false hopes; for, never was there a time when greater exertion was likely to be wanted, and we know, that to chill exertion, nothing is so efficacious as disappointment; a nation is never so likely to give itself up to despair, as at the moment when its sanguine hopes have been blasted. For this reason it is, that I am anxious to put my readers upon their guard against publications like the following, taken from the SUN and the ORACLE of the 25th instant; "By accounts from "Vienna dated the 4th instant, we learn, "that the enthusiasm of the Austrian armies "in favour of their Sovereign has never been "so high since the memorable days of "Maria Theresa as it is at this moment. "An universal zeal seems to animate the "troops to avenge the insults and outrages "which their Prince has received from the "Tyrant of France. The States of Bohemia had, within the proceeding four "weeks, offered forty thousand volunteers, "and the States of Upper and Lower "Austria, forty-four thousand, all to be "clothed and equipped at their own expense. It is supposed that Hungary will "send into the field a still greater number of men, as we have, indeed, already "stated. In the ci-devant Venetian States "four regiments of three thousand men "each have been raised in six weeks, and "such is the detestation of Buonaparté's "government in that country, that the inhabitants *have demanded arms to rise en-masse* in case of an invasion by the "Usurper's banditti. *Several insurrections* in Piedmont and in Lombardy "have occurred since Buonaparte's troops "in those quarters were marched towards the Adige, and these disturbances "began to wear so serious an aspect that "General Menou was obliged *to write* for "new troops from France, and the whole "garrison of Lyons, except six hundred "men, were expected in Piedmont to reinforce the garrison of Turin, and to *scour "the country*. . . . . In Spain, the discontent of the people is *universal*, and is "*openly expressed*. They know that they "have been forced into a war in direct opposition to their interests, merely to gratify the ambition of a foreigner, by whom "they are insulted and plundered. But as "long as the Prince of Peace retains his "power, so long the power and resources "of Spain will be at the command of "France. That *Upstart Minion* knows "that he *holds his situation in opposition to "the wishes of the great body of the nobility, "and a great majority of the people* of "Spain, but it is upon the influence and "the power of France that he relies for "support; his abject submission, therefore, "to the mandates of Buonaparté, cannot be "a subject of surprise."——Really! It may be so; but, though the Prince of Peace be an "upstart minion," it was not, methinks, for the SUN newspaper to reproach him with it. And, I would like to ask almost any of the persons, who now possess the powers and emoluments of government, in this country; I would like to ask Old George Rose, Mr. Canning, Mr. Huskisson, or any of the Dundases, for instance, whether they think that the circumstance of the Prince of Peace being an *Upstart Minion*, is likely to excite, in Spain, discontent of that sort that usually leads to insurrection. But, "he holds his "place," it seems, "*in opposition to the "wishes of the great body of the nobility, "and a great majority of the people.*" Indeed! Why, then, may he, and with all convenient speed, feel the vegeance of that nobility and of that people! May he be made to feel, that, though, by base intrigues, he is able to hold his place; such insolence, such contempt for a nation's will; such a disregard for the public weal; such a flagrant preference of his own interests to those of his country; may he be made to feel, that these are not for ever to meet with impunity. Nothing, indeed, is better calculated to irritate a people, to make them hate their government, and make them careless about their country; nothing can be better calculated to produce such feelings, than to see the powers of the state possessed, to see its honours dispensed, and its treasures squandered, by a man, in whom neither the *nobility* nor the *people* have any confidence; but who, by the means of base servility on the one hand, and of corruption on the other, still holds his place; still hangs on, with an apparent determination to sink his country rather than quit his grasp. But, while I allow, that such conduct in the Prince of Peace may, possibly, produce discontents in Spain; while I allow, that the people who silently suffer themselves to be ruled, to be laid under contribution, to be continually harrassed, by that minister and his "Upstart Minions," deserve very little compassion; while I allow that the Prince of Peace cannot load them more heavily, nor whip them harder, than they deserve; still I must hesitate before I agree with the SUN in expecting, from such a cause, at least, an *insurrection* in Spain.——As to the account of the loyalty and zeal of the Hungarians

and Bohemians, it is to be hoped, that it is not altogether ideal; but, the ORACLE will find it very difficult to persuade any man, who is not within a hair's breadth of idiocy, that there is any great quantity of courage to be found amongst the people of the Venetian States; and, if they have actually demanded arms, I beg my readers to mark the result, being very much mistaken if the demand will not be refused. The "*several* "*insurrections* in Piedmont," which have induced Gen. MENOU to write to France for troops wherewith to "*scour* the country," would, with me, have more the air of probability, had I forgotten the statement, in this same newspaper, published in the month of November last, relative to the discontents amongst the *French* people, and even amongst the *troops* of Napoleon. "The "enemies of *oppression*," said this supporter of the Pitts and Melvilles! "The enemies "of oppression will be glad to hear, that "the French nation itself, doomed for "some time past to vent its complaints in "unavailing murmurs, has, at last, courage "to *remonstrate aloud against the usurpa-* "*tion of Buonaparté*, whose pride and in-"solence are intolerable. Talleyrand and "Fouché, who may be called his right and "left arms, perhaps his very vital principle, "*have indicated symptoms of dislike to the* "*will of the tyrant.* The armies are also "beginning *to express sentiments of disaf-* "*fection.* Accounts from Boulogne state, "that *universal discontent prevails amongst* "*the troops*; that *all idea of their embark-* "*ing for the purpose of invasion has been* "*abandoned.*" [Observe, reader, this was printed on the 19th of November last]; "and, that the flotilla men are ready to "turn against their commanders." —— Now, after such accounts as this, and after the proof, the repeated proof, which we have had of their falsehood, their absolute, their intentional, falsehood, ought we not to be upon our guard? The truth is, that accounts, such as I have above inserted, are mere fabrications, published for the purpose of what is called, "*keeping up the spirit* of "the nation;" and, as they, with some little variation, are, by the means of money, admitted into most of the newspapers, they have a pretty general effect, amongst the vulgar, great as well as little. They serve to lead the people along from stage to stage in the decline of their country; they tend to make them see their country fall without regret; but, never was that spirit, by which alone a country can be effectually defended, supported, for one moment, by such means.

BOXING. — It will be recollected, that there was a boxing match between DENNIS DILLON and another man, which gave rise to the several articles, which have recently appeared in the Register upon this subject. The case of DILLON was stated pretty fully in page 193 of the present Volume; and, I am persuaded, that my readers will partake in the satisfaction which I feel in informing them; that, notwithstanding the very alarming verdict of the Coroner's Jury, DILLON was acquitted, at the Old Bailey, where, on the 24th instant, he was tried before MR. JUSTICE HEATH. This result, it will be remembered, our confidence in the uprightness and wisdom of the Judge led us to anticipate; and, it will hardly be thought improper, if we express a hope that the decision may have its due weight with the inferior magistrates.

Botley, Thursday,
26th Sept. 1805.

ABBÉ DE LA MARRE.

A curious and interesting correspondence has taken place between one of the agents of Louis XVIII. and the party of emigrants in this country. Much valuable matter has been disclosed to our ministers by this seasonable fracas, and thereby our government, at the commencement of this new war, will see how the funds of England have been squandered, and how its precious machinations against the power of Buonaparté have been conducted by the click whom they kept in pay. The indiscretion of one of the most polished courtiers of ancient France has given rise to the explosion. The Comte de Vaudreuil happened, at the table of an English gentleman, to accuse the Abbé de la Marre, "of being a very dangerous person; "an agent of Buonaparté near the King; a "vile debauchee, who, in all his missions "through Germany, was accompanied by "his prostitute; and who, in short, was a "man totally lost in reputation." This charge was faithfully reported to the Abbé, and it has drawn from him a most masterly detail of the whole conduct of the emigrant party in England, the authors, advisers, and executors of those plots, which have cost the British government such a wsate of reputation, as well as money. —— "Yes," says the Abbé de la Marre, "I own, that to this party I am a dangerous person, for I am acquainted with every one of their practices; I know all their perfidies; all their intrigues; and am even acquainted with the terms of their schemes, and the distribution of the booty. At every journey which I made into England on the service of my Royal Master, I witnessed the agitation which my

presence occasioned them, as if they apprehended that the fountain of gold was to be shut against them.——Yes; I am to them a dangerous man, because if I were admitted to the presence of a British minister, I should be able to say, that the King has been obliged to spare, out of his own very small income, wherewith to pay his agents and correspondents; and that he has never known either the amount of the succours which Great Britain has given to his cause, nor the manner in which they have been employed. I should be obliged to say, that the dispensers of those funds have constantly said to the agents of government, "we are "obliged to conceal from the King all "knowledge of projects, the most useful, "because he has no confidence in the Bri- "tish minister." The wretches!—while they wrote to the King, "that the ministry "here were jealous of his agents, and would "not permit them to communicate to him "their designs." I would prove, that in only two instances in one week I saw the government robbed of 7,500l. sterling.—— If ever I shall be called on to speak to the public, I shall prove that the King, always a Frenchman, constantly disapproved of the plan of desolation, invented by the avarice of these intriguers; and, I shall add, that in the autumn of 1803, his Majesty, without effect, issued his orders for the return of the unhappy George from France; "because," said he, "*il n'y a plus rien à remuer dans "ces pays que des cendres.*" There was nothing now left in his country to stir but its ashes. If the time were come, I should publish the seven political letters which I addressed in 1802, to the Comte d'Escars; and it will be seen that the virulence of the party of the French Noblesse in England against me, takes its date precisely from the epoch when I discovered the brigandage of the men who so scandalously made a traffic of the confidence of their Princes; and when I in vain endeavoured to recommend an honourable and useful plan, in the room of projects, base, humiliating, and disastrous."——The Abbé goes on to say, that these wretched projects have had the effect which he anticipated, of rallying round the new government of France, all the interests, all the *amour-propre*, the ambition of the French people; and, because he predicted all this, they call him the agent of Buonaparté. The history of his political services will give the lie to the charge. He dares the whole click to shew, that a single servant or agent of the choice of his Majesty has been faithless; but he pledges himself to name ten traitors who have sur[illegible] actually betrayed, the confidence of Monsieur, "without pre- "judice to those who may yet be in his ser- "vice." The Abbé gives a most striking picture of the persons who compose the party, both as to their intellectual and moral features; and particularly describes the character of the agents whom they entrusted abroad, on their redoubtable missions. The Dumas of glorious memory; the famous Bayard; the very dear and faithful Abbé le Moine, &c.! And he dares the whole world to say, that in any one of his journies in Austria, in Prussia, in Russia, in England, he was ever seen accompanied by any woman, honest or dishonest. His journies were always made with extreme expedition; and several times at the most rigorous season, he went from Uberlingen, or from Augsbourg to Mittau, without twice going to bed. A man must have had strange cruelty to drag a woman along with him! And where, he demands, could he have found money for such a scandal? His expenses were settled at a Committee of Agency, held at Cobourg on the 9th of May, 1801; the statement was sent to the King, and he then received a declaration, "that no "part of the funds granted by England, "from the 1st of February, 1798, to the "9th of May, 1801, had been paid to him;" he then gave in his resignation. "Which "of you all, Messieurs," says he, "can "produce such a certificate?" The Abbé concludes with a declaration, that if justice is not done to his injured character, he will forthwith publish all the details of the infamous manner in which the money issued for the cause of the French King, has been intercepted, distributed, and misapplied.—— This disclosure has made a great impression on the ministry. The Alien Office has sent to the Abbé de la Marre, and demanded from him a detail of all the facts to which he alludes, respecting M. Du Thé, and others, which he no doubt will render with the same freedom and independence of spirit, that characterises his letter.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Note presented to the Diet by M. Bacher, the French Chargé d'Affaires at Ratisbon. Dated September 11, 1805.

Under the present circumstances of affairs, when the movements of the House of Austria menace the Continent with a new war, his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, judges it necessary to make known, in a frank and solemn declaration, the sentiments by which he is animated, in order to enable his cotemporaries and posterity to judge with a true know-

ledge of the case, in the event of the war taking place, who has been the aggressor.——It is with this view, that the undersigned, Chargé d'Affaires of his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of the French, to the German Diet, has received orders to present a faithful exposition of the principles by which his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor, has been uniformly actuated in his conduct towards Austria.——Every thing which that power has done contrary to the spirit and letter of treaties, the Emperor has hitherto permitted. He has not complained of the immediate extension of territory on the right side of the Pave, against the acquisition of Lindau, against all the other acquisitions made by him in Suabia, and which, subsequently to the treaty of Luneville, have materially altered the relative situation of the neighbouring states in the interior of Germany; against those, in fine, which continue at the present moment the subject of negotiation with different princes, to the perfect knowledge of all Germany; he has not complained of the debt of Venice not having been discharged, contrary to the spirit and the letter of the treaties of Campo Formio, and of Luneville; he has not complained of the denial of justice experienced at Vienna by his subjects of Milan and Mantua, none of whom, notwithstanding the formal stipulations, have been paid their demands; neither has he complained of the partiality with which Austria has recognised the right of blockade, which England so monstrously arrogates to herself; and when the neutrality of the Austrian flag was so often violated to the injury of France, he was not provoked by this conduct of the Court of Vienna to make any complaint, thus making a sacrifice to his love of peace, in preserving silence upon the subject.——The Emperor has evacuated Switzerland, rendered tranquil, and happy by his act of mediation; he has not kept in Italy a greater number of troops than is indispensibly necessary to maintain the positions which they occupy to the extremity of the Peninsula, in order to protect the commerce of the Levant, and to insure himself an object of compensation which may determine England to evacuate Malta, and Russia to evacuate Corfu; he has not upon the Rhine, and interior of his empire, any more troops than are indispensibly necessary to garrison the different places.——Engaged entirely in the operations of a war which he has not provoked, which he sustains as much for the interests of Europe as for his own, and in which his principal end is the re-establishment of the equilibrium of commerce and the equal right of all flags upon the sea, he has united all his forces in the camps upon the borders of the ocean, far distant from the Austrian frontiers; he has employed all the resources of his empire to construct fleets, to form his marine, to improve his ports; and, it is at the same moment when he reposes with entire confidence upon the execution of treaties which have re-established the peace of the Continent, that Austria rises from her state of repose, organizes her forces upon the war establishment, sends an army into the states of Italy, establishes another equally considerable in the Tyrol; it is at this moment that she makes new levies of cavalry, that she forms magazines, that she strengthens her fortifications, that she terrifies by her preparations the people of Bavaria, of Suabia, and of Switzerland, and discovers an evident intention of making a diversion so obviously favourable to England, and more injuriously hostile towards France than would be a direct campaign, and an open declaration of war. In these grave circumstances, the Emperor of the French has deemed it his duty to invite the Court of Vienna to return to a proper sense of its true interests. All the expedients which an ardent love of peace could suggest have been resorted to with avidity, and several times renewed. The Court of Vienna has made high professions of its respect for the treaties which exist between it and France; but its military preparations have developed her intentions; at the same time that her declarations have become more and more pacific. Austria has declared that she has no hostile intention against the states of his Majesty the Emperor of the French. Against whom, then, are her preparations directed? Are they against the Swiss? Are they against Bavaria? Will they, in the end, be directed against the German empire itself?——His Majesty the Emperor of the French has charged the undersigned to make known, that he will consider, as a formal declaration of war directed against himself, all aggressions which may be attempted against the German Body, and especially against Bavaria.——His Majesty the Emperor of the French will never separate the interests of his empire from those of the princes of Germany who are attached to him. Any injury which they may sustain, any danger by which they may be menaced, can never be indifferent to him, or foreign from his lively solicitude.——Persuaded that the princes and states of the German empire are penetrated with the same sentiments, the undersigned, in the name of the Emperor of the French, invites the Diet to unite with him in pressing, by every consideration of justice and reason, the Emperor of Austria

not to expose for any longer period the present generation to incalculable calamities, to spare the blood of a multitude of men doomed to perish the victims of a war the object of which is foreign to Germany, which, at the moment of its breaking out is every where the subject of inquiry and doubt, and whose real motives cannot be avowed.—The alarms of the Continent will not be allayed, until the Emperor of Austria, yielding to the just and pressing representations of Germany, shall cease his hostile preparations, shall not keep in Suabia and in the Tyrol more troops than are necessary for garrisoning the places, and shall replace his army on the peace establishment. Was it not understood, since the conventions entered into in consequence of the treaty of Luneville, that the Austrian armies could not pass the territories of Upper Austria, without committing actual hostility? Was not Austria sensible at that period, that France being then engaged in a foreign war, having withdrawn her troops from Suabia, and having put a stop to the movements which it could make by means of the corps of troops she had in Switzerland, it was not just to oppose to such marks of confidence precautions truly aggressive? The circumstances being the same at present on the part of France, why are the measures of Austria so different? Why does she keep sixty battalions in the Tyrol and Suabia, whilst the forces of France are collected at a distance for an expedition against England?——There exists no difference at this moment between the Swiss republic and the German empire; no difference between Bavaria and Austria; and, if any credit is to be given to the declarations of the Court of Vienna, there exists none between it and France. For what unknown objects then has the Court of Vienna assembled so many troops?——It can have but one plausible object, that is, to keep France in a state of indecision, to place her in a state of inactivity; and, in a word, to arrest her progress on the eve of a decisive effort. But this object can only be attained for a time. France has been deceived, she is no longer so. She has been obliged to defer her enterprizes; she still defers them; she waits the effect of these remonstrances; she waits the effect of the representations of the Germanic Diet. But when every effort shall be fruitlessly made to bring Austria to the adoption either of a sincere peace, or of an undisguised and open hostility, his Majesty the Emperor of the French will fulfil all the duties imposed on him by his dignity and his power: he will direct his efforts to every quarter in which France shall be menaced. Providence has bestowed on him sufficient strength to contend against England with one hand, and with the other to defend the honour of his standards and the rights of his allies.—Should the Diet adopt the course which the undersigned has orders to point out to it; should it succeed in representing to the view of the Emperor of Austria the real situation, in which these movements, made perhaps without reflection, ordered perhaps without any hostile intention, and solely in consequence of foreign influence, have placed the Continent; should it succeed in persuading this Sovereign, individually humane and just, that he has no enemies, that his frontiers are not threatened, that France has twice had it in her power to deprive him for ever of one half of his hereditary states, if she had extended her wishes beyond what had been established at Campo Formio and Luneville; that, by his dispositions, which even before they are fully developed, affect France even in the centre of her action, he interferes, without advantage to his states, and without honour to his policy, in a quarrel which is foreign to him, the diet will have deserved well of Germany, of Switzerland, of Italy, of France, of all Europe, with the exception of a single nation, the enemy of the general tranquillity, and which has founded its prosperity on the hope and the design, ardently and perseveringly maintained, of perpetuating the discord, the troubles, and the divisions of the Continent. The undersigned, &c. (Signed) BACHER.

AUSTRIAN ANSWER TO THE FRENCH NOTE. —*Rescript delivered by the Austrian Imperial Minister to the Imperial and Royal Legations at Ratisbon, dated Vienna, September* 9, 1805.

The declaration which the French Chargé d'Affaires was ordered to communicate to the Diet at Ratisbon, has been laid before his Roman and Austrian Imperial Majesty.—According to this declaration the states of the German Empire might be induced to imagine that the armaments and acts of violence of the French Emperor in Italy, have given Austria no cause for a counter-arming; that France, not Austria, wishes the restoration of a general peace, to attain which restoration, was the object of the intended invasion of England, which Austria now endeavours to interrupt, to prevent the attainment of this object.—With this declaration is connected the threat of an attack on the German Empire, if Austria does not immediately disarm at the order of the French Emperor.—Called upon by such a declaration made to the German Diet, his

Majesty finds it incumbent upon him to lay before his co-estates of the Empire such documents as may shew the true causes and views which have compelled him to arm. They will thence perceive that Austria offered its mediation for the restoration of peace and tranquillity, which France refused; that France wishes not peace; for that situation is not peace, but more destructive than war, in which a single power, formidable by its greatness, alone remains armed, and is prevented by no opposition from occupying with its troops, oppressing, and subjecting one independent peaceable state after another.—To put an end to this state of things is the object of the arming of the Austrian and Russian Imperial Courts; and that the former, from the menacing armaments of the French in Italy, has the most pressing motives to be careful, for its own safety, must be evident to all who have had experience in the affairs of the world; and for further proof it is only necessary to refer to the extracts of the Moniteurs of the 12th of May, and 13th of June of the present year.—That only this object, and not any self-interested views, have produced the determination of Austria and Russia, appears from their readiness to enter into any negociation on principles of justice and moderation—from their assurances to the states of the Empire, that, in case war should prove unavoidable, they will maintain the legal state of the German Constitution and possessions inviolate; which assurances the Austrian Envoys have orders to repeat and confirm in the most solemn manner.—The threats of the French Emperor to attack the German Empire, shews how necessary it is to be guarded against such an attack by adequate preparations; experience never to be forgotten has taught with what consequences the fulfilment of such threats on the part of France is connected; and it is the more necessary to be active in preventing them, as already the most certain indications are apparent, that several Princes of the frontier circles of the Empire have been encouraged on the part of the French, to take up arms against their Emperor and co-estate, and to this end new secret connections have been entered into, and those existing abused.—His Majesty trusts with confidence, that if not all, at least the greater part of the states of the empire will see the dangerous tendency of such proceedings, and the necessity of warding off from Germany, by unanimity, fidelity and courage, the fate of Italy, and other neighbouring countries of France, which have been rendered either half, or entirely dependent upon her, and that they will consequently approve and promote those measures, without which the salutary views of Austria and Russia cannot be carried into effect; for it is most evident that the possibility of maintaining a real peace, depends on being prepared with those effectual means, which, in case it should be impossible to attain the object wished, can alone furnish the last hope of deliverance and succour. Louis, Count Cobentzel.

[The statements mentioned in the above rescript, are extracts from the moniteurs of the 11th of May, and 19th of June. The former gives an account of the camp of Marengo, where thirty battalions of infantry of the line, four battalions of light infantry, and seven squadrons of cavalry, were assembled. The other article is from the camp of Castiglione, dated the 13th of June, saying, "at the moment of our arrival, forty-eight battalions of infantry, and forty-five squadrons of cavalry, with sixty pieces of cannon, are exercising in the immense plain of Montechiaro. France never had better troops, which performed their exercise more readily, or were animated with a better spirit. If you see this camp, after that of Marengo, and know, that we have, independent of these, a division at Genoa, another at Florence, and a third at Naples, you will find that we have at this moment a greater army in Italy than ever, without reckoning the corps of Italian troops, which is forming under the eye of its master, and appears to be animated with a desire to render itself worthy of its Sovereign."]

Austria and France.——*Two Declarations in the Form of Notes, delivered by M. de Talleyrand, French Minister of Foreign Relations, to Count Philip Cobentzel, at Paris.*

First Note from M. de Talleyrand, delivered on the 13th August, 1805.

The undersigned has hastened, on the termination of the conference which he has had the honour of holding with Count de Cobentzel, to transmit to Boulogne the Declaration delivered to him by his Excellency (alluding to the Austrian Declaration of the 5th of August) ... and he has received orders from the Emperor and King to return the following answer:——The Emperor could not fail of being sensibly affected by the sentiments of moderation shewn in the aforesaid Declaration, and by the amicable readiness of his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, to hasten, by his interposition, the termination of the evils caused by the war to the French empire. But the more his Majesty knows how to appreciate the

importance and the value of the good offices of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, the more he is grateful for the intention with which the offer of those good offices is made, and the more does he feel, that his very sentiments of gratitude forbid him to make use thereof: if, on the one hand, from the nature of things, and on the other, from the situation of circumstances, it is not even permitted to hope, that they can be employed with advantage, nor consequently without comprising the dignity of the Mediator. This motive alone would be decisive for his Majesty, even if it were possible to forget how the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburgh have very lately answered his most noble and magnanimous behaviour.—M. de Novositzoff was coming to France, without the Emperor's knowing his intentions. The King of Prussia had required passports for this Chamberlain of the Emperor of Russia. The passports were immediately granted without any explanation. What benefit has his Majesty derived from this extraordinary concession? An offensive note, replete with false assertions, was the sole result from a mission, which the Emperor had neither occasioned nor required.—Being thus attacked in his honour, it is no longer possible for him to require or expect any thing of Russia, who, instead of being desirous of peace, finds her own interest in war, and founds on its renovation hopes, which she attempts in vain to conceal, when her behaviour unveils them even to those eyes which are the least penetrating.——For a twelvemonth past the Emperor has received nothing but insults from the Russian Cabinet. His character and his dispositions are too well known for it to be believed, that he will expose himself to fresh injuries. It belongs to the Emperor Alexander to judge which alternative appears most advantageous for him; whether to persist in a system, to the adoption of which he was moved by foreign influence, or to return to more moderate, more just, and wiser sentiments. He has a greater interest in returning to them, than France has to lead him back thereto. This alteration must be the result of his own consideration, and cannot form an object of any kind of negotiation.——As to England, his Majesty made an attempt, eight months ago, to incline her to peace; which attempt Europe knew how to appreciate, and which would not have been in vain, if England had depended solely upon her own resources; but, from the answer returned by the Cabinet of St. James's, it was clear that it would not think of a peace, till it had lost every hope of setting the Continent in flames, and of covering Italy with blood and carnage. With this intention, and with this intention alone, it called upon the interposition of Russia. The Cabinet of Vienna is too enlightened not to perceive this, though the projects and motives of England were not known to it, from the pressing solicitations, and from the offer of subsidies with which she has constantly besieged the Court of Vienna, to induce it to take up arms. It cannot be hoped that such a power will listen to the advice of moderation and justice. It would even be useless to speak to it of its interest, which ought to be dear to it. Blind passions induce it to mistake those interests. The voice of persuasion would avail nothing; but that which the good offices of Austria cannot induce England to do, Austria can oblige her to do. She needs neither exertions nor menaces for this purpose, but merely to observe a very simple process, which will convince England of her impotence.——England knows, and has more than once declared, that Russia alone cannot afford her any assistance, and that a diversion will be of no use to her, as long as Prussia and Austria will not cooperate with her.——Prussia has declared at all times, that she will in no case enter into any hostile project against France. Let the Emperor of Austria make the same declaration, and the British Cabinet will immediately feel its own interest, as it is no longer deceived by unfounded imaginations, and informed by the opinion of the most enlightened people of that country; it will immediately see the necessity of returning to the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens, and she will find her happiness in this necessity. Then the Emperor of Germany will not only have a claim upon the gratitude of the Emperor of the French, but he will have effected more for his own advantage than if he had gained ten battles against France; for an immediate consequence of the peace would be the performance of the obligation which his Majesty the Emperor of the French has taken upon himself, and which he renews with pleasure, of separating the Crowns of France and Italy.—If on the other hand, Austria, by indecisive measures, leave a doubtful and uncertain opinion; if thereby she authorises the assertions of the English ministry, that she belongs to a coalition; if she continues to keep 72,000 men in Italy, the Emperor will be obliged to believe, that she sees with a secret joy, a war which weakens France, and that she thinks the moment favourable for resuming those hostilities, of which the present generation must be

tired of being made the victims. —— His Majesty, who has only 50,000 men in Italy, 15,000 of whom are at the extremity of the kingdom of Naples, sees his most important frontier exposed to danger, and cannot provide it with fresh troops without drawing the troops from his Army of the Ocean; he can, therefore, not consider Austria in any other light than that of making a diversion in favour of England, which is as impressive and more troublesome to him than would be an open war.——His Excellency Count Cobentzel will have remarked what great and extraordinary subjects the present circumstances offer. Such circumstances render measures necessary answerable thereto. It is a truth, of which all enlightened men are sensible, and of which his Majesty is penetrated; when Frederic the Second saw that a war was intended against him, he was beforehand with his enemies. The House of Austria has more than once done the same: at present the Emperor of the French sees preparations making in Poland and in Italy. Even the places where they are made, shew that they are the result of an agreement, and point out against whom they are intended. The undersigned must ask of Count Cobentzel, what would the Emperor of Germany do, if he were in the place of the French Emperor?——However, the Emperor will be happy to suppose the best for futurity, as it depends on Austria to make what is to come happy for Europe, and as he takes the sentiments, expressed in the note, which the undersigned has received of Count Cobentzel, for a good omen. *May* Austria issue the same declaration which Prussia has made; may she, by acts, confirm that declaration, and reduce her whole force, and the whole artillery, &c. of her army, to the peace establishment; may she no longer keep 72,000 men in Italy; may she order back to their garrisons the regiments assembled to form an army in the Tyrol, and cease the establishing of magazines, and the fortified camps, which announce an approaching war, and nothing will further disturb the peace of the Continent; this peace, so desirable to all parties, since France has nothing to gain by a fresh combat. Austria will gain nothing by it, and the maritime peace will soon follow. When Austria shall have declared, that she remains neutral, and will remain neutral, a peace will be the desire and hope of England; it will be concluded, and the Treaty of Amiens will be restored before the month of January. The Crowns of France and Italy will be separated for ever; Europe, enjoying security and tranquillity, will owe them to the wisdom of Austria, which, by an opposite behaviour, would have precipitated Europe into a situation, which neither the Cabinet of the Thuilleries, nor the Cabinet of Vienna, nor any other, could calculate or foresee.——His Excellency Count Cobentzel will see, that in those communications, which the undersigned has been ordered to make to him, it was impossible for his Majesty to proceed with more openness, dignity, and sincerity. For the interest of Austria herself, and for the glory of her Sovereign, his Majesty wishes that the Emperor of Germany may avail himself of the opportunity which is offered to him. The fate of his own States, and that of Europe, is now in his hands. In one hand he holds the disturbances and revolutions; in the other, the general peace. An impartial neutrality sufficient for him to obtain what he desires, and to insure the peace of the world. The most efficacious mediation of peace which Austria can make, consists in the preservation of the most perfect neutrality, in the cessation of armaments, in not obliging France to make a diversion, and in leaving no hope for England of bringing Austria over to her side. —— The undersigned can have no doubt, but his Excellency Count Cobentzel will set a due value upon the subjects discussed in the present note, and contribute, by his influence, to have them considered in that point of view. ——He seizes this opportunity to renew to his Excellency Count Cobentzel, the assurance of his highest esteem.

Second Note from M. De Talleyrand, delivered on the 16th of August, 1805.

His Majesty the Emperor had placed the greatest reliance on the pacific and amicable assurances of Austria, as he thought he had a right to depend upon the good disposition of that power, considering the manner in which he behaved towards it after two wars, the entire advantage of which was on the side of France, and in which the greatest part of the Austrian possessions had been conquered by his arms.——Entirely occupied with the war which England has raised, he hoped, since he had given Austria no cause of complaint, that Austria would observe the strictest and most impartial neutrality; but the movements of troops, and the other hostile dispositions which have taken place in the Hereditary States, and at which Europe is either uneasy or astonished, compel his Majesty the Emperor to demand not only a categorical explanation, but a more speedy one.—The reasons assigned which

the Emperor receives from all quarters, compel him to postpone his projects against England; and thus Austria has done as much as if she had commenced hostilities; for she has made the most powerful diversion in favour of England.——— Austria assembles an army in the Tyrol, whilst France has evacuated all Switzerland. His Excellency Count Cobentzel knows very well, that Austria has nearly 72,000 men in Italy, whilst France has not 50,000 there, 15,000 of whom are on the Gulf of Tarento: and this is the very cause that has principally determined him to suspend his projects. Austria raises camp-fortifications every where, as if a war were already declared, or very near at hand. All the Austrian troops are in motion; all have quitted their garrisons in which they were quartered; all are marching in a direction which announces war; and how, indeed, could his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, assemble so many regiments with a pacific intention, in a country so barren and poor as the Tyrol, where he can only maintain them to the detriment of his finances? Why should he establish magazines? Why should he order the baking of biscuit? Why should he take up so many draught-horses? It is a principle in the public law of Europe, that the assembling of troops, establishing of magazines, baking of biscuit, taking up of draught-horses, are considered by all powers as a declaration of war, especially if such preparations are made on a frontier, which is left unprovided by a power employed elsewhere, at an opposite and very distant frontier. His Majesty, desirous of reconciling those dispositions with the pacific expressions of his Majesty the Emperor of Germany, in which he has always placed the strongest confidence, can only reconcile them on the supposition, that this Monarch knows nothing of the wrong that has been done to France; and that the diversion occasioned by his armament is tantamount to actual hostilities. His Majesty is still desirous of persuading himself, that that Monarch really knows nothing of it; but the natural consequences of a similar error are equally detrimental to France as positive hostile intentions, and for this very reason his Majesty's interest requires to be beforehand with them.——It is no longer protestations which can satisfy his Majesty. His Majesty cannot admit any intermediate state betwixt that of war or of peace. If Austria wants peace, every thing in Austria must be restored to the peace establishment. Should Austria desire war, his Majesty will have no other alternative than to throw back upon the aggressor all the evils which he would bring, not only upon the present generation, but also (his Majesty dares to utter it with pride) upon his own States and his own Family; for his Majesty will flatter himself to obtain, in a new war, similar victories as in the preceding; and to secure himself against those diversions which are, as it were, the first step of a coalition in favour of England.—The undersigned has, therefore, received orders, on the supposition most agreeable to his Majesty, namely, on the supposition that Austria is desirous of peace, to demand: 1. That the twenty-one regiments, which have been sent to the German and Italian Tyrol, shall be withdrawn, and that those troops only shall remain in both the said provinces, which were there six months ago. 2. That the camp-fortifications be discontinued. The emperor does not require, that Austria shall not erect real fortifications. The right of erecting them belongs to all states, and precaution often makes it the duty of a prince. But as Venice is certainly no fortress, the works carrying on there at present are nothing else than camp-works. 3. That the troops in Stiria, in Carinthia, in Friuli, and in the Venetian territory, be reduced to the numbers at which they stood six months ago. Lastly, That Austria declare to England her firm and unshaken determination to preserve an exact and scrupulous neutrality, without taking a part in the present dispute; because it is the duty of Austria, if she will preserve a system of neutrality, to do nothing, either mediately, or immediately, in favour of England. The undersigned has also received orders to declare to his excellency Count Cobentzel, or rather to repeat the declaration so often made to him, that the dearest wish of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, is the continuance of the peace with the German Emperor; that his Majesty would unwillingly take those steps which he would be obliged to take, by a positive refusal, or even an evasive or dilatory answer, to the demands which the undersigned has been directed to make; but that in a situation like that of Austria, Prince Charles would not hesitate, as that Prince is too good a soldier not to behave in a similar manner; and that if his Majesty is obliged to repel force by force, he will not commit the fault to wait until the Russians have joined the Austrians against him. His Excellency Count Cobentzel knows too well the importance and urgency of the present circumstances, for the undersigned to think it necessary to invite him to hasten, as much as is possible and depends on him, an an-

swer, which his Majesty expects with an impatience that is justified on so many grounds. The undersigned seizes this opportunity, &c.

RUSSIA AND FRANCE.—*Note from the French Government, in reply to the Note of M. Novosiltzoff, addressed to the Court of Berlin; as published in the Frankfort Gazette of the 11th September,* 1805.

The note, which is said to have been addressed by M. Novosiltzoff, to the Court of Berlin, has been published in the German Journals. The false assertions which it contains, and the strange pretensions which it manifests, the total want of decorum, which characterises that pretended state paper, do not permit the undersigned to remain silent on its publication. He has received formal orders to communicate to his Excellency M. De ———, the following observations. He does not doubt but that they will be sufficient to rectify the impressions which might have been produced by a paper, which is an offensive and inaccurate exposition of indirect and temporary circumstances, which have lately taken place between Russia and his Majesty. The Emperor and King, has for a long time observed, in silence, the progress of Russia, towards the South of Asia: he saw, with just uneasiness, the danger which threatened Persia and Turkey, two great empires; one of which cannot be overcome without involving the other in inevitable ruin, and the other is the sole barrier between the Continent and Russia. The states of the Grand Seignior are not only threatened, but his cabinet is continually besieged by intriguers, and is every day humbled by new demands, and by arrogant propositions, which are injurious to the dignity of the Prince, and do not leave the ministers the free choice of any measures. His provinces are agitated with new disorders, which the agents of Russia openly foment. Pachas and seditious governors are confirmed in their culpable enterprises, and pride themselves upon their projects of independence, and upon the assistance of Russia. The Greeks, a nation who, till this day, were submissive subjects, are revolting on all sides against the Turks, and their disobedience is not punished. The Russian squadrons pervade the Ottoman Seas, and carry to their coasts, arms, recruiting parties, agents of trouble and insurrection; and, we may well doubt, if there does not now exist in Tartary a greater number of men who are concerting and contriving to destroy that unhappy empire, than the Sovereign could arm and embody to ensure its preservation. Such is the disastrous state of Turkey.——The Emperor, affected to see himself almost the only Prince on the Continent who very early foresaw the projects which were formed against Turkey, hoped that the imprudent rapidity with which they were developed, would open the eyes of Europe, and he has seen with pleasure, a circumstance which enables his Majesty to bring this interesting subject into discussion, and call the attention of all the cabinets to it. His Majesty the King of Prussia wrote to him to communicate the desire which the Emperor of Russia had expressed, and to send one of his chamberlains when passports were demanded; the Emperor neither received nor asked for an explanation. He knew before-hand, and he expressed his opinion upon that point to the King of Prussia, that no hopes of the tranquillity of the world could be founded upon that negotiation; though, perhaps, a favourable opinion might still be entertained of the personal generosity of the Emperor Alexander, no favourable result could be expected from a discussion in which his moderation had been so perversely overcome by foreign influence, and by the intrigues of those who surround him.——That, in reality, Russia takes no real and sincere part in the interests of the Continent; but, indifferent to the happiness of Europe, her intervention in political storms has ever served only to increase hatred and inflame passion. That at all times, the quarrels of other powers have been to her only the subject of a mere idle speculation, and that now, occupied as she is, with the progressive annihilation of Persia and Turkey, they can only be to her a momentary subject for diversion or perhaps of fantasy. His Majesty, the Emperor, however, ordered that the passports should be sent; and, since then, nothing more has been heard of the Chamberlain of the Emperor of Russia. It must doubtless be regretted, that an opportunity has been lost of making just and severe representations to Russia on her conduct in Asia, on the oppression with which she menaces the Ottoman empire, and on the causes of the alarm which begins to spread every where, at the approach of an event, which threatens to destroy for ever the equilibrium of the South of Europe. It is in this point of view, above all, that his Majesty looked upon the proposed negotiation as an advantageous project, which might tend to the general good, and he is afflicted that the cabinet of Russia has, in this respect, disappointed his hopes. In exposing, however, on this head, his real views, he does not think himself obliged to enter into any explanation with respect to

the pretended dispositions that the letter of M. De Novosiltzoff attributes to him. It is simply this, that an irresolute cabinet, to give a colour to an absurd measure, endeavours to impute to France, contradictions in conduct and language, which do not belong to her.——But here the recrimination is only a pretext, and a pretext without truth. Passports solicited and obtained, do not constitute a negotiation. France said nothing. Russia alone made a demonstration, and demanded that one of her agents should be admitted to be heard. If this demand had been coupled with offensive conditions, with clauses which it is astonishing to see in a note purporting to be official, it would have remained unanswered. The character of his Majesty the Emperor is too well established in Europe to have the impossible supposition for a moment believed, that he would have permitted propositions to be made to him, contrary to his dignity, or have listened to such propositions. Nevertheless, to take away all possibility of belief from any such allegation, or that even which the agents of Russia have judged proper to publish, the undersigned has received orders to deny it in the most positive and formal manner.

———

Letter from Captain Baudin, Member of the Legion of Honour, to the Minister of Marine and Colonies, dated on board La Topaze, in the Tagus, August 20, 1805.

Monseigneur,——I have the honour to inform you of my return from Martinique, having left that island with the corvettes Les Department des Landes, La Torche, and Le Faune, which Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, Captain-General, ordered to be placed under my command on the 13th of July last.——I have also the honour to inform your excellency, that I have taken, after a very brisk action of about an hour and a quarter, the English frigate Blanche, carrying twenty-six 18-pounders, fourteen carronades, and four nine-pounders. She was commanded by Zachary Mudge, Esq. from Jamaica, bound to Barbadoes.——I got under way from Fort de France on the 16th of July. On the 19th, at eight in the morning, in Lat. 20. 22. long. 65. 29. W. from the Meridian of Paris, I saw, at three leagues distance, N.N.W. a large vessel, which I judged to be a frigate, running to the S.S.E. on the larboard tack. I tacked to the N.N.E. the wind at east blowing fresh, the sea rising, and the atmosphere cloudy, I then made no other change in my course; my little squadron kept together, consisting of the brig Le Faune, of 16 guns, six-pounders, commanded by Lieut. Brunet; the corvette La Torche, of eighteen 12-pounders, Lieut. Dehen; the Corvette Le Departement des Landes, of twenty 8-pounders, Lieut. Desmontils, and the frigate La Topaze, of twenty-eight 18-pounders, ten carronades, and six 8-pounders.——At thirty-six minutes past eight the frigate was about two leagues distant, going before the wind. I had Le Departement des Landes on the starboard, Le Faune to the larboard, and La Torche to the larboard of Le Faune.——At forty-five minutes past nine I was on the starboard-quarter of the enemy, and the action continued till 55 minutes past 10, when the English flag was struck, and La Topaze resounded with cries of 'Vive L'Empereur.'——At this moment Le Departement des Landes was within cannon-shot, La Torche a little to the starboard, Le Faune in observation. Towards the end of the action Le Departement des Landes fired eighteen guns, and La Torche three. The great inferiority of the corvettes prevented them from taking any other part in the business. They at least, however, served to hasten the surrender of the enemy.——[M. Baudin here praises, in high terms, a great number of the persons employed under him.]——Mr. Mudge was second in command to Captain Vancouver on his voyage on the North-west Coast of America. Far be it from me to say any thing unfavourable of him, but I owe it to truth, and to the glory of the brave men whom I have the honour to command, to assure your excellency that La Topaze singly captured the Blanche; she had 21 men killed in the action; I had only 12 killed. I was obliged to burn the frigate, after taking out the crew.——I have the honour to be, with profound respect, Monseigneur, your very humble and obedient servant,——F. Baudin.

Another letter from M. Baudin, gives an account of his escape into the Tagus, after being chaced by the Agamemnon, of 64 guns, and after losing two of his squadron. He states La Topaze to have had a partial action with the Agamemnon, in which the former had three men wounded. He says also, that he addressed his crew, asking them whether, if they were forced to continue the action, they would board the Agamemnon? And that they all answered in the affirmative. The chace he states to have continued 40 hours.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 14.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1805. [PRICE 10D.

"He says, to Corruption, thou art my father, and to the Worm, thou art my mother and my sister"—JOB.

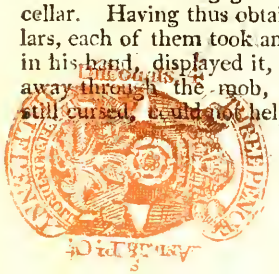
SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LORD MELVILLE.——In the preceding sheet, at page 487, I was proceeding to notice the contents of a periodical work, entitled, "A REVIEW OF THE REPORTS MADE "BY THE NAVAL COMMISSIONERS: BY A "SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN." This work, as was then observed, must already have cost *somebody*, not less than SEVEN OR EIGHT THOUSAND POUNDS; it having been advertised, almost continually, in all the papers in the kingdom; having a stamp; and, being *given away* with a profusion hardly credible. It was observed, that the work, from that mixture of pertness and malignity, so predominant in every part of it, afforded strong internal evidence of being under the immediate control of THE UPSTART; and, that the "SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN" were, to all appearance, a well-known knot of subaltern peculators.——The object of this work is, *to support Lord Melville*, and, collaterally, to defend the conduct of Mr. Pitt. The mode generally pursued is, not a denial of the facts, which have been brought to light by the Naval Commissioners, nor an attempt to overset the arguments, whence the conclusion of wilful corruption has been drawn; but, A DEFENCE OF CORRUPTION ITSELF, as a practice necessary to the *preservation of* "*our excellent constitution*;" insomuch that THE UPSTART seems, with singular candour, to claim (as well he may!) and almost in a literal sense, the relationship designated in my motto. "The nation," says he, "ought to see the tendency of all "this" [the proceedings relative to Lord Melville], "and that, while we are employed on such inquiries, *the French squadrons may go out and in as they please*, "for we have *no time to look at them!!!* "It is singular enough, that at the very "time that our sworn enemy has assumed "*the most unlimited powers* to be the better able to crush us, we are earnestly occupied *in diminishing those very limited "ones which we have hitherto enjoyed.* "Those who will take the trouble to study "Adam Smith's wealth of nations, must "know that great trading companies, who "are obliged to act by rule, are unable to "enter into competition with individuals "who have no rule but their own judgment. It is the same thing with governments, and the greatest part of our expenses as a nation, may be set down to "this very account. It is one of the *disadvantages* attendant on our *excellent constitution*, for our national debt begun at "the revolution, and we have in the most "regular manner possible, spent five hundred millions, while other powers with "all their *irregularities in finance* have not "spent one quarter of the sum. How far "our new improvements may lead, it is "difficult to guess, but surely profit is the "object, whether it may be attained or "not. In less than six months we shall "venture to say, that the nation will "lament the effects of these *inquiries on "the* ATTENTION OF MINISTERS; this is the "15th of June, and we say, the nation will "lament the effects of it before the 15th "day of December."——The *unlimited powers*, here spoken of as having been assumed by our sworn enemy, are, the powers assumed by Buonaparté over the purses and the persons of the people of France; or, in other words, the *despotism* exercised in that country; and, the UPSTART regrets, that any thing should have taken place *to diminish that sort of power here!* "Enjoyed!" The "very limited powers that WE have "hitherto *enjoyed!*" Who are "WE!" The ministry of course; for, it is hardly possible, that even THE UPSTART can have had the presumption to hope to persuade the people, that *they* enjoyed the powers of disposing of the public money.——The argument upon the principle of Adam Smith is truly admirable! And, it will be curious enough to compare the early professions of Mr. Pitt with the doctrine here laid down; to wit; that to insist upon a regular accounting for the disposal of the public money "is one of the *disadvantages* of our "*excellent constitution*." This comparison must, however, be deferred till my next; but, it is impossible not to observe on the flagrant injustice of ascribing to the *revolution* and to the checks upon the public expenditure the enormous amount of the national debt, which has not accrued in a "*regular manner*," FOUR out of the SIX hundred millions having been contracted during the *last* 20 of the 120 years, since

which the revolution took place; that is to say, during the 20 years that the affairs of the nation have been entrusted to the hands of Mr. Pitt and his worthy political brother, Lord Melville.——But, previously to entering upon an examination into the doctrine inculcated in the work before us, it is necessary to enable the reader to judge of the disposition and the character of the persons and the party, by whom it is conducted and supported.——This "SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN" began their operations on, or about, the 1st of June; and, imagining their opponents to be made of the same sort of stuff with themselves, *intimidation* was one of the means they resolved to resort to. Accordingly, upon the appearance of an article in the Register, notifying that all attempts to mislead the public, with respect to the case of Lord Melville, and thereby to defeat the ends of justice, would be watched and exposed, they inserted, in their Number of the 22d of June, the following article, intended solely for me: "A WORD TO THE WISE. A writer, who generally expresses himself with great violence and energy, has declared his intention of commenting on every publication, whatever its title may be, that tends to what he calls, support Lord Melville. In reviewing the reports, if Lord Melville's cause is supported, we therefore are sensible that we shall incur anger, and suffer the weight of that great censor's chastisement; before he begins we shall only repeat our motto—strike, but listen—followed by a very short commentary. Mr. Cobbett certainly does not suppose, that in this country we are absolutely reduced to the situation of the French under the reign of terror, when those who were brought forward on a cause were instructed to be silent, except when they had something to advance against the accused person. If Mr. Cobbett means what his language expresses, it is tantamount to the same thing; and at one period of his life he held that government, its maxims and its practices, in great horror. If he has changed, we shall be proud of his censure; if he has not, we shall not deserve it; for though it does happen that the review of the reports points out many things favourable to Lord Melville's cause, we are conscious of having spoke only truth, and that with moderation, and therefore have no sort of uneasiness on account of the announced vengeance. The story of the mad ox in the *china shop* should be remembered on this occasion. There are *two* or *three* elegant and noble vases of fine materials and of *classical form*, which we should be sorry *to see broken*; but they were neither manufactured at the Admiralty, nor at Somerset-house, yet *they may be brought into danger.* We shall *not say more at present*, but remark, that partisans who are too violent, oftentimes subject those whom they wish to serve *to great danger.*"——Lest, however, this printed hint should not have the intended effect, the sheet containing it, and which was sent to me, as to others, *cost free*, was accompanied with a note, in manuscript, addressed "to WILLIAM COBBETT, Esq.," and dated on the 22d of June, the words of which letter were as follow: "The Reviewers of the Reports present their compliments to Mr. Cobbett, and believing that his energetic language is the effect of zeal in the cause in which he is embarked, are persuaded, that he will not take it amiss to be informed, *privately*, in a less ambiguous manner than it is *yet* necessary to do in print, "that, in departments, *held by some of his particular friends, transactions occurred about ten years ago, that, if brought before the public, would make a far greater noise, than the affair of Lord Melville.*" But, to what purpose would that be? To *wound government* and the country more deeply. This, surely, Mr. Cobbett does not wish; but, in fairness, he ought to be moderate, if he *expects moderation.* It must surprise the world to see the Editors of the Porcupine and Morning Chronicle harnessed to the same carriage. Mr. Cobbett is requested not to suppose, that this is written with the *smallest degree of fear* of any remarks he may make on the Review; but, in order to AVOID THAT SPECIES OF RETALIATION THAT WILL BE NECESSARY. If *Mr. Cobbett's friends* get into a *scrape*, they will stand the more *in need of his assistance*; but, that would be a cruel mode of treatment to them. Mr. Hastings's best, but *too busy friend*, Major Scott, was one of the chief causes of *his* impeachment."——If any Pittite, even though he be a "young friend," can prove himself to be the author of any contrivance more base than this, the reader will not, I am sure, deny that his name ought to be engraven upon the pedestal of THE STATUE, which is to be, or which was to be, erected by those notable wiseacres, who, some few years ago, met at the London Tavern, but whose intention, for some reason or other, appears to have been laid aside.——By referring to the Register, Vol. VII. pages, 929

and 961, and the present Volume, p. 1 and 49, it will be perceived, that this note from the "SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN" produced no relaxation in my endeavours fully to expose to my readers the conduct of Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt. "THE CASE" of the latter gentleman, had, in the places, here referred to, been pretty amply discussed; and, as some persons thought, with no inconsiderable degree of effect. Something a little stronger appears, therefore to have been thought necessary by these worthy "GENTLEMEN," who, in their number of the 20th and 27th of July, published two articles, the first of which was addressed to Mr. Windham, and was as follows: "To "THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM "WINDHAM. Sir, As you have yourself "been in a ministerial capacity; as you "have felt the necessity of sometimes act- "ing irregularly upon personal responsibili- "ty; how does it happen that you are so "inexorable to an ancient colleague, who "is only, at the worst, accused of doing "the same. You have frequently recom- "mended sports that tend to render men "ferocious, by way of making them for- "midable. Are you serious in approving "such ferocity? If you really are serious, "*let us go it* (to suit the style to the sub- "ject); you must have seen that the fiercest "dogs are sometimes *pinned down*, and "sometimes *tossed in the air*. This is only "the fortune of war, and is always attend- "ed with a SOUVENIR. Dated, *Quiberon*, "July 20th, 1805."——The second article was for me, and in the following words: "As Mr. Cobbett can hardly fail to read "this Review, I beg leave, through its "medium, to ask that worthy patriot if he "knows who was the author, and in- "dustrious circulator through the army, "of a pamphlet, entitled, *The Soldier's* "*Friend*, published about the same time, "but fraught with ten times more mischief, "than Paine's Rights of Man. A pam- "phlet calculated to render soldiers discon- "tented with their situation, and incite "them to mutiny and rebellion; a pam- "phlet which, in short, I have no hesita- "tion in saying, was a considerable source "of the naval mutiny at the Nore. I well "know, that an animal of the *hedge-hog* "kind, in consequence of the above publi- "cation, was obliged to skulk to America, "where, from its *versatility* of principle, "it became a most *furious declaimer* in fa- "vour of the British government, and is "now by a side wind doing every thing in "its power to *obstruct* that government..... "HINT."——By *government*, men of the description of THE UPSTART always mean *ministry*; and, by *obstructing government* they mean *the preventing or detecting of corruption*. In this way I certainly am endeavouring to obstruct the government; but, I think, it cannot be said, that I am, or have been, making this endeavour by a *side* wind. ——One would think, upon reading this article, that it was the production of an old friend of mine in America. Those who have been so indulgent to me as to read PORCUPINE'S WORKS, will recollect, that, when I began the business of a bookseller in the city of Philadelphia, I resolved to put the power and the courage of the democrats to the test, by opening shop with a grand exhibition of the portraits of kings, queens, princes, nobles, and bishops, and, in short, with every portrait, picture, or book, that I could obtain, and that I thought likely to excite rage in the inveterate enemies of Great Britain, particularly a large, coarse sixpenny representation of Lord Howe's victory over the French. Never since the beginning of the American rebellion had any one before dared to exhibit at his window the portrait of George the Third. This measure excited the feelings that I expected; but, it was finally attended with complete success, notwithstanding much clamour and many threats, amongst which latter, one was conveyed by letter to the owner of the house, stating, that, after having "grossly "abused the French in my writings, I had "now the astonishing effrontery to expose "those writings for sale at my window, as "well as certain prints *indicative of the* "*prowess of the British and the disgrace of* "*the French*." The vile wretch, or wretches, who made the attempt at intimidation, put to it the signature of "HINT:" so exactly similar are the workings of minds of the same stamp!——In spite of the threat of Mr. Hint and of the fears which he excited in the heart of the very honest and kind, though timid, man, who was my landlord, I persevered in my exhibitions and my publications; and, I lived to see, in that same city of Philadelphia, a public celebration of the victories of the fleets of England over those of France, and to hear George the Third a favourite toast; a change which my friends, certainly too partial, ascribed *wholly* to my exertions, but to which those exertions did assuredly greatly contribute. Before I recur to the "*Soldier's Friend*," I cannot refrain from relating an anecdote connected with the Philadelphia exhibition and the letter of Mr. Hint, and which anecdote, as being strongly illustrative of the effect of example and of the great value of

military fame, ought to have been before related by me. At the time when I adopted my measure of defiance, I knew not one British subject in America besides myself, who was not afraid to own, and who, in fact, did not, in some way or other, *deny his country and his king*; who did not call himself *an American citizen*, and who had not formally, and by oath, transferred his allegiance to the United States. On the first morning of my exhibition, I had put up a representation of Lord Howe's victory in a leaf of the European Magazine; but, a bookseller, with whom I was acquainted, and who came to see *how I stood it*, whispered me, while the rabble were gazing and growling at my door, that he had two large representations of the same action. They were about four feet long and two wide: the things which are hawked about and sold at the farm-houses in England, and had been crammed, more, perhaps, by way of packing stuff than otherwise, into a parcel of goods that had been sent out from London. But the letters were large; the mob, ten or twenty deep, could read, and they did read aloud too, "LORD HOWE'S DECISIVE VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH FLEET;" and, therefore, though the price was augmented from sixpence to *two dollars* each, I purchased them, and put one up at the window, and this print particularly it was that brought forth the threat of Mr. Hint. The other I sold, and this is the part of the anecdote that I wish to record. It was sold to two Englishmen, who were amongst the numbers that went to America about the years 1794 and 1795, misled by the representations of Paine and others, and being, as they frankly acknowledged to me, enemies of their country when they left it. They had mixed amongst the crowd, had taken the part of their country, and had proposed to maintain their words with their fists. After the quarrel had, in some degree, subsided, they, partly, perhaps, by way of defiance, came into the shop to purchase each of them a picture of Lord Howe and his victory. Finding that I had but one for sale, they would have purchased that; but, as it amounted to more money than both of them were possessed of, they went, and, in their phrase, which I shall never forget, "*kicked their master*," that is to say got money in advance upon their labour, which was then engaged in the digging of a cellar. Having thus obtained the two dollars, each of them took an end of the print in his hand, displayed it, and thus carried it away through the mob, who, though they still cursed, could not help giving signs of admiration. It is not, therefore, as I once before observed, the soil, the dirt, the geographical boundaries; but, it is the fame of England, her renown, her character in the world, that endear her to her sons, and that alone can preserve the attachment of those amongst them who possess none of her lands or her wealth. To Lord Howe's victory, and to the naval victories that followed it, the change in the minds of the Americans was, in a great degree, to be attributed; to the sixpenny representation of it I owed no small part of my success at the outset; and from the admirable example of the two English labourers, above spoken of, the cause of England derived more advantage, in Philadelphia, than from the influence of all the hundreds of thousands of British wealth in that city.——In recurring to the subject of the "*Soldier's Friend*," I may ask, what that pamphlet, or what any of my opinions, or any part of my conduct, can have to do with the case of Lord Melville; unless it can be shewn, that, in that pamphlet (supposing me to have been the author of it), or that, in my opinions or my conduct, I formerly countenanced practices like those, of being guilty of which Lord Melville has been detected, and for which he is to be tried? Here, without advancing another step, I might leave the reader to judge between me and the "Society of Gen- "tlemen," and to form his opinion of the *cause* in support of which such means as they have employed have been resorted to. But, I owe to *my* cause, to the cause of every honest man, to the cause of the nation, something more. Having exerted my humble talents in that cause, having become one of those, however inferior in degree, who have espoused that cause, it is my duty to take care, that the cause suffer not, in the mind of any man, from accusations preferred against myself. This consideration kept in mind, I trust the reader will bear with me, while I relate the history of the "Soldier's "Friend" more fully than, without such consideration, could possibly be thought reasonable.——Those who have read the printed account of my life, will recollect, that I was bred up at what is commonly called the plough-tail; that, after some little time spent in and about London, I entered the army at about the age of sixteen, in the very year that Mr. Pitt made his fatal entry into the cabinet; that, in a few months afterwards, I joined my regiment in British North America; that, in less than a year, I attained to the rank of Serjeant-Major of an old regiment; that I continued in that capacity till I returned with the regiment to



England in November, 1791; that, in a few weeks after this I solicited and obtained my discharge from the then Major, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, at whose subsequent conduct no man was more surprised, and whose fate no one more deeply lamented than myself, having been, when abroad, frequently honoured with his conversation, always having witnessed in him the most ardent zeal for the service, and always having heard from his lips sentiments of patriotism and of loyalty the most exalted. To these, the then virtues of this unfortunate gentleman, I have always borne witness; and, I have profited of the occasion of so doing in the presence of Mr. Pitt himself, though no one, I believe, can hold in greater horror than I do, the deeds to the perpetration of which his ardent mind was finally wrought up.——After my discharge, which was granted expressly in consideration of my "constant good behaviour and the great "services I had rendered the regiment" (and more important services, accompained with greater zeal, diligence, and fidelity, I will venture to say, that no man, in such a capacity, ever rendered), I was married, remained in England a few weeks, went to France in the spring of 1792, and thence to the United States of America in the autumn of the same year. The means of my performing this and of rendering myself tolerably perfect in the French language, consisted of about 140 guineas, saved while I was in the army, and derived solely from my pay and from my earnings with my pen, while for four years together I never tasted a morsel of fresh meat, never drank any thing stronger then spruce-beer, and while, in short, I gave to the private soldiers of the regiment a perfect example of sobriety, economy, and of patient endurance of hardship of every sort, from my due proportion of which I would, upon no account, ever be exempted.——Such was my conduct during the time that I had the honour (and I shall always think it a high honour) to wear a red coat, and such was the character, with which that coat was laid by. But, here, in the printed account of my life, there is a small chasm. When I published that account I was in the midst of the revilers of England, and particularly of the English army; or, I should have then stated, that the primary cause of my leaving the army, that the circumstance which first disgusted me, and that finally made me resolve to tear myself from a service, to which my whole mind and heart were devoted, was, the abuses, the shocking abuses as to money matters, the *peculation*, in short, which I had witnessed in it, and which I had, in vain, endeavoured to correct. What these abuses were, by whom they were committed, and how, after I quitted the army, I failed in obtaining redress, it would not now, after many of the parties are dead, be proper for me to state; but, if the "Society of Gentlemen" have, as it is more than probable they have, access to the records of the War-offices, and can obtain leave to publish the correspondence upon the subject, the public will then see, that I have all my life, and in all situations, been the enemy of peculation. It is, however, incumbent upon me to state, that, I have good reason to believe, that my failure upon that occasion was, in no way, to be ascribed to Mr. Pitt, who, as far as a person in so obscure, and perfectly friendless a situation as I then was, could judge, was, as to the matter in question, the friend of fair inquiry and of justice.——During the interval of my discharge and of my departure for France, a proposition, preceded by a speech of the Secretary at War, was made, in parliament, to augment the pay of the army. Some parts of the speech contained matter which a person, with whom I was acquainted, and to whom I had communicated my information upon such subjects, thought worthy of remark in print. Hence arose a little pamphlet, entitled the "*Sol-*"*diers' Friend.*" Of this pamphlet I was not the author; I had nothing to do either with the printing or the publishing of it; and I never had in my possession, or ordered to be sent to any person, or to any place, three copies of it in my life; and, I do not believe, that five hundred copies, in the whole, ever went from the bookseller's shop; a fact, however, that may easily be ascertained by application to Mr. Ridgeway, who was the publisher of it. As to the matter of the pamphlet, I cannot now speak in very positive terms, not having read it these fifteen years; but, I can say, that, then, I most heartily approved of every word of it, and that, as well as my recollection will enable me to speak, there are some parts of it, of the *publication* of which I should greatly disapprove now. But, the reader will have the justice to recollect, that this pamphlet made its appearance in 1791, or, perhaps, early in 1792; a time when the principles of demolishing governments were little known and little dreaded, and he will easily judge of the sincerity, with which the "Society of *Gentlemen*" assert, that the "Soldier's Friend" was a "considerable "source of the naval mutiny at the Nore," especially as he must know, that this pam-

phlet has never been mentioned before in connection with that, or any other, sign of disaffection. Again, giving the authorship to me, and even the circulation, if they will; but, let it be considered, that I had just arrived in England; that I was a perfect novice in politics, never having, to my recollection, read even a newspaper while abroad, where my time and my mind where wholly occupied with matters entirely military; and, let it be considered, too, that I took up the book of Paine (just then published) with my mind full of indignation at the abuses which I myself had witnessed, and which, as "little things are great to little men," were, in my sight, of a magnitude much greater than they were when contemplated by men of more extensive information. Under such circumstances, it would have argued not only a want of zeal, but a want of sincerity, and even a want of honesty, not to have entertained sentiments like those expressed in the "*Soldier's Friend.*" But, after all, and, admitting, in their full extent, the assertions of these "Gentlemen," with regard to the authorship and circulation of the pamphlet in question, what is there *new* in their statement? I myself, ten years ago, and at a time when I had not the most distant thought of ever returning to England, having then acquired no property, and beset as I was with democrats on one side and the yellow fever on the other; at that time, as will be seen by a reference to the work, I explicitly stated, that, previous to my leaving England for France, previous to my *seeing* what republicanism was, I had not only imbibed its principles, I had not only been a republican, but an admirer of the writings of PAINE. The fault, therefore, if there was any, was in the head, and not in the heart; and, I do not think, that even the head will be much blamed by those who duly reflect, that I was, when I took up PAINE's book, a novice in politics, that I was boiling with indignation at the abuses I had witnessed, and that, as to the powers of the book itself, it required first a proclamation, then a law, and next the suspension of the *habeas-corpus* act, to counteract them. Instead of blame, I am not without hope, that the reader will find something to commend, in a person, who, under such circumstances, having imbibed erroneous opinions, was so soon taught, by experience, to correct them, and who, so earnestly employed all the means in his power, to prevent the like errors in others.——As to the insinuation, that I *fled* to America, it is impossible to conceive any thing more false. From the moment, that I resolved to quit the army, I also resolved to go to the United States of America, the fascinating and delusive description of which I had read in the works of Raynal. To France I went for the purpose of learning to speak the French language, having, because it was the language of the military art, studied it by book in America. To see fortified towns was another object; and how natural this was to a young man who had been studying fortification, and who had been laying down LISLE and BRISAC upon paper, need not be explained to those who have burnt with the desire of beholding in practice that with which they have been enamoured in theory. These were the causes, and the only causes, of my again leaving England; and, after having, in my absence, exerted myself so much, so successfully, and so disinterestedly, in the cause of my country and my Sovereign; after having been so despitefully treated, so grossly calumniated, and so maliciously persecuted in America, merely on account of those exertions; after all this, what must be the character, what the disposition, of this "Society of Gentlemen," and what must be the cause, in support of which an accusation like that here preferred, is resorted to? It must, however, be confessed, that this base accusation is no more than a repetition of what was preferred by HERIOT, the late proprietor of the Treasury prints, the TRUE BRITON and the SUN, who inserted, in his papers of the 6th of August, 1803, the following article, the consequence of which insertion the public will not have forgotten: "Mr. Windham professes himself to be *the Soldier's Friend.* We cannot suppose, however, that his attachment to a certain American Scribbler arises from his being the writer of a work at the beginning of the French revolution, bearing that title, because that work had for *its object to excite the soldiery to mutiny*, to which, it seems, the same Patriotic Writer now endeavours *to instigate the navy.* We speak merely from what has been said in the House of Commons, for we think no true Briton can read the works of the person alluded to, with any kind of temper. The *pillory* or the *gibbet* we think a more appropriate reward than that which Mr. Windham has suggested for a writer of such a stamp."——The calumny of this slave was called forth by a remark of Mr. Windham, made the evening before, in the House of Commons, in answer to a no very indirect accusation against me by MR. SHERIDAN and the at once witty and profound MR. ARCHDALL from Ireland. Mr. Windham said, that,

for my exertions in America I deserved a statue of gold. HERIOT, in a subsequent publication, and after he had been duly and justly treated for the one above-quoted, represented me as a *common libeller*, and stated that I had been obliged to *flee from that country, to avoid the vengeance of the law.* This statement from him I should have regarded as unworthy of notice; but, the notion has prevailed elsewhere, and the "libels" in America have been alluded to with an effect, perhaps, that I ought to endeavour to counteract.——I was twice proceeded against, in America, on a charge of libel. The first time by way of indictment, and, in order, I suppose, to convince me, that I was undervaluing the blessings of republican government, particularly that of the United States, an indictment was preferred against me in the courts of the general government of the Union, and another in the courts of the particular State in which I lived, at one and the same time, for the same publications, and in behalf of the same person; with this difference only, that, the two Attorney Generals having met, *one took one part of the paragraph, and the other took the other!* The subject of these libels, was an exposure of the conduct of the court of Spain, (acting under the influence of France) with regard to her measures towards the United States, and of the conduct of the Spanish ambassador in sending a spy into Canada to prepare for the execution of a plot, one part of which plot was the poisoning of the garrison of Quebec. This fact had been *proved* upon oath, and by the confession of the criminal; and, if I had gone beyond the bounds of the law in communicating it to the people of the United States, and had thereby incurred the penalties awarded against a libeller, this was not, I think, the instance, which the Treasury prints in England should have selected for reproaching me with being a libeller. The fact is, however, that, though the petty black-hearted despot, like the murdering mutes, had two holds of his cord, the grand juries threw out the bills; and, thus, it was decided, that, in this instance, at least, I had been guilty of no libel. The other pretended libel consisted of certain publications on DR. RUSH of Philadelphia, whom, on account of his destructive treatment of the Yellow Fever, I had called SANGRADO, and, by the almost entire destruction of whose practice, I had saved the lives of hundreds, perhaps, thousands of my neighbours. This was an action for the recovery of damages; and, if it had been tried when first brought, not a penny would have been recovered; but, Rush, who is as cunning as he is malignant, deferred the trial, till he had found means to *make sure* of a jury, and, of course, of a verdict. The cause was put off, from court to court, for nearly two years. I struck not less than five or six jury-lists. At last the Doctor met with a jury to his mind; and, as the judge, SHIPPEN, (who has since been *impeached for partiality*, and has escaped merely because there were not quite *two-thirds* of the Senators to vote him guilty) was of the same stamp with the jury, the decision was, that I should pay *five thousand dollars* to the Doctor to make up for the loss of his practice. This, then; it is on this amount *alone*, that the vile slaves of the Pitt and Melville ministry represent me as a common, an incorrigible libeller. That the decision was, in America, regarded as unjust; and that I was regarded as a person most grossly injured, was fully proved by the offer that was made me at New York, to pay the damages in my stead. This offer I did not accept of, a similar offer having been before made by some of my own countrymen in Canada and the United States, of which offer I had accepted. And, in order to convince the reader, that these my friends in America saw the case in its true light, I shall here quote, from a treatise published last year by DR. ROWLEY, an account of Dr. Rush and his fatal practice, concluding with a remark as to the part which I took in putting a stop to it. The quotation is somewhat long, but I must request the reader to recollect, that I am, after long silence upon the subject, after long bearing loads of the basest misrepresentation, engaged in defending myself against the charge of being a general and incorrigible libeller. DR. ROWLEY says: "The "celebrated professor of singularities, Dr. "Rush, of Philadelphia, after a variety of "projects to cure the malignant yellow pu- "trid fever, in which there seems but few "proofs, either of scientific principles, or "consistency, but a versatile imagination "let loose without any solid judgment; at "last, bleeding repeatedly, to 100 or 150 "ounces, even when purple or black pe- "techiæ, or spots, were present, was adopt- "ed, and giving *calomel* and *jalap*, in large "doses. This doctrine was practised vehe- "mently by ignorant enthusiasts, under "that physician's direction, by unguarded "inexperienced pupils, black methodistical "parsons, an auctioneer, and others; for "the inventor of these extravagancies "found, that moderate and more learned "physicians of experience, condemned such "irrational conceits." He declared that "girls or boys, of fourteen, might be taught

" the whole treatment in a few hours, and " that the salvation of the citizens depended " on the adoption of these sagacious novel- " ties, or rather old destructive treatment " revived.——After boasting in the papers " of these valuable discoveries, and inform- " ing the public of the shops that vended " the medicines; and, in conjunction with " his sagacious noviciates, running through " the city by day and night, inculcating " these grand receipts until he was hoarse. " The dead list, or bills of mortality, to the " disgrace of the new adventurers, in- " creased from the daily number of 23, to " the enormous number of 119; that was " from September the 11th, when the prac- " tice commenced, the fatality daily in- " creased, to October the 11th; so that " notwithstanding the wonderful remedies " of *bleeding* to exhaustion, and *purging* " with *calomel* and *jalap*, without mercy, " death, cruel death, no respecter of doc- " tors, and their wild chimeras, increased " the deaths to five times the daily num- " bers, in the period of one month. San- " grado like, these evident prejudices were " obliged, apparently, to be defended, and " actions, at law, were threatened and " brought, challenges, &c. were sent, and " beating was inflicted on those, who dared " to utter their rational doubts on the effi- " cacy of these wonderful prescriptions; " notwithstanding they had been censured " by the College of Physicians, at Philadel- " phia. Near ten thousand inhabitants " died in a short time; but whenever any " one escaped by a constitution sufficiently " strong to resist even these errors, such " instances were trumpeted forth, and con- " sidered as a proof, contrary to all true lo- " gical principles, of the utility of the other- " wise deleterious practice. Dr. Cuchillo " was beat by Gil Blas, as a proof of the " truth of Sangrado's doctrines.——Several " professional men attempted to oppose this " mad career, but they attempted it in vain; " for a smooth specious deportment, and an " appearance of earnest solicitude for the " welfare of society, under these calamitous " dreadful circumstances, bore down, like a " torrent, every caution, or warning that " the feeble mild voice of reason, expe- " rience, and truth could utter. The field " of slaughter, therefore, was left to the fu- " rious *venæsectionists, jalapists,* and *calo- " melists*, with little or no opposition, and " the havoc, of course, was dreadful; but " when the patients died, a prompt subter- " fuge was ready; namely, that they were " not bled nor purged *enough*, or that the " infallible remedies were applied too late " to be serviceable!——The faculty, and " most reasoning philosophers, will not be " surprised when they are informed; that " besides these fancies: 1. That the pa- " tients were wrapped up in *blankets* first " dipped in *vinegar*. 2. That the expiring " had buckets of cold water throwed over " them. 3. That *mercurial ointment* was " rubbed on the right side, ridiculous idea, " to excite an action on the vessels of the " liver. 4. That the reason given for those " enormous bleedings was, that great " hæmorrhages happened in these fevers, " &c. This circumstance, the merest *Tyro* " in the profession knows, that in putrid " diseases, it arises from the *broken* down " and *putrefactive* crasis of the blood, al- " most reduced to a dissolved state, and is- " suing from the mouth, gums, nose, and " even through the intestines, &c. and even " passes through the exhalents on the sur- " face of the skin, with a horrid putrid " stench. 5. That the same doctor bled " freely in *dropsy*, and in the *ague*. 6. That " he conceived, the best mode of curing a " consumption, was to sail on the sea, work " before the mast, live on salt beef and bis- " cuit, or coarse sea food, be exposed to *wet* " and *cold*, or work hard, and follow the " plough, &c. Such is the cure for ulce- " rated lungs, pulmonic hæmorrhages, &c. " 7. Another extravagant idea of this hypo- " thetist, is, that the black colour of *negroes* " is owing to the *leprosy*, and that when " they may be purged of that disorder, they " will become as white as snow.——After " such specimens of versatility of heated " imagination and exuberance of fancy, the " discerning, learned, and intelligent, will " be at no loss, for any extraordinary con- " ceptions, or contradictions, that may per- " vade the soul of this extraordinary man, " this chimerical professor of singularities! " It may be observed that the great GE- " NERAL WASHINGTON, according to the " opinion of the learned Dr. Brickell, fell a " victim to this vehement bleeding practice; " for at the age of 69, he was bled *three* " *times*, freely, in the course of a *very few* " *hours, and immediately expired*, without a " groan! Perhaps, it might be imagined that " more has been said on the Philadelphian " practice of Dr. Rush, than it merited; " but when it be considered, or known, that " many young inexperienced medical prac- " titioners, from a servid fancy, have fol- " lowed, and are following the same fatal " treatment in different parts of the world, " it cannot be too publicly, or spiritedly " reprobated, that innocent, unsuspicious " patients may no longer be sacrificed to

" practices, or opinions, that have been con-
" demned by all experienced and learned
" men in the profession, and particularly by
" all the eminent practitioners in London,
" for half a century.——MR. COBBETT was
" fined 5000 dollars, for exposing this prac-
" tice. It seems the jury afterwards were
" concerned for their verdict. He deserved
" *a crown of gold* for his spirited opposition
" to the wild Republican, who ought to have
" been expelled the city for his practice, if
" the disorders were actually putrid." Now, here is a very eminent physician, after a full consideration of the subject, declaring that I merited reward, instead of punishment, for the writings, which the perjured jurors in Philadelphia assessed me in five thousand dollars for publishing. But, their conduct is excusable when compared to that of HERIOT and the " SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN." HERIOT, having been written to by me, while in Philadelphia, to order his paper to be sent out, wrote me an answer upon the business, and, in his letter, added the following expressions of approbation and respect. " Permit me now, Sir, to return
" you my best acknowledgments for the
" Numbers of your Political Work, which
" you did me the favour to transmit. Of
" the *great merits* of PETER PORCUPINE,"
[the authoring name which I had assumed] " I was not before ignorant. I
" had read some of his political works with
" very high satisfaction. I shall be, at all
" times, happy, Sir, through the medium
" of my papers, (for I am proprietor of two),
" *to recommend writings so deserving* to the
" notice of a British Public, and you will,
" perhaps, admit I can do this with some
" success, when I inform you, that the
" circulation of my two papers extends to
" nearly 6000 per day. I had an opportu-
" nity lately of making some inquiries re-
" specting you of a gentleman in office here,
" and who formerly held a high diplomatic
" mission in America. He seemed to know
" you well, and spoke *very highly both of*
" *your probity and talents.* I have only to
" repeat, Sir, that I shall think myself
" *highly honoured by your correspondence,*
" and you may, at all times, rely upon the
" *best wishes and services* of, Sir, your most
" obedient humble servant, JOHN HERIOT."
The mirth that would naturally be excited by the circumlocutive pomposity, and the sort of diplomatic reserve, of this vender of Treasury paragraphs, is checked by the contemplation of his baseness. The first proof that he gave me of his best " wishes and services" was, at the time of the peace, to represent me as an *American*, to induce the rabble to believe, that I refused to illuminate for the peace, because *my* country profited by the continuation of the war; a belief most admirably calculated to produce the destruction of myself as well as of my property. The next signal proof of his " best wishes
" and services," was, the publication of the above-quoted false and malignant accusation; and, I put it to the reader, whether, taking the real state of the case together with the above professions of friendship and admiration into view, he thinks that there ever was an instance of baseness equal to that of this devoted tool of the Melvilles and the Pitts. " An *American* Scribbler!" This was the offensive phrase. To think that I, who had said and done and borne and lost so much for my country, who had maintained the name and reputation of England at such risks, who had, by a whole nation, been called " THE ENGLISHMAN;" to think, that I should at last come home, to be nosed under the very eaves of my native thatch, and to be denied an entrance by a reptile, who had crawled up all the way from Scotland upon his belly, was what I could not brook, and for harping upon which I must be excused. But, HERIOT is no singular instance. I know not one writer or publisher, amongst the partizans of the Pitts and Melvilles, who is not of the same description.——I should now beseech the attention of my reader to another, and far more important, part of the subject; but, I have already gone as far as, at present, I have time for, and can only add, that I hope it will be recollected, that it is for the sake of *the cause*, and not for my own sake, that I have entered upon this long, and, I am afraid, irksome explanation.

Botley, Thursday,
2d Oct. 1805.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Declaration, delivered at Vienna, by the Russian Ambassador, Count Rasomowsky, on the 31st of August, 1805.

It would be superfluous to revert here to the motives which have induced his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, to recall the plenipotentiary whom he had sent, in concert with his Britannic Majesty, to negotiate with the head of the French government on the subject of peace.——These grounds are too just and obvious not to merit the attention of all Europe. They are contained in the note which was transmitted to the ministers of his Prussian Majesty, by M. Novosiltzoff, on the 28th June (July 10), and the conclusion to which they have given rise, is a consequence of those very senti-

ments and principles which have led his Imperial Majesty to exert himself with incessant anxiety for the restoration of the general tranquillity.——Since the rupture between England and France, his Majesty has beheld, with astonishment and commiseration, the greater part of the states of the Continent compelled, in succession, to bear the burden of a war, which in its origin is plainly of a maritime nature, and foreign to their direct interests. He could not, however, cherish the hope, that this melancholy state of things might be put an end to, by means of a frank and friendly negotiation, when he perceived that, without the slightest regard to these solemn proceedings, which tended to the restoration of peace, and even at the very moment when Russia offered to negotiate for its attainment, the number of states which lost their independence continued to increase.——When his Imperial Majesty resolved to recall his plenipotentiary, he was actuated merely by the consideration that this mission could not produce any pacific result, and not from his having, in any respect, renounced his ardent desire of restoring peace to Europe.——Of this disposition the Emperor gave the most convincing demonstration, in his acceding to the application made by his Imperial Roman and Apostolic Majesty to England, France, and Russia, with the view of renewing the negotiation which had been broken off. His Imperial Majesty, however, cannot, at the same time, conceal the possibility that a conduct, on the part of France, similar to that which has already compelled the Emperor to tread back his first steps towards a negotiation for peace, may likewise render nugatory the negotiation which Austria is desirous of renewing.——The painful apprehension is justified by experience, that new usurpations might be accomplished at the moment when the negotiation was recommenced, or whilst it was carrying on. The apprehension that still greater dangers might arise to the happines of Europe, from a measure, the obvious tendency of which is its entire deliverance; the certainty that these dangers would become inevitable, as soon as the just demands of the continental powers became totally irreconcileable with the pretensions which might be urged by the French government, in virtue of its successive usurpations; the obligation also which his Majesty feels, in the present melancholy and difficult circumstances, of aiding his allies, whose safety and even existence is so seriously threatened, and, in short, of affording them not an illusory, but an effective, immediate, and energetic assistance; all these motives unite in prescribing the only line of conduct which his Imperial Majesty has to pursue.——Russia cannot now recommence the negotiation which has been broken off, under any circumstance, until she has placed herself in a situation to be able to assist her allies at the moment when they might be attacked, and to preserve Europe from total subversion. Her measures must be so combined as to afford a well-grounded hope that a negotiation for peace will augur happier results than those which were expected from all the pacific advances hitherto made, and which unfortunately have been distinguished only by the want of respect shown on the part of France to the remonstrances and propositions of Russia and other continental powers, and by a continually progressive increase of the dangers of Europe.——In consequence of the above considerations, the undersigned has it in charge to notify to the ministry of his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty, in answer to the note presented by Count Von Stadion to the cabinet of St. Petersburgh, on the 26th of July (7th August), that his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, upon the subject thereof, has come to the following resolutions:—To accede to the request of renewing the negotiation for peace, which had been broken off by the recall of M. Novosiltzoff, and to take measures for that purpose, as soon as the head of the French government should manifest a similar disposition, without delay to march two armies of 50,000 men each, through Gallicia to the Danube, as a measure of precaution, in order to confine the support of a powerful army of observation, with the negotiations for peace; which army would be in a situation to prevent all farther aggressions during the period of pacification, and to secure at its completion, Austria, and all the neighbouring powers, against any farther attack on the part of France; to invite his Imperial and Apostolic Majesty, and some other powers, to co-operate on their part in this salutary measure, the propriety of which the French government itself, upon an impartial consideration of the case, could not fail to see.—Whilst the undersigned acquits himself of this duty towards the Austrian cabinet, he must likewise, in compliance with the strict injunctions of the Emperor his master, add, that nothing but the sincere wish of restoring peace to Europe actuates his conduct upon this occasion; that Russia will manifest the most conciliatory disposition in any negotiation for peace, and adopt every measure that may promote its happy completion; and his Imperial Majesty solemnly de-

clares, that he is ready to recall his troops, as soon as the much desired security of all the states of Europe shall be obtained.——His Imperial Majesty formally invites his Imperial Royal, and Apostolic Majesty to join in the measures which he has adopted; and the undersigned is fully authorised to concert with the Austrian cabinet every thing connected with the present important state of affairs.

Second Declaration of the Court of Vienna to the French Court; transmitted from Vienna to Paris, on the 3d of September, 1805.

The court of Vienna yields, without delay, to the request which the Emperor of France has made of a categorical explanation respecting the motive of its preparations. The court of Vienna has no other motive than that of maintaining peace and friendship with France, and securing the general tranquillity of the Continent. It has no other wish than that the Emperor of the French may entertain corresponding sentiments.——The maintenance of peace, however, between two states, does not merely consist in their not attacking each other. It depends not less, in reality, on the fulfilment of those treaties on which peace is founded. That power which transgresses in so essential a point, and refuses to attend the reclamations to which such a conduct gives rise, is as much the aggressor as if it openly and unjustly attacked the other party.——The peace between Austria and France was founded upon the treaty of Luneville. One of the articles of that treaty stipulated and guaranteed the independence of the Italian, Helvetic, and Batavian republics, and left them at liberty to chuse their own governments. Any measures, therefore, which tend to compel these states to chuse a government, constitution, or sovereign, otherwise than according to their free will, or otherwise than is consistent with the maintenance of a real political independence, is a breach of the peace of Luneville, and it is the duty of Austria to complain of such a violation.——I wish to maintain reciprocal friendship, to acquire confidence, to secure the public tranquillity from great dangers, may, under critical and delicate circumstances, induce the reclaiming party to adopt precautions, to shew great moderation in complaints, and to defer the discussion of them to future negotiations. This conduct does not imply any contradiction of the stipulations of the treaty; but that power which goes farther, which refuses all explanation, which avoids all mediation, and employs menaces instead of the means of reconciliation, forgets as much the laws of friendship as the sacred rights of peace.——The maintenance of general tranquillity requires that each power should confine itself within its own frontiers, and respect the rights and independence of other states, whether strong or weak. That tranquillity is troubled, when any power appropriates to herself a right of occupation, protection, or influence, when that right is neither founded on the laws of nations nor on treaties; when she speaks after peace of the right of conquest; when she employs force and menaces to prescribe laws to her neighbours, and compels them to sign treaties of alliance, concession, subjugation, or incorporation, at her will; when she, above all, in her own journals, attacks every Sovereign, one after another, with language offensive to their dignity; when, finally, she sets herself up as an arbitress to regulate the common interests of nations, and wishes to exclude every other state from taking any part in the maintenance of tranquillity and the balance of power. One she would exclude, because it is too distant; another, because it is separated by an arm of the sea from the Continent; and evading an answer to the remonstrances of the powers nearest the danger, assembles troops on their frontiers, and threatens them with a rupture if they place themselves in a state of defence.——Under such circumstances, it becomes necessary for other powers to arm, to support each other, and to join in maintaining their own, and the general security. Thus the military preparations of the court of Vienna are provoked by the preparations of France, as well as by her neglect of all means of securing and maintaining a true peace, and future tranquillity.——All Europe knows the sincerity of the wish for peace which his Imperial Majesty has displayed, and the punctuality wherewith he has fulfilled the obligations of the treaty of Luneville; that sincerity cannot fail to be recognized in the great concessions made in consequence of the injurious extension given to that treaty in Germany, and in the not less great moderation with which his Imperial Majesty has conducted himself on the first departure of the French republic from that treaty, in respect to the concerns of the other republics. While these changes were ascribed to the necessity of securing from all danger the disclosure of the plans for the restoration of monarchical government in France, his Majesty made no difficulty to recognize the state of things which, towards the end of the year 1802, was established in Italy. His

Majesty's confidence in the views of the First Consul was confirmed by the obligations which the latter owed to the Italian republic in his character of president, by his frequent and solemn assurances, before and after his elevation to the imperial dignity, that he was far from entertaining any plans of farther aggrandisement or of encroachment on the independence of the Italian states. In fine, by the pledges which he had given to the Emperor of Russia, particularly with respect to the indemnification of the King of Sardinia, and the general arrangement of the affairs of Italy.——All these considerations concurred in exciting and cherishing in his Majesty's bosom the hope that the consolidation of the new empire of the French would speedily bring back the policy and proceedings of its government to a system of deportment compatible with the balance of power and the safety of Europe; and some time after, when the first reports of new meditated changes in the states of Lombardy, induced the ambassador from the court of Vienna, at Paris, to demand explanations upon this subject; his Majesty, by the official assurance communicated in the name of the Emperor Napoleon, was confirmed in his hopes that the Italian republic would not be united with France, and that no innovation should take place which might prove injurious to its political independence.——Europe will decide whether these promises have been fulfilled. The Emperor has not ceased to demand their execution, as the correspondence evinces, which took place between the two governments, and also the official and ostensible propositions which were transmitted to the Ambassador Count Philip Cobentzel: and though the notes in which the Emperor Napoleon communicated his intentions as to the establishment of a kingdom of Italy, were accompanied with threats and military preparations; though every thing, at the very time, indicated what events have since confirmed, that the Emperor of the French was resolved to accomplish these innovations by force, his Majesty, nevertheless, did not remonstrate against dispositions, which were announced to him as nothing more than a provisional arrangement. He rested satisfied with refuting the charges which furnished a pretext for those menaces, and with expressing his hope, that the principle of separation and independence, which had been consecrated by the treaty, should be carried into complete execution by the definitive arrangements, which the Emperor Napoleon left to depend upon ulterior negotiations with the Courts of St. Petersburgh and London, at the period of the re-establishment of peace.——These negotiations were, in fact, the only hope which remained to his Majesty of succeeding, by conciliatory means, in maintaining peace, and ultimately to restore repose to Europe, which, from its northern to its southern extremity, laboured under alarms excited by enterprizes, which momentarily increased, both in number and magnitude.——His Majesty the Emperor of the French had made a pacific overture to the King of England, in terms which pretended to preclude the latter from the right of taking any concern in the important interests of the Continent. This restriction, combined with the relations existing between the King of England and the Court of St. Petersburgh, induced his Britannic Majesty to have recourse to the mediation of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia. Notwithstanding the suspension of all official relations with France, his Majesty did not hesitate to employ his mediation, to dispatch an ambassador for that purpose, and to make application to the Sovereign of France to furnish him with passports.—The hopes, however, to which these pacific steps gave birth, speedily vanished. At the very moment when the requisite passports were transmitted to the Russian negotiator, to enable him to proceed on his journey to France, fresh attacks were made on the political existence of other independent states in Italy. From that instant the Emperor Alexander conceived that his character must have been compromised as a mediator. On the other hand, French armies were rapidly assembled in Italy, without any regard to the promises given that no military preparations should take place in that country. An encampment of thirty thousand men in the plain of Marengo, was speedily followed by another encampment of forty thousand on the frontiers of the Tyrol and the Austro-Venetian provinces. His Majesty thus found himself under the necessity of providing, without delay, for his own safety. He was now convinced that his pacific, friendly, and moderate sentiments, were not met by such sentiments on the part of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, as to permit him any longer to neglect taking the necessary measures for asserting his just rights, and maintaining the dignity of his empire.——This is the cause of his present armament. The same dispositions, however, which made his Majesty so anxious to avoid a recurrence to such measures, have also determined their precise object. The Emperor arms not with hostile views: he arms not to operate a diversion against a

landing in England. Besides, the execution of this descent, after two years' menaces, does not seem to be exactly calculated for the moment when France provokes Austria and Russia, by enterprizes which have no relation whatever to the quarrel with Great Britain. The Emperor arms for the maintenance of the peace existing between him and France. He arms for the maintenance of those pacific stipulations, without which this peace would become illusory, and to attain that just equipoise which depends on the moderation of all the powers interested, and which is calculated to secure the balance and the permanent tranquillity of Europe.—— The step by which his Majesty has at the same time invited all the courts interested to renew the negotiations which have been broken off, is directed to the same object. The unexpected rejection which his interposition has experienced on the part of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, does not prevent him from renewing that invitation. ——He has been more fortunate in his application to the Emperor Alexander. This Monarch, who fills so honourable and distinguished a place in the senate of the powers of Europe, whose equality and general prosperity form the objects of his constant solicitude, testifies, in the answer he has transmitted, and which is hereto annexed [*vide supra*] a similar wish with that of his Majesty, for the conclusion of a just and moderate arrangement. He is also convinced of the necessity of an eventual armament; and, on account of the distance which he has to pass, in order to support the cause of justice and the issue of his moderation, he feels it to be his duty to cause a part of his troops to advance, for the purpose of conferring on the said mediation all the importance and all the effect which are worthy of so great a power.——As a demonstration of the rectitude of the sentiments entertained by the two imperial courts of Austria and Russia, it is hereby formally declared in the name of both: "That they are ready to enter into a negotiation with France, for maintaining the peace of the Continent on the most moderate terms which are compatible with the general tranquillity and security: That whatever shall be the issue of the negotiations, and even should the commencement of hostilities become unavoidable, they, at the same time, pledge themselves to abstain from every proceeding tending to interfere with the internal concerns of France; or to alter the state of possession, and the legally existing relations in the German empire: or, in the slightest degree, to injure the rights or interests of the Ottoman Porte, the integrity of whose dominions they are, on the contrary, prepared to defend to the utmost of their power: Finally, That the sentiments of Great Britain are conformable with those herein expressed, and that she has displayed the same moderate disposition for the restoration of peace between her and France."——His Majesty hopes that this sincere and frank declaration will serve to remove any doubts which his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon may entertain respecting his views and motives. His Majesty will be happy, and his highest wish will be gratified, if this declaration tend to prevent those misfortunes which it is not in his power alone to avert from mankind.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

GREGORIAN CALENDAR.——*Decree of the Conservative Senate; September 9, 1805.*

The Conservative Senate, the number of members being assembled prescribed by the 90th article of the constitutional act of the 13th of December, 1799. Having seen the projet of a senatus consultum, prepared in the form prescribed by the 57th article of the constitutional act of the 4th of August, 1801. After having heard, respecting the motives of the said projet, the orators of government, and the report of the special committee, appointed in the sitting of the 2d instant, decree as follows: Art. 1. From the 1st of January, 1806, the Gregorian Calendar shall be used throughout the French empire. Art. 2. The present senatus consultum shall be transmitted by a message to his Imperial Majesty. (Signed) FRANCOIS (DE NEUFCHATEAU), President.—COLAUD and PORCHER, Secretaries.—Examined and sealed. The Chancellor of the Senate,—— (Signed) LAPLACE.

Report of the Minister of the Interior, to the Emperor Napoleon, respecting the National Guards, September the 14th, 1805.

SIRE,——The menaces of the enemies of France, have excited in the bosoms of Frenchmen, an universal emotion of indignation; they have awakened with fresh vigour, their attachment to your august person, their devotion to their country; the Frenchman, whom the two-fold sentiment, of love for his prince and for his country, has at all times rendered capable of such mighty efforts, will now more than ever experience all its influence.——Amongst the measures calculated to prevent the success of every hostile design, and even to disconcert them at their birth, there is one which would have a peculiar effect in securing these sentiments; which under circumstances

nearly similar contributed to the salvation of France; which seems to be invoked by our recollection; which, besides is authorised by the established laws, or rather is itself in existence, at least in principle, and which requires only a prompt developement, and a fresh activity. I mean, Sire, the employment of the national guards.——Whilst this active army, which is itself, in its organization and its spirit, but a detachment from the grand national army, whilst the active army shall be pursuing beyond our frontiers an enemy, whom it has been accustomed to behold retreating before it, whilst it shall be penetrating into the scenes of its past conquests by routes well known to it, the national guard will resume internally the exercise of that vigilance, from which it had been for some time exempt by the repose of our brave soldiers. It will watch over the maintenance of order and the laws; will secure the respect due to the public authorities; will keep guard round the temples, the tribunals, the public institutions; will protect the plains, private property, the workshops of industry; and will maintain the security necessary for every description of works; it will, in a two-fold manner, contribute to the execution of the laws of conscription, by furnishing more multiplied means of superintendance, and by weakening the prejudices that obstruct them, in reviving a taste for a military life in the hearts of the youth. Established on the bounds of the empire, it will encourage your soldiers to march, will secure their retreat in case of a reverse, will present an imposing barrier to the enemy, will insure to France in the midst of all the chances of battles, the greatest advantage in war, that of not being compelled to wage it on its own territory; it will recall those ancient times when the arriere ban, quiet by their fire sides, but ready to take the field at the call of their Prince, formed an immense and formidable rear guard: it will recall these late times, when a similar institution overthrew a still more powerful coalition, whilst France possessed not either the same internal forces, or the same genius to put them in operation. It will give to public opinion a salutary impulse; it will direct every thought to the salvation of the state. It will also, of itself, make an impression upon our enemies, as great, perhaps, as our other military preparations, and the force, that it will have created, though yet in repose, will even be equivalent to active troops.——Why should their Prince and their country have less claims now than at other periods, on the affection of Frenchmen? Why should not gratitude for real benefits operate as powerfully as enthusiasm, which was only the expectation of them? No! there is not a single public functionary, whatever his employment or rank, that does not feel, the incitement of his sons and grandsons to this internal service, to be a consequence and a part of his duty. There is not a man of property, a man in the enjoyment of any fortune, or presiding over any industrious establishment, who does not feel it to be his first interest to contribute in person, and by his people, to the only service that can secure his repose. Those then, who have an interest in the preservation of public order, whose sentiments are guaranteed by their education, will be the first to form this, in reality, *Garde d'Elité*, upon which the government, and the well-disposed citizens, may rely with equal security.——The law of the 7th of January, and of the 16th of March, 1790, of the 14th of October, and of the 3d of August, 1791, and of the 24th of May, year 3d, have never been repealed, and exist in all their force; they have regulated the organization of the national guards, their description of service, their connexion with the civil authorities: they have even provided for the case, in which their co-operation might be necessary for the defence of the state. Your Majesty in person, has shewn what sentiments you entertained respecting this institution, when on the occasion of your coronation you assembled the deputies of all the national guards, when you presented them with colours. These colours, received with transport, preserved in all the departments, will now be unfurled, and become the banners of patriotism and of honour. There are, however, in the details of organization, established by these laws, two objects, which appear to me to call for, at the present period, particular attention and essential modifications. The first is the appointment of officers. In March last I laid before your Majesty some observations on this subject: I reminded you that the national guards wanted officers almost universally; I besought your Majesty to take notice, that the existing form of our establishments, that the state of public opinion, as well as the interests of subordination, no longer warranted the admission of that mode of nomination which had been introduced at a period when all the ideas of democracy were carried to excess; I proposed to your Majesty to decree, that the officers of the national guard should be appointed by the head of the state, like those of the active army, and receive from a hero, who could distinguish the valiant, their com-

mission and their title.——The second object relates to the formation of the companies of the grenadiers and chasseurs, which is regulated by the laws of the 18th of October and 14th July, year 3d. It shews on one hand, that there are in the national guard, composed of citizens, more or less disengaged or employed, more or less disposed to the service, some detachments easily disposable, whose motions may be always prompt, the employment of which might be always sure, whose spirit may be tried; in a word, some choice detachments, that might be ready on the first emergency. On the other hand, it purports to relieve as much as possible from a painful service, which is even expensive, in consequence of the interruption of labour, the poorest class of society, and not to reckon, for rather an active service, on any subjects but those, who have the time, the means, the inclination, to give themselves up to it, and who consequently are induced to it by a more lively interest. The companies of grenadiers and chasseurs composed of subjects, who shall equip themselves at their own expence, who shall offer themselves from a voluntary devotion, or who shall be the objects of an honourable choice, appear to me to be suited to the accomplishment of this two-fold end.—In fine, Sire, your intention no doubt will be, that the national guards shall be solely employed for the maintenance of internal order, for the security of places, and for the defence of the frontiers and of the coasts. Abroad, the active armies, conducted by yourself, have no need of this support. The certainty of not being removed from their families, will inspire a greater ardour, a more constant attendance on the service of this guard; and the presence of their hearths reminding the citizens, who shall compose it, of the interests for which they are armed, will make their service more efficacious, their devotion more spirited. The public functionaries possessing at present an elevated rank in the state, and having acquired it by former and glorious military services; these functionaries bearing a name dear to French soldiers, and invested with a character which our laws render venerable; placed by your Majesty at the head of the national guards, would give them a wise direction, and, more than any thing else, would shew, by appearing at their head, in what spirit they had been established, and with what spirit they ought to be animated. CHAMPAGNY.

Speech of the Prefect of the Seine at the head of the Corps Municipal, on presenting the Keys of the City of Paris to the Emperor Napoleon; September 24, 1805.

SIRE,——Here are the keys of Paris, of the capital of your empire, of that city which you have made the first in the world. In offering you that ancient symbol of the submission and devotion of the city, we cannot dissemble, Sire, that joy, that delicious sentiment, which always signalizes the arrival of your Majesty within the capital, is united this day with emotions more grave, and no less deserving of being appreciated by your Majesty. The annunciation of an Imperial sitting of the Senate, the rumours which had preceded that intelligence, those also that have followed it, some circumstances that are known, others that are said to be known; in a word, every thing that is known or supposed, for some days has thrown the public mind into a kind of agitation which demands only a word to become the most generous and national impulse.—This word, Sire, we expect, and the immense crowd that is about to follow you is impatient to learn what impulse will be permitted, or what measure shall be prescribed to their indignation and their zeal.——God forbid, Sire, that we should seek to predict the designs of your high wisdom, or the conceptions of that great genius, which has every where made you master of times, places, and events; but if it be true, as it is reported, that an attempt is meditated against your person, that an attempt is intended against the independence of the nation, against our liberties and our establishments; direct, that the defence should be proportional to the interest of such a cause; or, if it should be necessary to march, believe, that every thing will be soon ready to follow you, serve you, and avenge you.——Such, Sire, are the sentiments of your good City of Paris.——In every part through which the procession passed, the crowd was immense, enthusiasm at the height, and the acclamations unanimous.

Decree of the Emperor Napoleon relative to the Conscripts.

All the conscripts of reserve, of the years 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13, are placed in activity in the annexed departments. The departments shall direct their contingent on the corps, according to the statements 2 and 3, three days after the publication of the present decree, which shall be sent by extraordinary couriers.——Another decree of the Emperor directs, that all the discharged non-commissioned officers and privates, whether finally discharged, or absent on temporary retirement, or on half-pay, if capable of active service, shall be permitted to join any corps of the army they may desire. The decree provides, that such veterans shall be ad-

mitted in the corps, they shall join respectively, of their former standing, and that their former services shall be allowed them in conjunction with the further services in their claims for military rewards. Serjeants, quarter-masters, corporals, and brigadiers, shall have the same rank, but must serve till vacancies occur on their half-pay. Both non-commissioned officers and privates are to have the power of limiting the time of their services. They are to be new clothed and equipped at their arrival at the corps, and their stock of linen is to be provided at the public expense.

Report made by Marshal Berthier to the Emperor Napoleon, relative to the Conscripts; dated Paris, September 24, 1805.

SIRE,——Your Majesty wished for peace; your armies on the coast were about to force England to subscribe to it, when the influence of that nation seems to have roused new armies to France.——Some powers of the North dare to threaten the empire; that array of war has awakened in the hearts of all the French the desire to fly to the standards which victory has often crowned.—— The old soldiers, who at the peace had returned to their homes, aspire to the honour of taking up arms again, and of directing the young conscripts. Your Majesty will receive their wish with goodness; but there exists a law by which every soldier whose service has experienced interruption is deprived of the advantages of his former service. I propose a decree, therefore, that these soldiers shall be admitted to their former rank.——MARSHAL BERTHIER.——— Monsieur Regnaud de Saint Jean D'Angely reported also on the subject of the national guard to the Emperor, in the council of state, to nearly the same effect. This report concludes with recommending two regulations respecting the national guards; first, a guarantee that they should not be employed out of the territories of the empire; and secondly, that when called on service out of their district, their services should be considered as military services, and entitle them to all the indemnities, all the rewards, and all the advantages granted to the army.

Prefecture of the Seine.—Military Conscription.

The conscripts of the year 14, who have not yet enrolled their names with their respective municipalities, are informed, that the operations relative to the designation being to commence this year on the 2d of October, all those who shall not be enrolled on the 1st of October shall be compelled to march first, pursuant to the laws of conscription.—Here follows an order of the ministers of war, regulating the manner in which the conscription laws shall be carried into effect in the twelve arrondissements of Paris.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL. —— *Circular Letter to the Lords Lieutenant of Counties, dated Whitehall, 20th Sept.* 1805.

The Inspector General of the Recruiting Service having represented to me, that the Deputy Lieutenants of the several subdivisions in the country under your charge, have hitherto omitted to certify to him what parishes, within their respective subdivisions, have failed in raising the men required of them under the Additional Force Act, within the period thereby assigned, I am under the necessity of calling your particular attention to the 28th section of that act (44 G. III. c. 66), by which you will observe, that, in every case in which the number of men required to be raised in any parish are not provided within the legal time, the Deputy Lieutenants of the subdivision in which such parish is situated, are required forthwith to certify the same to the Inspector General or his deputy. I have therefore to request, that you would make the necessary communication on this head to the Deputy Lieutenants of those subdivisions, in order that the certificate required by law may be immediately transmitted to the Inspector General, which should be addressed to him, under cover to the Secretary at War, War Office, London; and for the purpose of enabling you to make this communication as speedily as possible, I enclose a number of copies of this letter, equal to the number of subdivisions in the county. For the same purpose, I also enclose copies of my circular letter of the 16th inst. as it is highly desirable that the arrangements therein detailed should be made as public as possible.——As the vacancies arising in the militia, until the number of militia men serving for the county are reduced to the original quota, are to be supplied for the additional force, you will further observe, that the section of the act above recited, applies equally to vacancies in the militia and to the additional force; and that the time assigned by law, within which the parishes may provide their men, without incurring a penalty, is one month from the appointment at the subdivision meeting, with regard to the vacancies in the additional force; and, with respect to the militia, one month from the receipt of the certificate from the clerk of the general meetings to the Deputy Lieutenants of the subdivision for which the militiaman occasioning the vacancy was enrolled.——I have, &c.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 15.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1805. [PRICE 10D.

" Now, mark how a plain tale shall put you down."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LORD MELVILLE AND HIS PARTISANS. (Continued from p. 530.) Anxious as I am to enter upon other subjects, I cannot bring myself to quit this, till I have placed the whole of it before my readers in its true light. My general motives and character are, in themselves considered, of very little importance to the public; but, when a description of them is employed as a means of palliating the conduct of Lord Melville, they become of an importance exactly proportioned to the extent of the circulation and influence, whatever they may be, of my comments upon that conduct; for, however decidedly logic may reject every attempt to justify one man by producing the crimes of which his accusers have been guilty, it is, nevertheless certain, that every such attempt, if not counteracted, does, in some degree or other, succeed. The crimes of which I am accused by these hirelings are not, indeed, very similar to those of which Lord Melville stands in reality accused. Mine are of a literary nature; they have in them nothing, partaking of the nature of peculation or corruption; and, the reader might well ask, " how can Mr. Cobbett's pamphlet (if they " will have it so) published in 1791, and " *complaining that the soldiers were cheated* " *of their due;* how, in the name of com- " mon sense, can the act of writing and " publishing such a pamphlet by Mr. Cob- " bett, supposing him to have been the au- " thor and publisher, and supposing the " work to have been most powerfully mis- " chievous; how, in what way, or upon " what principle, can such a fact be brought " to tell in favour of Lord Melville?" But, the reader, who would ask this question, would forget, that there is a very numerous class of readers, who never reason, and who very seldom take time to think, having so long been in the habit of paying the editor of some newspaper eight or nine pounds a year each to think for them. With this class *words* are enough. Lord Melville has his faults to be sure, and *so* has Mr. Cobbett, " for all he makes such a piece of work " about Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt. Let " him who is guiltless throw the first stone. " They are all alike. It always was so, and " always will be so." These are the sort of remarks you hear from such persons. They stop not a moment to examine, to compare, to judge; and, therefore, it is necessary to deprive, where you can, the partisans of guilt of the means of thus amusing, bewildering, and misleading the people; of thus blunting the edge of the just resentment of the nation.——For this reason it is; that *the cause of the country suffer not through me* is the ground, upon which I venture thus to obtrude myself upon the patience of my readers. Important and even awful as are the times; great as are the objects that present themselves on every side, I am fully persuaded, that the decision with regard to Lord Melville is that which claims the greatest share of our attention; because, on that decision, and on the proceedings therewith connected, it will be made clearly appear, even to the lowest peasant in the land, what is the degree of anxiety, which he ought to entertain, and, of course, what are the efforts which he ought to make, for the preservation of the laws and the government under which he lives, and under which Lord Melville became, and continued for sixteen years to be, Treasurer of the Navy.——VERSATILITY is one of the charges against me, upon which I must say a few words. Of my " *changing,*" as it has been called, from Mr. Pitt to Mr. Fox, I have already spoken, in Vol. VI. p 513, to which I beg leave to refer the reader, requesting him to bear in mind, that *no answer* has ever been attempted, and trusting that he will conclude, that no answer could successfully be made. But, the *versatility* alluded to by the " SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN," made its appearance in my conduct in America. I " changed from a republican to a " high-flying loyalist." Such a change should, one would think, be approved of by these supporters of the " *confidential* ser- " vants of the King." But, we do not, in politics, apply the term versatility to a mere change of opinion, or of party. We always understand from the use of it, that there has been some inconstancy; some inconsistency; some deviation from the path of honour; in short, we generally understand, that the change alluded to has been produced by some sinister motive. If this definition of the term be correct, then, I think, I may

defy any one to show, that I discovered versatility in America; for, the motives, from which I acted, could not be any other than those of real patriotism and loyalty, seeing that what I did was contrary to my evident private interests, and seeing that, at the time when I began to write, it was utterly improbable, that I could have had the least notion of ever returning to England. Had I been willing to become what they called a citizen of the United States; had I taken the oath of allegiance, as other British subjects did; had I even forborne only a little to assert the cause of my country; nay, had I consented merely to refrain from declaring my unshaken attachment to monarchy and my dislike of republican government; in how many ways might I have profited from it! There were no reasonable bounds, to which I might not confidently have looked forward to see my fortune extended! My perseverance in a contrary line of conduct appeared so unaccountable, upon any common principle, that the people in America, friends as well as foes, regarded me as being in the pay of the British government. The latter abused me most unmercifully upon the supposition, and the former, though they justified the ministry for giving me a pension, and me for taking one, did not, perhaps, think the better of me for it. I always denied the fact; but, my zeal, my efforts, my sacrifices of every sort, were such that it was impossible to make men believe, that I was not regularly and amply supplied with "the gold "of Pitt." So far, however, was this from being true, that I never did, upon any occasion, receive aid of any sort from the British government. Mr. Liston, our minister in America, informed me, in the year 1798, I think it was, that the ministers at home were fully sensible of the obligations due to me from my country, and that, if I would accept of nothing for myself, they wished me to point out any of my relations, in the army or elsewhere, whom they might serve. To which I answered, as nearly as I can recollect, in the following words. "As "to my relations in the army, I can ask for "no promotion for them, because I have "not an opportunity of knowing whether "such promotion would be consistent with "the good of the service; and, with re"spect to my relations out of the army, a "sudden elevation might, perhaps, be very "far from contributing to their happiness, "besides which, though it would be my duty "to assist them by means of my own earnings, "I should not think it just in me to be in"strumental in throwing them as a burden "upon the nation." I may now have expressed myself with more perspicuity and conciseness than I did then; but, this was the substance of my answer; and, if I may judge from what I have since witnessed amongst public writers, I must suppose, that Mr. Liston was utterly astonished. It should be observed too, that, if there was a man in the world, through whom such an offer could have had a chance of success, that man was Mr. Liston; a gentleman for whom I entertained a very high respect, and whose conduct constantly evinced, that he was not merely a receiver of the public money, but one who had the interest and honour of his King and country deeply at heart. I had been a witness of his zeal, of his real public spirit, of his unremitted attention to his duty, of the great mischiefs he prevented, and of the great good which he did, and, I respected him accordingly; but, neither that respect, nor any other consideration, could induce me to depart from that line of perfect independence, which I had at first chalked out to myself, and from which, I never have, to the best of my recollection, for one moment, deviated.——It is, therefore, quite impossible, I think, to attribute my writings in America to any other than honourable and praise-worthy motives. The truth is, the change in my way of thinking was produced by experience. I had an opportunity of *seeing* what republican government was; this experience overcame prejudice; I followed the dictates of truth and of reason. Instead of that perfect freedom, and that amiable simplicity, of which Paine had given me so flattering a description, I found myself placed under a set of petty, mean, despots, ruling by the powers given them by a perversion of the law of England. The judges (for it is to the courts of justice that I look for the marks of freedom) I found, generally speaking, to be a set of low, partial, jobbing fellows; and, as to the juries, I found, that whoever knew the jurors and the parties, knew the result *before the trial began!* Never was there such a vile mockery of any thing, as the American administration of justice according to the forms of England. There was a judge at Philadelphia, who was actually caught thieving in a shop. This must not be taken as a specimen of the conduct of the judges *in general*; but, it will easily be supposed how little respectable the judges must have been, where such a fact could have existed, and that, too, without creating any very great indignation in the minds of the people. I saw judges *canvassing* in the very courts where they were acting as judges; canvassing for the posts of governor, or of legislator in the ge-

neral government; and, in one notorious instance, this sort of canvass was prosecuted, amongst the plaintiffs and defendants even from the bench! In short, I found, that there was no such thing as impartial justice in the country; and, of course, no such thing as *real freedom*. There were a hundred ways in which the powerful oppressed the weak; ways quite unknown in England. I found, that the government was a despotism of the many over the few; for, every act of oppression was committed *in the name of the people*: hence the sufferer experienced no compassion, and the oppressor no punishment, and very little hatred. The merchants were, in general, without probity; the lawyers mere pettifoggers; and the people full of cheating and profligacy. The general character of the nation I found to be a mixture of insolence and meanness. Many, very many, exceptions, were, however, to be found. A part of the people of the United States always appeared to me to be amongst the best of mankind. Scrupulously upright, hospitable, kind and generous to excess, and most nobly steady in their friendships. I observed, too, that it was amongst the descendants of the *ancient settlers*, amongst the real Americans, that this description of persons was found; and that, in general, the more recent the emigration, the worse the character. This observation tended most powerfully to confirm me in my growing hatred of republicanism, almost all the good people having been, and yet, in heart, being, royalists.——And, shall the change, produced in my mind by experience like this, be denominated *versatility!* But, the *change* which these "GENTLEMEN" affect to have perceived in my principles, *since my return to England*, is, perhaps, the ground upon which this charge is to rest; and here there is a very odious motive that they scruple not to impute to me; namely; that of revenge arising from "*disappointment*;" a charge which I am the more inclined to take this opportunity of noticing, because it was once mentioned to me by DR. VALEY, as having been urged against me, at READING, during the opposition to Mr. Addington. This is an important point, as far as any thing relating to a person like me can be of importance; and, therefore, I shall be obliged again to trespass upon the patience of the reader with a detail somewhat minute.——From my very first outset in politics, I formed the resolution of keeping myself perfectly independent, whatever difficulty or calamity might be the consequence of it. In adherence to this resolution, I rejected, in America, many offers of great pecuniary advantage; and, so scrupulous was I upon this head, that an offer of my landlord in Philadelphia (a person of ample fortune) to settle upon my daughter, then about two years old, an estate worth 400*l.* sterling a year, was rejected by me, though the will was made; and, this rejection arose solely from my persuasion that it was necessary to the preservation of my political independence, a persuasion that the reader would perceive to have been well founded, if he could possess a full knowledge of the circumstances, in which I was then placed. When urged by MR. OLDDEN, whose memory I shall always respect, to consider the comfort of my child, I replied, that either she would die in her infancy, or she would not; if the former, she would need no estate; if the latter, she would be able to choose between a father's reputation and a fortune for herself: if she chose the former, the want of the fortune would, of course, give her no pain; and if she preferred the latter, she would deserve neither fortune nor any thing else that was valuable. I am here relating well-known facts. When Mr. OLDDEN died, his relations expected to see me come forward with the will, and with my claim. My disinterestedness was admired; but, neither that nor any other good quality that I happened to possess, could prevent the abominable injustice of a Philadelphia judge and jury.——With the same resolution in my mind I returned to England. The first opportunity of putting it in practice was in a little matter, with which OLD GEORGE ROSE had something to do. I had brought home with me books, printed in America, enough to fill a couple of large trunks; and, having been informed by MR. PELLEW, the collector at Falmouth, that, as to books *not for sale*, it was usual, upon an application made to the Secretary of the Treasury, to obtain a remission of the duties, I wrote to OLD ROSE, informing him of the circumstance, and stating to him the ground, upon which my claim was founded. GEORGE did not admit the claim; he made some difficulty about it; but, finding that I had, at once, paid the duty, amounting to about ten pounds, perhaps, he caused it to be notified to me, that *the money should be returned to me*. This offer I would not accept of, not perceiving how, except by way of *a Treasury gift*, such a return could be made.——After this, an offer was made me of the TRUE BRITON newspaper; and, it was made me, too, in the most fair and honourable way. There would have been nothing improper in my accepting of it upon the terms proposed; there

being no attempt made to bridle me, in any manner whatever. Yet, so firmly fixed was my determination not to expose myself to the temptation of government influence, and particularly through the means of advantage derived from the public money, that I begged leave to decline, and did decline, this offer. I embarked upon my own bottom, and, it is well known, that my enterprise was unsuccessful. The difficulties which this gave rise to are not to be described. I was saved from utter ruin by a friend, and, it is right, that all those who are good enough to set any value on my labours, should be informed, that that friend was MR. PENN, who, from the knowledge he had acquired with respect to me, took me by the hand the very week that I came to England; most kindly inquired into my circumstances; and, when I stood in need of his aid, most liberally gave it me. I have wanted, and have found, other friends too; but, MR. PENN I shall always regard as my preserver. He has, like other men, his partialities in politics; he has differed from me very widely, perhaps, as to many points, and particularly as to the merits of MR. PITT; but, always has he left me to pursue my own course, avoiding, with the utmost care, every thing whereby my obligations to him might be made to operate against the independence of my mind.——At the time when this present work was established, it will be recollected, that the nation was (in a state of stupor) falling into the grasp of France. I was very anxious to make one more effort to rescue her; and, I think, that, however widely some men may differ with me as to most points, few will deny, that this effort has been attended with some degree of success. But, I had not the means, fairly my own, of establishing this work. The risk of a beginning was more than I dared to encounter; was more than I should have been justified in encountering. These means, therefore, about six hundred pounds, were furnished me chiefly, but not entirely, by gentlemen conspicuous in what was then called the NEW OPPOSITION; and, I cannot better describe the views and the character of those gentlemen, than by transcribing part of a letter to one of them from myself, containing the terms, upon which they supported me. "It is generally said, Sir, that "we should address ourselves to those who "*want information*; because, the *well-informed* are almost all friendly to the cause "of their king and country. This is very "true; but there is some difference of opinion as to *who* are *well-informed* and who "*are not*. Indeed, there are two sorts of "persons, who are destitute of information, the *multitude* and *those who*, in "general, *lead the multitude*. It is a very "great error to suppose, that *all* the Clergy, the inferior Magistrates, the Merchants, the Master Manufacturers and "Mechanics, and the opulent Farmers; it is "a very great error to suppose, that all "these are *well-informed* on political topics. "But, it is no error to suppose, that they "are, in general, *capable of being well-informed*; and, if they were so, the opinions of the multitude would be of very "little consequence. It is, then, to the "former, that every thing, intended to "produce great effect on the *sense and reason* of the nation, ought to be addressed. "A publication, addressed to the passions "and prejudices of the multitude, may "raise a mob, and may, in some cases, "quiet a mob; it is a desperate remedy "that is sometimes made use of to destroy, "and sometimes to preserve, lawful authority. But it will never produce any lasting effect; it will never work a change in "the temper and feeling of a whole nation; "it will never raise that gentle steady flame "of patriotism, which alone can lead to "great national actions, and which is so "much wanted at the present awful crisis. "To raise this flame, and to fan it when "raised, the publication I propose appears "to me to be the most efficacious that can "be devised. It will contain an abundance "of useful information, its principles will "be unexceptionable, its expense will be "trifling, it will circulate freely through "the post-office, it will be something between a news-paper and a magazine, "uniting the activity of the former with "the durability of the latter. Such a publication, conducted with great diligence "and care, some talent, unwearied perseverence, and an inviolable attachment to "truth, will, if any thing can, awaken the "dormant spirit of the nation, and form a "rallying point for the now scattered friends "of the king and the country.——To set "this publication on foot, and to support "the chances of the losses on it for *one* "*whole year*, would require a fund of 600l. "How that fund is to be raised is not for "me to say; how it would be expended I "shall state hereafter." But, before I proceed to do that, it is necessary, that "I should explicitly state what light I wish "to be viewed in with regard to the proposed enterprize.——I sunk about 750l. "in the Porcupine; not because that paper "failed of circulation; but because I could "not, and would not, submit to practise the

"arts, by which advertisements and other "*lucrative* articles are alone to be obtained. "The remainder of my capital was joined to "that of my partner, Mr. Morgan, who, "soon after our partnership was formed, "returned to the United States of America, "with many of the towns of which we "carry on a sort of mercantile trade of con-"siderable magnitude, and not contemptible "in point of profit. But, from that trade "I cannot withdraw any considerable sum. "My duty towards both my partner and my "family would forbid such a step. Yet, I "can by no means think of setting on foot "any sort of subscription, or collection, of "which *my emolument* should be regarded "as the object. I disclaim all desire to de-"rive pecuniary advantage from the proposed "undertaking, and all idea of *personal obli-"gation* towards any one who may think "proper to contribute towards it. I ask for "nothing for myself. I myself want nei-"ther remuneration for the past nor aid for "the future. I have a business quite suffi-"cient to satisfy all my wants and all my "wishes." [In this I most grievously de-"ceived myself, by the bye]. "I ask not "for encouragement even in that business. "Its success is so certain, and so perfectly "independent of every one in England, "that I might, without the least injury "thereto, shut up my shop, and retire to the "country, only taking a ride to London "twice a week. Such, too, is the nature of "my concerns, and the situation of my "property, that I might, were *self-interest "and security* my ruling object, fold up my "hands, and let the storm take its course. "But, self-interest was never a pecuniary "consideration with me; and, I have so "long exerted myself for my king and "country, I have endeavoured to do, and I "have really suffered so much for them, in "almost every way that a man can act or "suffer, that to desire to promote their in-"terest and their honour is become the lead-"ing propensity of my mind. I am, there-"fore, willing; I am even anxiously de-"sirous, to conduct the publication now "proposed; but, that desire, great as it is, "will not suffer me to do, or to accept of, "any thing, that shall, in the smallest de-"gree, work a forfeiture of that indepen-"dence, to preserve which, I have, all my "life-time, practised, and I still do practise, "industry and economy to their utmost "extent." ——This letter was addressed to MR. WINDHAM, by him communicated to eight other gentlemen of the New Opposition, shewn afterwards by me to two others, whom I might call private friends, and thus the foundation of the Register was laid; being, I trust it will be thought, a foundation as fair and as honourable as any of which the mind of man can possibly form an idea. It was building upon a rock; and the house has stood, accordingly, in spite of the winds and the floods. In asserting my own character, I am not, however, to forget the support thus received from the truly patriotic spirit of the New Opposition. I have strictly observed my part of the engagement, and so have they; for, never, upon any occasion, has any one of them attempted, by means either direct or indirect, to thwart the course of my mind. They have sometimes agreed, and sometimes disagreed, with me; but, have never attempted to exercise any thing resembling a power of dictation; they have never offered advice in a manner, other than that in which they would naturally offer it to one another; and, if there have been a few instances, in which MR. WINDHAM has discovered more than ordinary solicitude with regard to my writings, his influence has been exerted in favour of his bitterest enemies, those by whom he has been the most despitefully used, and the most basely misrepresented.——Thus have I fully and fairly laid open to the reader the whole course of my political life; and, I appeal to him, whether I am likely to be influenced by selfish motives; whether my opposition to the ministry has arisen from feelings connected with "disappointment;" whether I have been, or am, "a tool of a faction;" whether, in fine, I am a person whose *character* and whose *motives* ought to weigh against those efforts which I have been making, and which I still shall make, against the abettors of peculation and corruption.—To make these efforts I consider as my duty, being firmly persuaded, that, if the ends of justice be defeated now, the confidence of the people in their government, and, of course, their zeal in the defence of that government, must be greatly diminished.—Acting upon this persuasion, I shall, as occasion serves, continue the series of remarks, which I have now begun, upon the publications evidently intended to deceive and mislead the people with regard to the conduct of Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt; and, I should, were there time, now proceed to an examination of the doctrine, laid down as the basis of the arguments contained in the "Review of the Reports," and the substance of which doctrine was contained in a passage, quoted in page 513 of the present volume. Before, however, I dismiss the subject, even for the present, it is necessary to say a word or two upon the passage quoted in page 517,

addressed to Mr. Windham, and insinuating, that, if he should persevere in the measures of prosecution against Lord Melville, he must expect *retaliation*. The impudence of these hirelings is surpassed by nothing but their baseness. Amongst those who have the honour to know Mr. Windham, such an insinuation will be treated with disdain; but, the vile wretches, who have had recourse to it, know very well that there are many amongst the people who have not this knowledge, and they hope, by such means, to create a belief, or a suspicion at least, that *all* public men are *alike*. If they were made to explain their meaning, they would say, nay, they would take their oath, if necessary to their safety, that they meant no such thing; but, they trust to the contempt that Mr. Windham will entertain for them, and under the impunity which that will secure them, they hope to deserve well of their patrons and employers.

Mr. Pitt's Parish Army.—In a circular letter from the Secretary of State, Lord Hawkesbury, to the Lords Lieutenant of Counties, which I am now about to insert here, there will be found a most happy commentary upon the celebrated Parish-Bill of Messrs. Pitt and Huskisson, and their associates in the ministry. From the speech of Lord Castlereagh, last session, upon Colonel Craufurd's motion, it appeared that it was meant to carry this bill off for private interment, and that the wearied and disgusted public would never have seen, or heard, any more of it; but, it seems, that it is not dead yet; that, so late as the 16th of September last, (the date of the circular letter), new efforts were making to revive it; and, that, there is a prospect of its still living, if not to be a blessing to its fond parent, the great father and patriarch of projects, yet to be a perennial source of amusement and of mirth in the House of Commons, which, indeed, stands in need of some such means of relief from the dull round of loans and taxation.——The reader will not have forgotten, that one of the *principal objects*, which Mr. Pitt and his fellow-labourers, Messrs Canning and Huskisson, professed to have in view, when they introduced the Parish-Army Bill, was, to put an end, completely to annihilate, the *practice of crimping*; or, as the first of these gentlemen called it, "the *scandalous* and *abominable* practice of crimping."—Now, we will read the circular letter; and, after that, we shall want very little to aid us in forming a correct opinion, as to the wisdom of the above-mentioned Ministers and their supporters.—"My Lord, [illegible] Council" [of which, be it remembered, old George Rose and Canning are now members!] "having, by an appointment made on the 27th "of May, 1805, fixed the proportion of men "to be supplied for the additional force for "the present year for the county of * * *, "and due notice having been given of the "same, pursuant to the 16th section of the "Act 44 George 3. cap. 56, I am to re-"quest that your lordship will call upon "the clerk of the general meetings, to lay "before you a detailed statement of the "proceedings hitherto adopted within that "county for carrying the several provisions "of the act, in this respect, into execution; "and that you will transmit the same to me "for his Majesty's information.——Your "lordship will be pleased particularly to di-"rect, that the date of the first general "meeting, held in consequence of the noti-"fication above alluded to, and also the "time at which the final appointment "amongst the parishes actually took place, "may be specified. You will also state "the progress since made by the parishes in "providing the number of men, which they "were thereby required to furnish; *and "you will inquire into, and point out, any "particular circumstance which may have "hitherto obstructed the success of the levy "within your county, in order that mea-"sures may be devised for obviating, as far "as possible, the same in future.*"——His "Majesty having thought fit, for the better "encouragement of the levy of men for his "army, to increase the reward, now allow-"ed to parties raising men for general ser-"vice (including BRINGERS of recruits) "from 3l. 3s. to 5l. 12s. on each approved "recruit; and having also deemed it expe-"dient that a reward of 4l. 4s. being three-"fourths of the sum above-mentioned, con-"formably to the proportion prescribed by "the act, should in like manner be given "for each man for limited service, raised by "orders of officers commanding battalions "to serve on behalf of the parishes which "have failed to produce their quota within "the time prescribed by law, I am com-"manded to acquaint you, that his Majesty "being desirous to extend to the several pa-"rishes the full benefit of every *new en-"couragement*, which may enable them, "with due exertion on their part, to exe-"cute the duty imposed on them by the le-"gislature, has been pleased to direct, that "a like sum of 4l. 4s. be paid in respect of "each man produced by the parish-officers, "to serve on behalf of their respective "parishes; one guinea to belong, as at pre-"sent, to the party appointed to receive the

"recruit, the remaining three guineas to be "payable *to the parish officers* producing "the man.——I have the honour herewith "to transmit the scale which has been ap"proved by his Majesty, with respect to "the distribution of the several sums above"mentioned, amongst the persons engaged "in the respective levies, by which you "will perceive that it has been thought de"sirable in all cases to hold out a very libe"ral encouragement to the bringers of re"cruits.——In extending the reward pay"able to parish officers, from one guinea to "three guineas, his Majesty has not only "had in view the encouraging parish offi"cers to a zealous and diligent discharge of "their duty, as far as it depends on their "own personal exertions, but the enabling "them (if they think fit) to *offer an equal "reward* with that which is given by his "Majesty's regulations; viz. 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* "*to persons bringing recruits to them;* "which in justice to the interest of their "respective parishes, they will no doubt be "desirous of doing, in order thereby to pro"tect them against the fines to which they "must otherwise be subject.——Your lord"ship will be pleased to have the above ar"rangements fully explained, through the "deputy lieutenants in each subdivision, to "the parish officers, pointing out to them, "the *personal advantage* (3*l.* 3*s.*) which "they will derive on each man they may "individually procure, and also inculcating "how much they are bound, in duty to "their parishes, by proper encouragement, "to induce others to aid them in the execu"tion of this service; and with this view it "is certainly desirable that they should "publicly notify the proportion of the above "sum of three guineas, which they intend "to allow to *persons bringing recruits to "them*, it being distinctly understood that "this proportion is in no case to exceed "2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* the sum allowed in like cases "by his Majesty's regulations.——Your "lordship will take care that it be explained, "that the above advances are to be made "exclusively by government, and that no "charge whatever is to be thrown upon the "parishes by this arrangement; nor is any "greater bounty or reward, than the twelve "guineas heretofore allowed by his Majes"ty's regulations, to be on any account, or "under any pretext, either promised or "given to the recruit.——I am further to "request your lordship will observe, that "although the month within which the "parishes are required by law to complete "their quota from the date of the final ap"pointments, may have expired in the "county of * * *, the above arrangement is "nevertheless applicable, in order that the "parishes which are yet deficient may en"title themselves, by the *production* of men "before they are found for them by the re"gular officers charged with this duty, to a "remission of three-fourths of the penalty "to which they must otherwise be subject. "—It is unnecessary for me to press upon "your lordship's attention, under the pre"sent circumstances of the war, the ex"treme necessity of giving effect to this "measure.——His Majesty confides im"plicitly in your utmost zeal and exertions "being directed to see it carried into im"mediate and full effect; and I shall be "ready to afford your lordship at all times "my best assistance, in following up an ob"ject so essentially connected with the mi"litary strength of the country.—I have the "honour to be, &c. (Signed) HAWKESBURY."

—Here, then, is a crimping-house, opened by royal authority, in every parish in the kingdom; or, here is, at least, an attempt made to effect that purpose, and this, too, observe, by the means which have been taken to carry into the execution a law, one of the principal objects professed by the framers and supporters of which was, the putting an end to "the scandalous and abominable practice of crimping!" But, the whole of Mr. Pitt's measures respecting the army is such a course of absurdity as was never before witnessed, and as is hardly credible. The reader, who now sees these provisions for continuing, extending, and establishing the practice of crimping, will, perhaps, recollect, with what acrimony Mr. Windham was reproached, because he said, that the parish-officers, to have any success worth notice in the raising of men, must, in fact, have recourse to crimps; and that, circumstanced as they were, they would be excuseable for so doing. In that spirit of candour, for which the Pitts and the Old Roses and the Longs are so renowned, this was construed into a declaration, on Mr. Windham's part, *in favour* of the odious practice of crimping; and, Colonel Craufurd having declared, that, he would prefer the common sort of crimps to the making crimps of parish officers, it will be recollected, that the Pitts rang the changes upon his *partiality*, as they called it, for so *detestable* a practice. This very set of statesmen and legislators are now referring, professedly referring, the parish-officers to crimps, and are enjoining the King's Lieutenants of Counties to inculcate, in all possible ways, the propriety and even the necessity of having speedy and persevering recourse to such

means!——But, "to what useful purpose is this exposure?" it will be asked by some one, who holds during pleasure, who looks for, a place or pension from Mr. Pitt or Mr. Huskisson. To such a person there is no satisfactory answer; but, to others, the answer is, that this exposure is made for the most useful of all practical political purposes; namely, to show, from experience, who are the wise and who the foolish amongst our statesmen and legislators; and, thereby to produce a way of thinking that must naturally tend to such a change and such a choice of men as is most likely to be followed by measures better calculated to promote the interest and to uphold the honour of the nation.——This grand measure, this splendid project, of Mr. Pitt and his worthy associates above-named, has produced *no men* worth speaking of. All England and Wales have, through the means of the parish-officers, produced, probably, not more than *four* thousand men, instead of about *sixty* thousand, that were, by this time, to have been produced. I speak here without book, of course, as to the numbers raised; but, when parliament broke up there were not more than about *three* thousand raised, and there can scarcely have been above one thousand raised since. The Huskissons and the Chinneries and the Pitts and the Cannings tell us, that this, like the peace of Amiens, was an *experiment*. But, when you are told that a scheme will fail; when reasons are given sufficient to convince even doltishness itself, that a scheme cannot succeed; then, though you may call it an experiment, you are not entitled to the indulgence usually granted upon such a plea; and the failure, together with all its consequences, are fairly chargeable to your imbecillity, your incapacity, or your wilfulness. To the former two the parish-bill and its consequences are ascribable; and this project has tended, in no small degree, to produce that opinion, fast becoming prevalent amongst all ranks of people, that Mr. Pitt is, to use the very appropriate expression of Mr. Grey, "a *showy*, but a *shallow* man." What are now become of all his dreams about the astonishing effects of this project? Where are we to look for those evidences of the power of that "local influence," and that "family feeling," of which he gave such a pathetic description, and which drew from the dolts (in the gallery), his admirers, applause expressed in something "between a hiccup and a sigh?" Where are those numerous battalions, which he appeared to see in embryo, and of which he spoke as familiarly as a warrener talks of his couples of conies? How long, House of Commons; people of England; how long will you be the sport of the projects of this man? You, who are renowned through the world for solidity of mind, for profundity of thought, for judiciousness and justice of decision, and for steadiness of purpose; how long will you yet wander; through what other mire, to what other precipices, will you yet be led; to what other shame and disgrace will you yet suffer yourselves to be reduced, by following this glaring and ever-fickle vapour?

Continental War.——In the next sheet, or as soon as convenient, it will be useful to take a summary view of all the allegations and arguments, advanced in the several public papers, which have been issued by the belligerent powers, and the whole of which have been carefully collected and inserted in the Register. At present, we must confine ourselves to a remark or two upon those passages in the manifesto of Austria and Russia, where they appear as *disclaimers*. It is not easy to see the policy of disclaiming, at the outset, all intention of interference in the internal affairs of France; for though there may now be very little to be hoped for from the Bourbonists, there was no reason for throwing the *chance* of it away; while, on the other hand, the allies may be assured, that the new proprietors in France will have no confidence in the declaration that they have made in this respect. Some persons may think, that this declaration relates merely to the intentions of the combined powers at the outset of the war, and will not bind them in the progress of it; but, where, can be the use of having made it, unless for the purpose of deceiving their own subjects? And, if this were the purpose, it discovers a consciousness of weakness that forbodes no good, and that must operate to the injury of their cause. At any rate, it is not a good thing for the royal cause, for the cause of legitimate and established royal authority, that the allied monarchs should have created to themselves the difficulty that the declaration must give rise to; or should have assumed the appearance of being so little solicitous for its success.——It is curious, too, to observe, from another part of the manifesto, how little share *England* seems to have had in this association. We appear to be as completely excluded, and are as solemnly disclaimed, as the cause of the Bourbons. The confederacy is formed wholly for *continental* objects. Our only share is to *pay the money*. As a price for our being released (for *a time*) from the dread of invasion, we are willing to defray, and are to defray, nearly the whole expense of the suit, leav-

ing the powers on the Continent to conduct the cause in what manner, and to what objects, they may think fit. A curious catastrophe this to the measures proceeding from the doctrine of the Anti-continentalists, whom, however, the reader must not be surprised to find amongst the *approvers* of the present alliance, and of the immense subsidies which will, and must, be provided for the support of it! He must not be surprised to hear them repeat the very phrases, which have already been worn thread-bare, by the Treasury prints, in praise of "the *great* "*man*," who has "brought about this pow-"erful combination against our inveterate "enemy;" not reflecting, or, at least, seeming not to reflect, that to the blunders and the love of place of this "great man" it is that we owe those dangers, which alone could render such a combination of importance to us; and that, the combination has, at last, arisen from that state of danger, bordering on despair, to which the powers combined were reduced, in consequence, chiefly, of those blunders and of that selfish ambition. In short, and to use my old illustration, the fellow who, in attending to his own gratifications instead of his duty to his employers, left his pot to run over and thus set fire to Westminster Abbey Church, might have taken to himself the merit of calling forth all the anxiety, zeal, and exertions, so conspicuous upon that occasion, with full as much propriety as Mr. Pitt can claim the merit of having produced the present alliance upon the Continent. Let it be recollected, too, that the fire is not yet extinguished. It still rages. If the pile, or even a part of the pile, be rescued from its destructive influence, the merit is none of his; and if, instead of checking, the war should feed the flames, and the whole should be destroyed, on him, as far as regards England, will still lie all the responsibility.—— As to the present prospects of the war very little can be said. There are doubts about the conduct of the *Elector of Bavaria*; and, if we may judge from the language of the French, he cannot be expected to join his forces to those of the allies. The language of the French is not, however, much to be relied on, in such a case.

The Parliament will not meet till about or till after, Christmas. There is time wanted to make *peers* and *baronets*, and to employ those other means, which are necessary upon *such emergencies!* The longer it is before parliament meets, the longer, of course, will it be before the trial of Lord Melville can begin.

Botley, Thursday,
10*th Oct.* 1805.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

France and Austria.——*Exposé of the reciprocal Conduct of France and Austria, since the Peace of Luneville, read by the Minister of Foreign Relations in the Conservative Senate of France, at the Sitting of the* 23*d Sept.* 1805.

All Europe knows, that during the war, in the midst even of the most signal and decisive successes, the Emperor of the French never ceased to wish for peace; that he often offered it to his enemies; that after having reduced them to the condition of receiving it as a benefaction, he granted it to them upon terms which they dared not to expect, and which rendered his moderation no less conspicuous than his victories. He is sensible of the full value of the glory acquired by arms in a just and necessary war; but there is a glory more calm, and dear to his heart; his first wish, the constant end of all his efforts, have ever been the tranquillity of Europe, the repose and happiness of nations. This end had been attained; the Emperor omitted nothing to make it lasting. It would still continue, if the encreasing prosperity of France had not brought it to a period. It was at first altered by the artful measures, and afterwards broken by the open perfidy of the Cabinet of St. James's. But peace reigned at least on the Continent: through the vain and false pretexts under which England sought to shelter herself, Europe easily discovered her real motives.—— England was afraid of beholding the French colonies, which had been, and which might become, so flourishing, rise from their ruins, and grow up again, as it were, out of their ashes; jealousy wished to stifle, or at least to arrest in its progress the industry of France, revived by the peace; it cherished the silly desire to drive the French flag from those seas, in which it had hitherto appeared with distinction, or at least to reduce it, so as that it could no longer appear there but in a state of degradation, unworthy of the rank which France holds amongst nations. But the motives of England did not terminate there; she was urged on by that insatiable avidity, which makes her covet the monopoly of the commerce and industry of all nations; by that unbounded pride, which induces her to look upon herself as mistress of the seas, and which is the only foundation of the extraordinary despotism which she exercises upon them.——The cause then that France had to defend, was the cause of Europe, and it was natural to suppose, that neither the intrigues of England, nor the gold which she held forth to all those who might be disposed to be subservient to her ambition, nor her deceitful promises, could

engage in her quarrel any of the continental powers. None of them, in fact, appeared disposed to accept either her propositions or her recommendations.——At ease respecting the dispositions of the Continent, the Emperor turned all his thoughts to the maritime war, for which every thing was to be created. Fleets were built; ports were excavated; camps were formed on the shores of the ocean: the Emperor had assembled there all the forces of his empire; and his troops forming themselves under his inspection for operations altogether new, were preparing for new triumphs. England perceived the dangers with which she was menaced. She wished to obviate them by crimes. Assassins were thrown upon the coast of France. The English ministers to neutral powers became the agents of a warfare, infamous as atrocious, of a warfare of conspiracies and assassinations.——The Emperor saw into these pitiful conspiracies; he treated them with contempt, and was not thereby prevented from offering peace on the same terms which he had before proposed.——So much generosity could not assuage, nay, seemed even to augment the frenzy of the Cabinet of St. James's. Its answer shewed clearly that it would not think of peace, till the hope should be extinguished of deluging the Continent with blood and carnage. But it was sensible, that to accomplish such a design, the association in its views of a power, by its position, almost as unconnected with the Continental system as England, would not be sufficient; that not having any thing to expect from Prussia, whose sentiments were too well known, its expectation would be vain, as long as Austria should remain faithful to her neutrality.——Austria, which had twice experienced, at the end of two disastrous wars, at the time of the treaties of Campo-Formio and of Luneville, the generosity that France was disposed to shew towards a vanquished enemy, did not by any means pay the same religious observance to treaties, as France. Notwithstanding the formal stipulations of these treaties, the debt of Venice was not discharged; it was even declared extinguished. The Emperor was aware, that his subjects of Milan and Mantua, experienced a denial of justice, and that the Court of Vienna had liquidated none of their demands, in contempt of the solemn engagements which it had entered into. He was aware that the commercial relations of his kingdom of Italy with the hereditary states, were subject to obstructions, and that his subjects of France and Italy found in Austria a very different reception, from that which a state of peace gave them a right to expect.——In the distribution of the indemnities in Germany, Austria had been treated with a partiality that ought to crown all her wishes, and surpass even her expectations. Yet her conduct shewed, that she was far from being satisfied. She alternately employed arts and menaces to procure from the petty princes the cession of such possessions as suited her. Thus it was that she had acquired Lindau on the Lake of Constance, and the Isle of Menau in the same Lake, which placed in her hands one of the keys of Switzerland. She obtained the cession of Altkousen from the Teutonic Order, which made her mistress of an important post, the port of Rhinau. She had enlarged her territory by a number of other acquisitions, and was meditating fresh ones. As a means of aggrandizement, she was not afraid to employ evident usurpations, which she sought to conceal under legal forms.——Thus it was, that, under colour of a right paramount, (a right which she had renounced by a treaty) and the exercise of which was incompatible with the execution of the recess of the Germanic empire, she appropriated to herself some possessions, which she affected to consider in a state of dishérison and without legal proprietors, though the recess had formally disposed of them towards the division of the indemnities. By these means she disappointed many princes of those possessions which it had been thought just to assign them, under pretence of this same right paramount, which, so far as regarded the Swiss, she called the right *(d'Incamération)*, she carried off considerable sums from Switzerland. She sequestered the fiefs of a neighbouring prince in Bohemia, under pretence of compensations due to the Elector of Saltzburg, of which, contrary to every right, she claimed to be sole arbitress. She persisted, with menaces, to keep recruiting parties in the Bavarian provinces, in Franconia and Suabia, and interrupted, by every means in her power, the conscription for the electoral army there, abusing the prerogatives formerly granted to the head of the German empire for the common benefit of the states composing it, and now fallen into disuse. She revived them in order to interrupt the exercise of their sovereignty by the neighbouring princes, in those possessions which fell to their lot in the division, and to deprive them of the increase of influence in the Diets, which ought to result from these possessions.——The recess of the empire, a consequence and fulfilment of the treaty of Luneville, had for its object, exclusive of the division of the indemnities, to establish, by means of this

distribution itself, in the South of Germany, an equilibrium, which might ensure its independence, and to prevent those eventual causes of misunderstanding and war, which an immediate contact between the territories of France and Austria might frequently give rise to. Such was the view of the mediators and of the German empire; such was the view of justice, of reason, and of an humane policy, and conformable to the true interests of Austria herself.——Thus Austria reversed what the recess had so wisely established, when, by her acquisitions in Suabia, she weakened the barrier between France and the principal states of the South of Germany, and when, by a combined system of sequestrations, pretensions, caresses, and menaces, she was incessantly aiming to secure to herself an exclusive, universal, and arbitrary influence over that part of the German empire. She, therefore, evidently violated the existing treaties, and every one of her acts may be considered as an infraction of the peace. Since the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, Austria had, on more than one occasion, shewn a partiality to England. She had recognised by her acts the pretended right of blockade, which the Cabinet of St. James's has dared to arrogate, and according to which, a simple declaration of the English Admiralty is sufficient to put under interdict all the coasts of a vast empire; she had suffered, without remonstrance or complaint, the neutrality of her flag to be continually violated to the detriment of France, against whom all the violences offered to neutral flags were evidently directed. All these facts were known to the Emperor: many of them excited his solicitude. These were real grievances; they would have been just motives for war; but for the love of peace, the Emperor even abstained from all complaint, and the Court of Vienna received from him only new testimonies of deference. He made a law for himself to avoid every thing that could give offence to Austria. When called by the wishes of his people of Italy, he repaired to Milan, troops were assembled, camps were formed, with the single view of mixing military pomp with religious and political solemnities, and of presenting the Sovereign Majesty in the midst of that splendor that pleases the eyes of the people. The Emperor will allow that he had also some pleasure in seeing his companions in arms re-assembled in the places, and on the very spots which were consecrated by their victories; but wishing to prevent the uneasiness of the Court of Vienna, if it were possible that court could feel any on the occasion, he caused that court to be assured of his pacific intentions, by declaring that the camps which had been formed would be raised after some days, and this promise was exactly fulfilled. —Austria answered by protestations equally friendly and pacific, and the Emperor quitted Italy with the pleasing hope that the peace of the Continent would be preserved. But how great was his astonishment, when, scarcely arrived in France, while at Boulogne hastening the preparations for an expedition which he was at length on the point of carrying into effect, he received from all parts the intelligence, that a general motion pervaded all the forces of the Austrian monarchy; that they were advancing by forced marches on the Adige, in the Tyrol, and on the banks of the Inn; that those absent on furlough were recalled, that magazines were forming, that arms were manufacturing, that levies of horses were raising, that they were erecting fortifications in the defiles of the Tyrol and about Venice, and that every thing was doing which announces and is characteristic of an impending war. The Emperor could not at first believe that Austria seriously wished for war; that she wished to commit to new hazards, and to condemn to new calamities her people, fatigued by so many reverses, and exhausted by so many sacrifices. Having had it twice in his power to deprive the House of Austria of half its hereditary states, far from diminishing its power, he had increased it. If he could not count on its gratitude, he thought he could rely on its faith. He had given it the highest mark of confidence it was possible for him to give, in leaving his continental frontiers ungarrisoned and disarmed. He believed it incapable of abusing this confidence, because he would have been incapable himself. There are suspicions which cannot enter into generous hearts, nor find place in reflecting minds. The Emperor took pleasure in confirming himself in his favourable presumptions, and he did not fear to shew to what point he desired to see them established. The Court of Vienna omitted nothing to prolong the illusion. It multiplied pacific declarations; it protested on its religious attachment to treaties; it authorised its ambassador to make the most assuring declarations; it sought, in time, as well by plausible explanations as formal denials, to dissipate the suspicions its measures may have given rise to: still, the hostile preparations redoubling every day in extent and activity, became more difficult to be justified. The Emperor ordered that Count Philip de Cobenzel, Ambassador of the Court of Vienna, should be invited to fresh conferences, and

that the correspondence of the diplomatic and commercial agents of his Majesty, should be communicated to him. For four successive days M. de Cobentzel waited on the Minister of Foreign Relations, who placed before his eyes the dispatches previously received, and those which arrived successively from all parts of Germany and Italy. The cabinets of Europe will find in their archives few examples of similar communications made in circumstances in which suspicion was so natural. The Emperor could not give a more convincing proof of his good faith; he could not carry sincerity or delicacy farther. The ambassador from Vienna took a view of the most positive, the most incontestable documents, which, from all parts announced the speedy breaking out of a war, always preparing though so studiously concealed. What answer could he make? Up to that moment peace had been loudly professed by his court at Paris and at Vienna; but on all its frontiers war was at length openly organized. The Emperor, however, was unwilling to reject all hope of accommodation. He persuaded himself that Austria may have been led away by foreign suggestions, he resolved to do every thing to bring her back to a sense of her true interests. He represented to her, that if she did not wish for war, all her preparations were without an object, inasmuch as all her neighbours were at peace; that therefore she was unconsciously, and contrary to her intention, serving the cause of England, by making in her favour a diversion not less powerful, nor less injurious to France, than a declared war would be.——If she wished for war, he made her see its probable consequences. Superior to all the considerations, which are bars only to weakness, he did not dissemble that he dreaded war: not that after so many battles fought in the three parts of the old world he could fear dangers, so often braved, and so often surmounted; but he feared war on account of the blood it causes to be spilled, on account of the sacrifices without number it must cost to Europe; and in consequence of a love perhaps excessive for peace, he conjured Austria to desist from preparations, which, in the present state of Europe, and in the particular situation of France, could be considered only as a declaration of war, and as the result of an agreement made with England. Still further, he desired that similar representations should be addressed to the Court of Vienna by all his neighbours, who, though strangers to the cause of the war, whatever that cause may be, had to fear being the victims of it. The conduct of the Court of Vienna weakened the hope every day. Far from desisting from its pretensions, it increased them. It terrified by its armaments the people of Bavaria and Suabia. It gave the people of Helvetia reason to dread seeing ravished from them the repose which the act of mediation had restored to them. All invoked France as their support, as the guarantee of their rights. However, it dissembled still, and as a pledge of its pacific intentions, it offered a sort of intervention which it is difficult to characterise, but which, considering only its apparent object, could be regarded only as idle and puerile. The Emperor of Russia had caused passports to be demanded for one of his chamberlains, whom he had an intention of sending to Paris. The Emperor knew not what were the views of the Cabinet of Petersburgh, they had never been communicated to him; but always ready to seize on every thing that could contribute to an approximation, he had granted the passports without delay and without explanation. All Europe knows what was the reward of his deference. The Emperor learned afterwards, by indirect ways, and also by the reports that were circulated through Europe on the subject, that the design of the Court of Russia had been, to try by means of parleys to introduce at Paris a very strange system of negotiation, by means of which she would at the same time have stipulated for England, from whom, as she said, she had full powers, which proves how much England was sure of her, and have negotiated on her own account. So that while nominally a mediator, she would have been in fact a party, and that by two different titles.—— Such was the end of the intervention Russia had projected, and which she herself renounced, without doubt, because reflection made her feel the inconvenience of it. But it was precisely this same intervention which the good offices of Austria had for their object to re-produce. It was not likely that France should have suffered herself to be placed in a situation in which her real enemies, under the plausible name of mediators, dared to flatter themselves with imposing on her a hard and insulting law; but the Cabinet of Vienna, perhaps without hoping that its good offices would be accepted, found a great advantage in offering them, that of abusing France for a longer time, making France lose time, and gaining time itself. At length throwing off the mask Austria has, in a tardy answer, manifested by her language what she had announced by her preparations. To the representations of France she has answered by accusations. She has made herself the apologist of England, and

announcing that she was opening her states to two Russian armies; she avowed openly the concert that exists between her and Russia in favour of England. This answer of the Court of Vienna, full at once of injurious allegations, of menaces, and of craft, tended naturally to excite the indignation of the Emperor; but thinking that through those insults and threats he had a glance of some ideas which permitted him to hope, that an arrangement would be still possible, the Emperor made his natural pride to yield to considerations all powerful over his heart. The interest of his people, that of his allies, and of Germany, which was going to become the theatre of war; the desire, too, of doing a thing agreeable to a prince, who, repelling with an honourable constancy the insinuations, the instances, the offers so often repeated of England, and those she had seduced, had shewn himself always ready to contribute by his good offices, either to the re-establishment or the maintenance of peace; all these motives led the Emperor to make his just reflections. He determined to demand of the Court of Vienna explanations, which should make known the basis upon which negotiations could be carried on. He ordered the Minister of Foreign Relations to prepare a note to this effect. The courier who was to be the bearer of it was on the point of setting out, when the Emperor was informed of the invasion of Bavaria. The Elector had been summoned to join his army to that of Austria, and, as if his anticipated refusal to make common cause with Austria, from which he never received but evil, against France, from which he never received but good, could have been to the Court of Vienna a just motive for war, the Austrian army, without any previous declaration, in contempt of the duties which his situation of Emperor of Germany imposes on the Emperor of Austria, in contempt of the Germanic constitution, of the Germanic empire itself; in contempt, in fine, of all the most sacred rights, passed the Inn, and overrun Bavaria in profound peace. ——After such an act of the Court of Vienna, the Emperor could have no longer any thing to demand of it. It became evident, that even this congress proposed, with a tone so imperious, and with views so visibly hostile to France, was but a new snare for its good faith: that Austria, irrevocably determined on war, would not return to its pacific ideas, and that she was not even free to return to them. The course of exchange at all places proved evidently, that a part of the sums granted to the English minister to answer his purposes on the Continent, had reached its destination; and the power which had so bartered its alliance, could no longer spare the blood of its people, the price of which it had received. All farther explanation with the Court of Vienna having thus become impossible, the appeal to arms is the only resource compatible with honour. Let England applaud herself for having at length found allies; let her rejoice that blood is about to flow over the Continent; let her flatter herself that her blood will be spared; let her hope to find safety in the discord of other states; her joy will be of short duration; her hope will be vain, and the day is not far distant when the rights of nations will at length be avenged. The Emperor obliged to repel an unjust aggression, which he had in vain exerted himself to prevent, has been obliged to suspend the execution of his first designs. He has withdrawn from the borders of the ocean those veteran bands, so often victorious, and he marches at their head. He will not lay down his arms till he has obtained full and entire satisfaction, and complete security, as well for his own dominions as those of his allies.

———

Speech of the Emperor Napoleon, to the French Senate. September 23, 1805.

Under the existing circumstances of Europe, I feel it an urgent duty to appear among you, and to make you fully acquainted with my sentiments.——I am just leaving my capital, in order to place myself at the head of the army, to carry speedy succours to my allies, and to protect the dearest interests of my people.——The wishes of the eternal enemies of the Continent are accomplished: war has commenced in the midst of Germany; Austria and Russia have united with England; and our generation is again involved in all the calamities of war. But a very few days ago I still cherished a hope that peace would not be disturbed. Threats and outrages only shewed that they could make no impression upon me; but the Austrians have passed the Inn; Munich is invaded; the Elector of Bavaria is driven from his capital; all my hopes are, therefore, vanished.——Such is the moment that has unveiled the mischievous machinations of the enemies of the Continent. They are still alarmed at the manifestations I have made of my deep and determined desire for peace. They are apprehensive that Austria, at the aspect of the gulph they had prepared to swallow her, might listen anew to the dictates of justice and moderation; they have hurried her into a war. I tremble at the idea of the blood that must be spilt in Europe; but the French name will emerge

with renovated and increased lustre.——Senators, when at your desire, at the call of the whole of the French people, I placed upon my head the Imperial Crown, I received from you, from every citizen, the solemn promise to maintain its honour pure and unsullied. My people have on every occasion afforded me proofs of their confidence and affection; they will fly to the banners of their Emperor, and of his army, who in a few days, will have passed over the frontiers.——Magistrates, soldiers, citizens, all are resolved to rescue the country from the influence of England, who, if she prevailed, would grant us only a peace marked with ignominy and shame; and of which the principal conditions would be to burn our fleets, to shut up our ports, and to extinguish our industry.——What promises I have made to the French people, I have fulfilled. The French people, on their part, have entered into no engagement with me which they have not more than performed. At a moment so important for their glory and for mine, they will persist in asserting the name of the Great People, a name with which I greeted them in the midst of the fields of death and of glory.——Frenchmen; your Emperor will discharge his duty; my soldiers will do theirs; you will also discharge yours.

Causes of the Decree of the Senate for raising 80,000 *Conscripts, presented to the Conservative Senate, by Regnault, De St. Jean Angely, September* 23, 1805.

"SIRE, the eagles of your armies were about to cross the seas; the violaters of the treaty of Amiens, tormented by remorse, agitated by fear, were on the point of being punished by your justice: but a few days more, and the liberty of the seas might have been conquered for the world, even in the very seat of the tyranny of the seas.—— There is another act of perjury, which calls your Majesty to fresh combats. In spite of the faith pledged at Luneville, the Emperor of Germany threatens the French empire. He is marching against your frontiers both his own and the Russian troops; the broken remains of those whom your Majesty vanquished, or sent home unransomed.—— Your army, Sire, formed of the same legions which conquered the Austrians and the Russians, completed by French citizens taken from every class and quarter of the empire; your army, whose strength is increased by the nature of its composition, whose devotion to your person doubles its energy; your army, which knows how to feel and think, as it knows how to fight, whose indignation will, if possible, increase its valour; your army is sufficient to fight and conquer, and he diversion so dearly paid for by England, will only have the effect of retarding her humiliation, and changing the scene of your first triumphs.——But if, while preparing, on the one hand, to combat Great Britain, and confiding, on the other, on the fidelity of your allies, perhaps trusting to the plain sentiment of their interests, which at any rate should have counselled them to neutrality, your Majesty has not increased your army, and have not prepared, by extraordinary levies, for a successive recruitment, different circumstances demand different measures.——In the years which followed the peace, as in those which followed the war, your Majesty has only called for the same number of conscripts: you wished to leave as many as possible for the purposes of agriculture and the arts. At present, Sire, your wisdom requires that the French youth should prepare to pay their country the whole debt, and even before the period when she would otherwise have called for the payment of it.——The orators of your council demand your order to the Wise Men (Sages) of the empire, to arm a more considerable part of the strength of the nation; and to order a levy of 80,000 conscripts for the year 1806. Several reasons have combined to make it the duty of the Senate to decree this measure. It is true, that the raising of the conscription has been ordered up to the present time, by the acts of the Legislative Body. The proposition offered to the Senate, will not disturb the order, nor destroy the usage heretofore followed; it will only form an exception, which circumstances justify. And, first, when his Majesty is at a distance, leading his legions to victory, prudence prescribes his preparing, before he quits the centre of his empire, all the means of success which his wisdom has conceived. The delays necessary for the convocation of the Legislative Body, would retard those measures, the quick execution of which, now become necessary, is guaranteed by the intervention of the Senate.——Secondly, the alteration of the Kalendar prolongs the exercise for the year 14, which will be the same as that of 1806, until the 13th of January, 1807, and it will consist of fifteen months. Hence results the necessity of a change in the period of conscription for the year 15. Following the plan of the division of the year, which France has just abolished, this conscription ought only to include those young men, who will have attained, on the 22d September 1805 (the last day of the year 14), the age

of twenty.——Sire, your Majesty has declared in your council, that your armies already are sufficiently strong in men and arms, and that they possess all the means of triumphing over the unexpected attack and the ill-advised perfidiousness of your enemies. ——A league more numerous and more formidable, was formerly established against France; and the allied armies, increased and swollen like the waves in the tempest, were broken, like them, against the mounds that our battalions, under your guidance and protection, have opposed to them.——The cold and blind sentiment of passive obedience will carry the troops to the fight that our enemies will collect. The enlightened and ardent sentiment of love of their country, and of their Monarch, will precipitate the French soldiers into the midst of dangers.——The chiefs of the foreign powers and armies, having separate interests, unite for a moment by treaties, to quarrel afterwards on their execution. Though they agree in their cabinets, they seldom agree in the camp, and still more rarely do their generals agree with each other in the field of battle.——In France, on the contrary, in the council and in the army, one spirit unites all minds, fixes all interests, connects all the forces, plans all the resources, creates all the means, foresees all the difficulties, has all the affections at disposal, directs all the movements, prepares every success; and this spirit is a compound of the love and confidence of the nation, and of the genius of its chief.——At any rate, Sire, your Majesty knows, that, even to her favourites, fortune never gives, and often dearly sells them, victory. Father of the people, as well as of the army, you will be forced to purchase, with the blood of your children, the triumphs to which you will lead them. ——But, Sire, a noble sentiment of devotion and of patriotism will give to the people, as to the army, the courage to will and to execute the necessary sacrifices. One brave soldier will replace another; in the battalions of reserve, always complete, your Majesty will be sure always to find enough to fill the void left by battle in the battalions of war. The conscripts whom you will call upon will vie with the veteran warriors of your legions for zeal and fidelity, readiness, and courage.——I call to witness, Sire, that march of your army from the coast of the ocean to the banks of the Rhine that march, almost without halting, during which not one soldier has quitted his colours? I call to witness the wish of those conscripts, who are mortified at being condemned to the inaction of a depôt, and who have claimed their places in the rank of the troops which are engaged in battle.——The French people, Sire, have put into your hands the right to will for them, and their free, bold, and courageous will is, like your's, to maintain the integrity of their territory, and to defend their interests, their glory, and all the benefits which they derive from your Majesty.——Your Majesty will uphold, with your all-powerful forces, with the energy of your inspiring looks, the force and the energy of the nation, and you will not pronounce, you will not let them hear the name of peace, before they are by you avenged and victorious.——Such, Sire, is the wish of France, to the accomplishment of which the Senate will contribute, by ordering a levy of 80,000 soldiers, to ensure our battalions and squadrons being always complete, and always renewed until the last victory.—— When your Majesty, whose person and mind are indefatigable, makes labour a duty which occupies you by day, and abridges your nights; when you are going to expose to the hazard of war your exalted head, the French, Sire, we judge of them, and we swear for them from our own hearts, will only vie in emulation, readiness, and devotion; the sorrow will all be reserved for those, who, being subject to other duties, or condemned to follow another line, cannot aspire to the honour of sharing the perils and the glory of your brave soldiers, of braving dangers with them, and of conquering or dying under your Majesty's eyes, for you, and for their country."

Circular Letter from the Grand Judge, Minister of Justice, to the Imperial Attorneys General to the Courts of Criminal Justice, dated Paris, September 25, 1805.

The intrigues and the gold of England, Gentlemen, have at length prevailed; she has dragged two great powers into the war, one of which is so much the more culpable towards France that her throne, shaken by the valour of our soldiers, has only stood through the moderation of the conquerors. The emperor marches in person to disconcert the projects of our enemies, and, under such a chief, seconded by such brave armies, victory cannot be doubtful. But, to insure the duration and plenitude of our success, we must all be animated with the sacred love of our country: we should all, warriors, magistrates, and citizens, by a common effort, contribute as much as in our power to support the most just of wars, and to second, with all our energy, the generous monarch who, in order to preserve France at the high degree of glory and of power to

which he has raised her, is going anew to encounter fatigues and dangers.——Amongst the means that are to guarantee our success, the conscription is, without doubt, the most powerful of all, since upon that depends the renovation and the permanence of our military forces, as well as the good composition of our armies; we must then apply, with indefatigable perseverance, to cause the laws and decrees it has rendered necessary to be religiously executed. Without doubt, the youth of France, so distinguished for valour, and always so ready to march at the voice of honour and of their country, will crowd to follow the steps of their emperor; and amidst this sublime impulse, we must hope that there is not a Frenchman so unworthy of the name as to refuse joining in the perils and the glory of our warriors. If, notwithstanding, any should be found who, yielding to dastardly fear, or giving way to perfidious suggestions, should prefer infamy to honour, they, their abettors and accomplices may expect inevitable punishment. Thus, whilst the military tribunals shall punish refractory conscripts, you must prosecute, and cause your subordinates to prosecute, with inflexible severity, all those who, from disaffection, corruption, or even an unseasonable and false pity, shall dare, in a manner less or more criminal, to aid or to favour the coward who shuns our colours. No exception of persons, no effeminate complaisance: reflect that, in a matter so grave, and with which the public safety is so intimately connected, all partiality, all relaxation in the execution of the laws, would be a great crime towards the country. Be penetrated with this salutary doctrine; impress it frequently on the minds of those magistrates before whom you exercise your functions, and make them forcibly feel that an imperious duty requires them never to depart from it. Receive, Gentlemen, the assurance of my affectionate sentiments. (Signed) REGNIER.

First Circular of the Minister of the Interior to the Prefects, dated Paris, September 25, 1805.

"SIR,——I send you the speech which his Majesty delivered to the Senate a few hours previous to his departure for the army. Let it be made known to the public functionaries and the citizens of your department. Let all be animated with the sentiments by which it has been dictated; after the example of the emperor, let them do their duty! That duty is not doubtful; France is menaced, insulted, and attacked in the possessions of her allies, the enemies' armies are marching against our frontiers; the emperor puts himself at the head of our troops to drive them back to their own territories. What sacrifice can it cost to imitate this example of devotion! Let those who have not the good fortune to participate in his dangers, concur at least to his glory, by an eager obedience to the orders of government. The emperor seconded by his people, will obtain successes which will be the inheritance of all; the prosperity of France, her independance, and a solid and honourable peace, will be the result of his labours, of his perils, and of our efforts."

Second Letter.——"Sir, The Emperor would, at all times, have reckoned on your zeal for his service, and your love for your country. He is now in a situation to require, in a particular manner, a proof of this double sentiment. An unexpected circumstance changes the position of France, and demands new efforts which will conduct to new glory, and to a repose which shall be no more troubled. The Powers of Europe interfere in our quarrel with England; they have armed to prescribe disadvantageous conditions of Peace to France, which was of itself a Declaration of War; for undoubtedly they did not expect of her that condescending weakness. Their armies have invaded the territory of her allies, and are marching against our frontiers: *the peace of the Continent exists no longer!* Thus the blow which was about to strike England is turned aside, or rather suspended. It is still on the Continent, and by new victories that we must seek peace. The Emperor sees with regret this sad necessity; but he does not hesitate, when the national interest and honour leave no other choice. The war must be brisk in order to be short! The nation must make a grand effort, and destroy, by its all-powerful unanimity, by its invincible courage, and especially by its activity, this new Coalition, no less odious than the others, because its object is to bring her under the yoke of a rival nation, which will not be satisfied until she shall have destroyed, without the possibility of their recovery, our marine, our commerce, our industry, our riches, and our means of prosperity. The menaces of the enemy command above every thing, a prompt and unanimous determination.

(To be continued.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 16.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1805. [PRICE 1OD.

" It," [the obligation upon the minister to account regularly for the expenditure of the public-money] " is " one of the disadvantages of our excellent constitution; for, our national debt began at the revolution, and " we have, in the most regular manner possible, spent five hundred millions, while other powers, with all " their irregularities in finance, have not spent one quarter of the sum. How far our present improvements " may lead, it is difficult to guess; but, we venture to say, that, in less than six months, the nation will " lament the effect of these inquiries."——Review of the Tenth Report, by the friends of Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LORD MELVILLE AND HIS SUPPORTERS.

——Upon the *origin* of the scandalous performance, whence my motto is taken, sufficient has already been said, and, as to that topic, I have only now to say, that, from information recently received, I have reason to suppose, that the person, whom, from the matter, as well as the manner of the work, I naturally suspected to be the principal conductor of it, has had nothing to do with it. ——The object of the work obviously is to mislead the public, and thereby to produce a feeling that may tend to produce, or to sanction when produced, an unjust decision; an *object*, which every one, who considers the character of the august assembly, before whom Lord Melville is to be tried, will confidently rely upon seeing frustrated; but which is not therefore the less to be detested. The *means* made use of are, in part, a reassertion of falsehoods already, over and over again, detected and exposed; such, for instance, as, that the public has *lost nothing* by the malversations of Lord Melville and Trotter; that Lord Melville *never participated* with Trotter; that *no delay in payments* ever took place; that Mr. Pitt did not believe, though informed by Mr. Raikes, *that any thing improper was going on*; that the loan to Boyd and Benfield was *necessary to the support of the credit of the nation*; and the like. But, the principal means resorted to, the main ground of defence, the grand rampart drawn round Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt, is, *a justification of an unlawful use of the public money*, or, to express it in two words, of *peculation* and *corruption*; and, as in the instance given in my motto, the checks upon the public expenditure are accordingly represented as amongst "*the disadvantages* of our *excellent* constitution," while we are, at the same time, forewarned, that we shall have to "*lament* the effects of "the inquiries" into the conduct of Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt. There is, in this, something so impudent; so audaciously profligate; so insulting to the people from whose property and whose labour the taxes are drawn, that, were it not for one curious argument connected therewith, I should pass it over in silent disdain. This argument is drawn from experience; and, we are told by these "gentlemen" supporters of Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt, that "it was by *inquiring into abuses*, and by pursuing persons in power who had been obliged to give into them, that *the French revolution began*, and that, eventually, the most ancient monarchy in Europe was destroyed;" and then we are significantly asked, whether "*similar causes* are not likely to produce *similar effects*." So that here an entire new ground of defence is taken. The merits, or demerits, of Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt are thrown aside, as having little or nothing to do with the matter. The existence of the abuse is acknowledged; but, it is represented as a necessary evil; as something so closely interwoven with the monarchy, that there is no destroying or checking the former, without destroying, or, at least, materially endangering the latter.——First, one might oppose to this, another argument drawn from experience, and that, too, of cases much more analogous; to wit; those of the Lords *Verulam* and *Macclesfield*, two High Chancellors of England, convicted, at two different epochs of our history, of the crime of corruption, of a magnitude inferior to that of which Lord Melville is charged, the former expelled from the House of Peers, the latter fined and imprisoned; and yet, we have never heard, that the inquiries relative to their conduct, or that the subsequent proceedings thereon, had the effect now so feelingly apprehended by the *loyal* "Society of Gentlemen," who have undertaken to support Lord Melville. On the contrary, the punishment of those two noblemen (in other respects men of real and distinguished merit) did, it has been generally allowed, tend greatly to check corrupt practices in all the departments of the state; did tend to convince the people, that, in the administration of justice in England, there

was no respect of persons; and, thereby did tend to confirm, and to increase, their love of the constitution, and, of course, their love of the monarchy. Indeed, if we talk of seditious libels, what libel can be more seditious and more infamous than that which tells the people, that the monarchy stands upon the foundation of violated law; that to inquire into a misapplication of the public money is to endanger the existence of the monarchy; that monarchy is, in short, what PAINE so falsely termed it, "the MASTER "FRAUD," and that it cannot be supported without the aid of peculation and corruption! What might be the situation of France, in this respect, I know not; but, it is not without great regret, that I have observed, in the only two French periodical publications in this country, a steady bias, not only in favour of Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt, but in favour of their conduct, as developed in the Tenth Report and in the subsequent reports and discussions. Nay, I have perceived in those publications, which must be intended to circulate upon the Continent and to operate against Buonaparté, a constant endeavour to gloss over acts of corruption, and to misrepresent the motives and character of those members of parliament, who have, upon this occasion, espoused the cause of the country, some of whom have been compared to the democratical orators, who began the attack upon the monarchy of France. Under whose influence these writers may immediately act, I shall not pretend to say; but, I think, the reader will lament, with me, that, as far as their publications go, the cause of the Bourbons should appear to be identified with that of public robbery; and that the most decided enemies of Buonaparté should be also the most decided enemies of those who have been labouring in the cause of the country against peculation and corruption. The fair inference from such facts no one will fail to draw; and, therefore, it is our duty to maintain, that such writers are not the friends of monarchy. It is, too, the duty of kings and princes to shake out the vermin, who have nestled in the folds of the royal robe, and to show that the cause of monarchy and of the people are one. I know not what was the situation of France in this respect; and I now reject the argument made use of by the supporters of Lord Melville: but, *if it be true*, that the French revolution began by inquiries into abuses in the expenditure of the public money; if it be true, that abuses, like those lately discovered in England, did exist in France, and to a similar extent; and, if it be true, that those abuses were *absolutely necessary to the existence of the ancient monarchy*; if all this be true, which, however, I do not believe; but, *if it be true*, then, had I known it fourteen years ago, I should not, I hope, ever have let fall one expression of regret for the overthrow of that monarchy, though it had been as ancient as the foundations of the world. PAINE, indeed, had told me, that monarchy was the "master fraud," and, with additions and improvements, the democratical writers of America repeated his assertion. But I denied the fact, and upon *that ground* defended monarchy, never imagining, of course; never dreaming, that my defence of monarchy would be construed into a defence of peculation, and that the day would come, when my then defence of Kings, compared with my subsequent attacks upon peculators, would be urged against me as a proof of *inconsistency!* Never was I a defender of peculation or corruption; but, on the contrary, from the time, when, at eighteen years of age, I stood forward and procured justice for my brother-soldiers, whom the quarter-master of the regiment, by means of short weights and measures, cheated of their rice and peas and butter; from that day to the present, I have always, when occasion presented itself, shown my enmity to every species of public fraud or robbery, and have used my utmost endeavours to bring to shame and disgrace all those who were guilty of it. At the very time, when, in America, I was defending the cause of monarchy, I was assailing men guilty of corruption; and, one of my pamphlets then published is wholly taken up with an exposure of the conduct of the then principal Secretary of State, who, it was discovered, from an intercepted correspondence, had asked a bribe from the Ambassador of France. Am I told, that I then sang the praises of the very men, whom I am now censuring? I answer, that, if I ever did praise Mr. Dundas, and I do not recollect that I ever did, it was the prosecutor of Sir Thomas Rumbold and others that I praised, and not the violator of the law, not the conniver at the practices of Trotter, not the Mr. Dundas, who, when asked what he had done with ten thousand pounds of the public money, declares that he never will tell, and who when questioned by legal authority as to any profits that he may have made from a misapplication of the public money, refuses to answer, upon the ground openly alleged, of fear of *criminating* himself. If I praised Mr. Pitt, it was Mr. Pitt the "heaven-born" minister, with regard to whose character I had participated in the adoption of those notions so prevalent

amongst the ignorant crowd about twenty years ago. It was Mr. Pitt the corner stone of the confederacy against republican France; Mr. Pitt who had openly and solemnly vowed never to make peace with France, till the political balance of Europe should be completely restored, and till safety and tranquillity could be obtained for England; it was this Mr. Pitt that I praised, and not the Mr. Pitt who advised, who defended, and who extolled the peace of Amiens. The Mr. Pitt that I praised, as a financier, was the Mr. Pitt, who, in the year 1799, declared that he would carry on the war, for any length of time, without the creation of new debt; and not the Mr. Pitt, who, in less than two years afterwards, justified the peace as necessary for the husbanding of our resources, having, in the interim, created new debt to the amount of about seventy millions sterling. If I praised Mr. Pitt, as an upright public man, as a real patriot, it was the Mr. Pitt, who began his career with professions of incorruptible purity, and who, in the warmth of his zeal, had proposed to reform the parliament itself, rather than not cut off the means of corruption; and not the Mr. Pitt who procured to be passed the bill relating to the Nabob of Arcot's debts (of which bill I had never yet heard); not the Mr. Pitt who, notwithstanding the information of Mr. Raikes, suffered the practices of Lord Melville and Trotter to go on unchecked; no, no; not the Mr. Pitt who lent forty thousand pounds of the public money, without interest, to two members of parliament, never making, or causing to be made, any record or minute of the transaction, and never communicating any knowledge of it even to the cabinet ministers. This was not the Mr. Pitt whom I praised, whose character I so zealously defended, and against whose accusers I made use of severity, for which it becomes me now to beg pardon of the American public. This was not the Mr. Pitt that I praised; not the Mr. Pitt whose power I endeavoured to support; and, I trust, that amongst his supporters, whoever may be his associates, I never shall be found. The English constitution that I extolled was that constitution, which, to use the words of Mr. Pitt himself, in his early days, carefully watches over the property of the people; that constitution which effectually prevents any misapplication of the public money; or severely punishes those who may be guilty of such misapplication; and which, above all things, provides, that the money raised upon the people, by the consent of their representatives, shall not, in any degree, or under any name, be *given* to those representatives by the ministers of the crown, and especially in a *secret* manner. This constitution I hope yet to see preserved in its purity, and, were it not for that hope, neither hand nor pen would I move in its defence. But, it will be so preserved, or we are the most base of mankind. We ought to reject with horror; we ought to abominate, the doctrine, that we must wink at corruption, or that the monarchy cannot be preserved. It is a doctrine that leads certainly and directly to political perdition; for, I ask, is it in the nature of Englishmen, is it in the nature of any people in the world, to make sacrifices of property and of ease, and to venture their lives, for the sake of preserving that, by which, they are plainly told, they always will, and must, be robbed? Away, then, with this dangerous and most detestable doctrine! Let no one separate the interest of the King from that of his people; and let no one insinuate that peculation and corruption will ever find favour in a royal mind

CONTINENTAL WAR.——At the close of the last article upon this subject, an apprehension was intimated, that it was not true, as stated in the ministerial prints, that the Elector of Bavaria had joined his forces to those of the allies; and, it now appears, that that apprehension was but too well founded. The statement of the Treasury print, the SUN, which is to the Pitt ministry exactly what the Moniteur is to the government of France, is worthy of particular notice. It should be read with attention; for, it is easy to perceive, that it is intended to pave the way for a more direct defence of the conduct of Austria in seizing upon the Electorate of Bavaria, and in the adoption of those subsequent measures of appropriation of treasure, &c. which, at present, do seem to stand in need of some explanation. "We "stated some days ago, upon what *we* "*conceived* to be *indisputable authority*, "that the Elector of Bavaria had declared "his intention of joining the allies with all "his forces. The intelligence which has "since been received from the Continent "seemed so much at variance with our as"sertion, that some of our contemporaries "have accused us of having made the state"ment without sufficient grounds. We "have, however, received a letter from "Munich, which fully explains the seem"ing contradiction, and completely justifies "us for having laid the intelligence alluded "to before our readers. The letter we have "received from Munich, (the *authenticity "of which may be firmly relied upon*) states, "that when the Emperor of Germany, in "consequence of the repeated aggressions

" and usurpations of the French government, determined to form an armed mediation, the occupation of Bavaria was " deemed absolutely necessary; his Imperial Majesty therefore proposed to the " Elector, that if he would suffer his troops " to enter Bavaria, he would consent to no " peace in which the integrity of the Elector's dominions should not be guaranteed. " In answer to this application the Elector " of Bavaria replied, *we have reason to believe*, in a letter under his own hand, in " which he expressed his satisfaction at " the proposal which had been made, " and adding, that he had instructed " his minister to sign a treaty of alliance with the Emperor of Germany, " and that he would join the allies with " all his forces. After this positive declaration, it was with the utmost surprize " that the Emperor learnt, in a few days, " that the Elector had retired to Wurtzburg; that he had ordered his troops to " follow him; and that he had entered into another treaty with Bonaparte, in direct contradiction to his most positive assurances. This most extraordinary and " unaccountable conduct, to use no stronger " terms, *naturally provoked* the indignation " of Austria, and has *led to those strong measures* which she has since adopted " with respect to the Electoral Dominions." ——First, it should be observed, that the *authenticity* of this letter, or pretended letter, from Munich, rests upon precisely the same grounds as did that of the intelligence relative to the Elector's having declared his intention of joining the allies with all his forces. It is much to be desired, that the Elector's conduct may, for the sake of Austria, prove to have been such as it is now represented; because, very dangerous indeed would be the example of the Emperor's having *wantonly* invaded and over-run one of the States of the Empire, suspending its internal government, and seizing upon its revenues. Measures so " strong" do, indeed, require a full justification; and it is to be hoped, that such a justification, through the means of official documents, is at hand. The French, as will be seen by their manifestoes, assert, that the Elector of Bavaria had no desire but that of preserving a strict and impartial neutrality; but, it would argue a great want of recollection to believe, that the French would have suffered such a neutrality any longer than it suited their own convenience, or, that, if not obviously advantageous to themselves, they would have suffered it at all. To enter Bavaria, therefore, might easily admit of a justification, perhaps; but, to seize on its revenues can be justified upon no ground other than such as that, whereon war might be justified; and, to justify war, there must be a *previous declaration* of war, which, in this case, it is to be feared, there was not.——Indeed, it really does appear, from all that we have yet seen upon the subject, that the paragraphs, published in the Treasury papers, holding forth assurances of the Elector's having resolved to join the allies, were invented for the purpose of preparing the public for a justification of the invasion of his dominions and the seizure of his treasures. Accordingly, we now hear him charged with " unprincipled duplicity," by the very writers, who, the other day, were profusely liberal in praise of his character. Excite indignation against him; nay, only make it be believed, that his ruin will be conducive to our safety, and your business is done; all the proceedings against him will be approved of by the great mob of coffee-house politicians, however unjust those proceedings may be in themselves, and however dangerous wise men will perceive them to be in their probable and almost inevitable consequences. —— With respect to the movements of the hostile armies very little can be said with certainty.—The French and the Austrians are approaching one another; and, if they meet, we may be assured, that the meeting will take place before the Russians can advance to the aid of their allies. Neither side appears to have been very well prepared; but, the French will certainly force the enemy to a battle, before he can receive such an accession of strength as the Russians would bring. If a battle should speedily take place; and, if the Austrians should be defeated, the continental war is over at a single blow; and we shall then have leisure to repent of those counsels, by which Austria has been *hurried* into hostilities, which, in such case, will bow her down to the earth; will deprive us even of the *hope* of continental aid; and which will have produced no diversion, worth speaking of, in favour of our shores, or even in favour of Lord Melville! Than such a battle, a negociation, ending in a peace between Russia and Austria on the one side, and France on the other, would be scarcely less mischievous to us; and, if we are admitted to the negociations, who does not see, that our conquests in India and our rights upon the seas will become prominent subjects of discussion? If Austria be, no matter whether by the pen or the sword, *how* put out of the field, without having wrested from France any material part of her con-

quests, the situation of England will then be beyond all comparison more dangerous than it would have been, if the continent had remained at peace; because, as was before observed, our very hope of continental aid, our chance of such aid, will be destroyed, and with them the corresponding apprehensions of our enemy, who will then bring down his whole force, not to alarm, but, in good earnest, to attack us, and that, too, at a time when our regular forces will either be scattered abroad, or will have but just returned home half diminished in their numbers. Not a moment will he lose: his legions will come pouring down like wolves from mountains of snow: no reason will retard their progress: he will drive them through the mire and the storms of December with as much celerity as he would over the green-sod and athwart the breezes of May: the conquest, nothing short of the conquest, of England, will then be his sole, his avowed, and settled purpose, and to prevent the accomplishment of which, we must, as I trust in God we shall, beat him upon English ground. If events should lead to this point, we shall see who are the men who will stick by their country. We shall see whether our security lies in our *funds* or in our *arms*. Much have we lately heard of vain boasting, in the metropolis; much exultation at the approaching annihilation of our enemy. These boastings never lead to good; they are the sure signs of inherent timidity; and, should the tug of war at last come; should the enemy at last land upon our shores, these big talkers will be "blanched with fear;" I will bet, or to use their own slang, I will take five guineas to return a hundred, if there be one square inch of red cheek found within half a mile of 'Change Alley.——Precipitate, however, as have been the councils, which have produced the war upon the continent, let us hope, that the result may not be so disastrous as present appearances forebode. The subjects of the House of Austria are loyal, and its soldiers are brave. There appears to be a want of pecuniary resources, but, where there are skill and courage, failure will seldom arise from a deficiency in point of money. At any rate, the contest has begun; and, as to ourselves, whatever reason we have to be dissatisfied with the councils which have prematurely produced it; whatever dislike we may have to the persons, by whom it is, on our part, to be conducted, it is our duty honestly, and even cheerfully, to contribute towards all those means by which it is possible for us to assist in affording it a chance of success.

WEST-INDIA CONVOYS.——The many contradictory accounts that have, during the last four months, appeared, relative to the movements of the convoys and the fleets in the West Indies, made it desirable to obtain some regular and well-authenticated history thereof. Such an one I am now enabled to lay before my readers; and they will, when they have perused it, be able to judge of the zeal and vigilance of those, whose duty it was to attend to the distribution of our naval force.——The 12th of April last was appointed by official notice for the sailing of the *first* homeward-bound convoy. On the 19th of February the French squadron from Rochefort arrived at Martinique, and held the undisputed command of the seas, among the islands, until March 23d, when they departed altogether from the Leeward Islands for St. Domingo. On the 28th of March, certain intelligence was received, of the Rochefort squadron having actually passed St. Thomas's in their way to Leeward. On the 2d of April, Admiral Cochrane arrived at Barbadoes with a squadron in search of the French, and shortly after went in pursuit of them. From this time until the 15th of May, there was no enemy, or any other apparent impediment to the usual progress of the trade; an interval of several weeks. Yet the convoy appointed for the 12th of April was postponed by Admiral Cochrane's authority, and the 12th of May was fixed upon for the sailing of a first, and the middle of June for a second convoy. No ships of war attended according to appointment, on the 12th of May, at the respective islands to take away the ships; which, had they sailed, would most probably have proceeded, without any further delay or obstruction. But on the 15th of May, the combined fleets from Toulon and Cadiz arrived at Martinique, and once more threw our islands into consternation, and for a month nearly held the absolute dominion of the seas. In consequence of the arrival of the combined fleets, orders were sent to the respective islands to stop the ships; there being then nearly 200 sail of valuable ships, ready to proceed, which had only hitherto waited the convoys in April and May. However, no orders were sent to stop the trade from St. Vincent, which, amounting to 30 sail of large heavy-laden vessels, was taken from that island on the 19th of May, under charge of a single schooner, and conducted down to Grenada to meet the rendezvous, and proceed homewards. These ships on their arrival there, so far from meeting with any ships of war to take them under protection, and proceed on their voyage, were on the

contrary left to themselves, and obliged to haul into the Carenage at St. George's for their security; where they were suffered to lay and rot for seven weeks after. During that time they buried one-fourth of their seamen, from the extreme unhealthiness of the place, noted always for its stagnant and putrid effluvia. Besides the expenditure of their stores, the vexation to individuals, and the heavy charges to the owners all this time, the Colony of St. Vincent was likewise deprived of the necessary strength and assistance, at such a crisis, of a large body of able defenders; which, at the time, it stood more in need of than any other island. Upon what grounds then, this very extraordinary exception as to the trade of this particular island, took place, remains to be explained. It certainly proved a sacrifice of many valuable lives, and a very great oppression to the proprietors, both planters and merchants. On the 4th of June, Lord Nelson arrived at Barbadoes, in search of the French and Spanish fleets, which, at the very terror of his name, hastily fled from Martinique the next morning, and escaped to the northward. How Lord Nelson was misled, so that he did not intercept them, (though a subject worthy indeed of a serious inquiry,) in no wise relates to this statement. On the 14th of June, the last accounts received of the enemy, viz. that they were flying to the northward, and Lord Nelson following, he being now between them and the islands, which they had left altogether. There was now once more an open sea, and no apparent hindrance to the sailing of our convoys, and accordingly, it was anxiously expected they would proceed about the middle of the month, the time appointed for the second convoy as before mentioned. But no regard was paid to them; although by this time the collective number of ships ready, and fully laden, was greater than was ever known at any one time in the West Indies; nor was it until the 6th of July that any movement took place; on which day, the Proselyte took away from Grenada, the St. Vincent, Grenada, and Tobago ships, in order to proceed with them to St. Christopher's, and there to rendezvous. In their way thither they fell in with the St. Lucia ships passing them on the opposite tack going to Grenada by orders, to rendezvous there. A curious instance of collecting the trade together! They all, however, joined, and not being able to fetch St. Christopher's, which is scarcely ever possible, even for single ships coming from Grenada, much less for a fleet of heavy merchantmen, they reached Peter's Island, one of the Tortola Keys, on the 11th, and anchored under it. Under this Islet, which is a mere barren rock, without a drop of water, or an article of provision upon it, and without a single battery or fort for protection, were these ships, amounting to about 120 sail of our finest and most valuable merchantmen, detained for three weeks longer, and in an open roadstead, subject to every hazard from the enemy's frigates or privateers. So that having neither the means of recruiting their stock, or replenishing their water, they actually at last were obliged to enter upon their voyage with necessaries barely sufficient for present use; for, the ships at Trinidad having been left behind, or forgotten, and the whole of the trade not collected until the 31st of July, many of the ships, viz. those from St. Vincent, had been actually ten weeks out from their port of lading, when the convoy, on that day, took its departure from Tortola for England! Let it be recorded likewise, as a circumstance, unparalleled and unprecedented, in our commerce with our colonies, that this was the first regular convoy, which sailed July the 31st, in the whole of this year; by which time, in every former period, at least two, if not three, used to have arrived at home with the wealth and produce of our plantations.——Upon reading this narrative, and perceiving the conclusion, to which it directly points, the Pitts and Melvilles will exclaim, did we not tell you what would be the consequence of your naval inquiries, your votes of censure, and your impeachments? We told you, in June last, that, "in less than six months, the nation would "repent of these inquiries; for that while "you thus engaged the attention of minis-"ters, *the French squadrons might go in "and out as they pleased.*" This is insolence such as was never before witnessed. The argument amounts to this: we care nothing about the merits of the case: there may have been peculation enormous for aught we know: but, if you take up the time of the ministers by calling upon them to account for their management of your money, you must expect them to leave you exposed to the enemy, and have no right to blame them for it! There are no words, whereby to express a degree of indignation suitable to such an argument. Blows, and those dealt by the roughest hand and with the most degrading weapon, can alone convey an appropriate answer. Yet is this argument the natural off-spring of that intolerably insolent opinion, according to which, Mr. Pitt and his creatures are the only persons, who have, or can have, a right to exercise the powers and enjoy the emoluments

of government, in England. This, as I have frequently observed, is become an opinion, a real current opinion, amongst the innumerable swarms of place-holders and place-hunters and other possessors during pleasure, or expectants, that crowd about the metropolis. Never does it appear to enter, for one moment, into their minds, that, if these Tenth-Report gentlemen have time to attend to nothing but their own defence, the powers of the state, the protection of the country and its colonies, ought to be placed, or rather, ought, long ago, to have been placed, in *other hands*. The course of their reasoning upon this subject has in it something so curious, that I cannot forbear giving another specimen of it. "If any particular measure, however just in itself," [alluding to the inquiry into the conduct of Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt] "tends to *lay us open to our enemy*, it should be suspended, not through fear of an enemy, but from regard to ourselves. We must take every means of defence, *every means of safety*, and not be considering dignity defined in this manner. What, says an Englishman, is any person to dictate to me, what I am to do in my family? Yes, certainly, in some cases. The thief makes you put locks on your doors, and if he attacks you, he compels you to rise in the middle of the night; but in this, though there is hardship, there is no disgrace. Were a man to compel another to sit upon a particular chair in a coffee-house, or to walk across a straw, though it might be dangerous to refuse, it would be a disgrace to submit; but danger of another sort does away disgrace, because you do it for your own sake, not in obedience to the will of another. You might as well say, that Buonaparté recruited and augmented the army, because he is the first cause of its augmentation, as to say that he suspends the course of inquiry into naval abuses, because we find OUR *attention* necessary for defence against Buonaparté. The whole nation see that the attention of *government* is, in a great measure, occupied on transactions at home; when it should be all employed on what is necessary for our defence and existence as a nation."——If this logic does not satisfy the West-India merchants and planters, and reconcile them to their inconveniences and losses, it is hard to say what will! The "*government*" (mark the word) has had its whole attention occupied on transactions at home; that is to say, in defending persons charged with public robbery. A very pretty occupation for *a government*, especially when produced as a justification for neglecting the measures "necessary for our defence "as a nation!" Observe, it is the *government*, nothing short of the English government, whose whole attention has, it is stated, thus been occupied.——Who, twenty years ago, when the Grocer's Company was feasting the "heaven-born" minister, would have expected to see the day, when the invasion and plunder of colonies and the capture or destruction of ships and merchandize would be ascribed to his attention having been wholly occupied at home? and what would the wise-acre grocers have said, had it been added, that the principal object of this his attention would be to obtain a bill of indemnity for himself, for having lent the public money, without interest, to members of parliament?——Agreeably to the reasoning of these partizans of Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt, it is not, then, the ministry, but the opposition, who are to blame for the disgraceful events in the West-Indies; for it is they, who, by their inquiries into the misapplication of the public money, have caused the attention of the accused persons to be occupied at home, and have thus (these persons being the ministers) "laid us open "to our enemies!" Impudent, insulting to the public sense, as this is, it has, nevertheless, found its way through all the channels of ministerial influence, the creatures of which were heard to express their satisfaction, that parliament was, at last, prorogued; and their hopes, that now, the "attention of *government*" would be no longer turned aside from measures of national defence. At that time, too, the dread of invasion was great, and "what a shame "it is," say they, "that, at such a time, "parliament should *waste* its time in do-"mestic *squabbles*;" always endeavouring to inculcate, by the way, the idea, that the contest was for power and place, and not for justice.—How would this doctrine suit, if applied to the people? When one of them has been guilty of what subjects him to a legal inquiry, does the magistrate, or the judge, or any one else, ever think of asking what inconvenience the inquiry will cause to his concerns? If a man detected in smuggling or poaching (hardly worthy to be called crimes, when compared to that of peculation or corruption) be brought to trial, do the prosecutors, or the judges, stop to inquire what injury his family, or his parish, will sustain from his loss of time, from his attention being thus diverted from the duties of his station? And, if he be in debt; if his being withdrawn from his business produces a [illegible]

in his engagements, will that plea avail him aught against the consequences of a writ? Will it save him, for one moment, from jail? If your servant rob you; if he be guilty of a breach of trust; if he connive at others who rob you; if you even suspect him of any one of these offences, do you still keep him in your service? Do you continue to pay him his wages, though, from his attention and time being "wholly occupied" in his defence, he entirely neglects his work? And do you, in such case, allow of such a plea? What partiality, then; what abominable injustice, must inherit the mind of that man, who can attempt to justify the ministers, with regard to the events in the West-Indies, upon grounds such as those above alleged.——It must be fresh in the memory of every man, that we ended the last war with a boast, that the fleets of France were annihilated. Twenty speeches in parliament could be quoted as to this point, but we will confine ourselves to that of the profound and acute Sir Henry St. John Mildmay, when, on the 7th of May, 1802, he was seconding the motion of that other great statesman, Lord Belgrave, for a vote of thanks to the "heaven-born" minister. "We," said Sir Henry, "have wrested "from the enemy many of her most valua- "ble colonies, *thwarted her* in many of her "most favourite objects, *annihilated the* "*whole of her marine*, and possessed our- "selves of the whole of her commerce, "without any loss." Men of Winchester! Sage Mayor and Aldermen and Reverend Prebendaries, hear this, and recollect what has since come to pass! Ask the people of Tobago and Martinique what colonies of France we were able to keep; ask the Dutch, the Swiss, and the Italians, what object of hers we were able to thwart; and, ask the West-India merchants and planters; go ask the graves of the thousands of seamen that have perished in our locked up convoys, whether we have annihilated the whole of her marine!

Botley, Thursday,
17th Oct. 1805.

The 5th Volume of the PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES has been some time finished, being the 3d and last volume of the Debates of last Session. The Appendixes to these three volumes contain the whole of the papers, that were laid before Parliament, relative to the war with Spain; the Eleven Reports of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry; the Reports of the Select Committees of the House of Commons upon the Tenth and the Eleventh Naval Reports, and also all the annual accounts relating to the Finances and Commerce of Great Britain and of Ireland. The importance of the several papers, here mentioned, need not be pointed out; and, as the Editor believes, they are not to be found in any other work extant.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

AUSTRIA AND FRANCE. —— *Proclamation issued by the Emperor of Austria, to his Hereditary States, dated Sept.* 1805.

We, Francis the Second, Emperor Elect of the Romans, Hereditary Emperor of Austria, &c. —— Facts known to all the world prove, that since the conclusion of the Treaty of Luneville, we have had nothing so much at heart as the maintenance of the peace which we had procured for our faithful people by the said Treaty. The scrupulous accomplishment of all the obligations which that Treaty imposed upon us; the observance of a perfect neutrality in the naval war, and the most friendly moderation, when the Emperor of the French violated several of the principal stipulations of the Peace, and endangered by numerous abuses, the repose and equilibrium of Europe, gave us every right to hope with confidence, that our warm and sincere desire for peace would be fulfilled.——Yet the armaments ordered by the Emperor of the French close to the frontiers of the Tyrol and the Duchy of Venice, joined to direct menaces, required of our parental solicitude for our hereditary states, counter armaments, which, however, though destined to do away our fears for the safety of our states, could not be to France a subject of mistrust or of open complaint.——At the same time that we took these measures of precaution, to which we saw ourselves forced, we took with the courts of Petersburgh and Paris, when negotiations to be opened between those two courts had been frustrated, the proper measures nevertheless to attain the salutary object, and to produce the resumption of the negociations for peace interrupted. The court of France did not acknowledge our intentions on this head, and refused our mediation. The Court of Russia, on the contrary, declared itself ready to open, in concert with us, and with equal moderation, pacific negociations, and to employ an armed mediation for the re-establishment of the repose, security, and political balance of agitated Europe.——We, far removed from the desire of seeing a new war break out, but convinced of the imperious necessity of those energetic measures, which can alone insure real and lasting peace, partake perfectly the determination of the Emperor of

all the Russias on this subject, and hope, from its good execution, with well founded confidence, the desired effect. But also we expect, with no less confidence, that our dear and faithful subjects who have afforded us, for thirteen years of a reign accompanied with the most extraordinary events, so many deep proofs of unshaken attachment, will support us with all their might in this undertaking, formed with a view to their real good, and will hasten, in consequence, to aid us in restoring that happy state of things which was always our first object and the wish nearest to our heart.——We expect then of our faithful states and subjects, that they will not only continue to pay regularly the tax called the classes, which has been levied in 1805, and which has been prolonged in 1806, by a particular patent, dated this day, but that they will also furnish, with no less good-will to maintain our armies more easily, contributions in kind, consisting of corn and oats. (The proclamation then fixes the number of bushels for each province.) However willingly we should grant to our faithful states and subjects the usual indemnity for these supplies, we cannot this time satisfy this desire, because our finances, obliged to make head against so many other extraordinary expenses, are not in a condition also to supply the indemnity, and that there would thus remain to pay it no other resource than to raise the necessary sums by means of another contribution in money.

Note transmitted by the French Chargé d'Affaires to the Directorial Minister at the Diet of Ratisbon, dated Ratisbon, Sept. 25, 1805.

His Majesty has, therefore, been obliged to recall the greatest part of the army which he had in the territory of Hanover, and those troops being in the heart of Germany, could not do otherwise than pass through a part of the empire to get to the place of their destination.——But although the motives and the intention of their passage are most clearly pointed out by the present state of affairs, which is known to the whole world, and it is consequently impossible to misconstrue them; nevertheless, in order to preclude any observations which malignity might suggest to misinterpret them, his Majesty has charged the undersigned to give to the Germanic Diet those explanations which are contained in the present note.

(Signed) BACHER.

Letter from the Emperor Napoleon to the Grand Pensionary of Holland; dated Strasburgh, Sept. 29, 1805.

MY VERY DEAR AND GREAT FRIEND!——I have been obliged to withdraw my army from Holland, to make head against an impious coalition which the gold and the intrigues of England have formed against me and my allies. I have commanded in my empire the formation of national guards for the defence of my frontiers. You will be aware that, in the present circumstances, the friends of their country must take up arms to repel those bands, eager for pillage, whom England would throw into their shores. However, let not the inhabitants of Holland be alarmed. My armies of reserve, of Boulogne and Mentz, are more than sufficient to succour the troops which defend their coasts, and to prevent any army who violate the Batavian territory from re-embarking. In the present circumstances, my very dear and great friend, I depend upon your zeal and patriotism. The cares of war do not so entirely absorb my attention, that I shall not constantly watch for the concerns of the Batavian country. An army might indeed land, but be assured that it would not re-embark. However, I call upon the courage and patriotism of the Batavians to confound the hatred of the tyrants of the sea, and to secure that part of the Continent from the invasion of the pirates.——Herewith I pray God to take you, my very dear and great friend, under his holy protection.

NAPOLEON.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Second Letter of the Minister of the Interior to the Prefects, dated Paris, Sept. 25, 1805. Concluded from p. 576.

The Emperor calls for the conscription of the year 14; for an extraordinary war, confines himself to accelerating by a few months an ordinary measure. Let this appeal, made to the courage of the French youth, be heard by them, and repeated by all the public functionaries! Employ your activity and your influence to hasten its results. The more prompt its operation, the more happy will be its consequences. Join the means of persuasion to the employment of your authority. Call—press those whom the law calls: encourage the zeal of those who shew themselves ready to obey it: against the others enforce all its rigours. Tell those under your administration, that it is by this decisive measure they will obtain a prompt Peace, the first and last object of the Emperor's wishes: that this alone can save them the calamities and ex-

haustion of a prolonged War, and the sacrifices it renders necessary: that it is this which will remove the War from our frontiers, and will throw the weight of it on our enemies.——Speak of their interest, of their true interests, to those who may not be affected by the national glory; but these would not be Frenchmen. Honour, that sentiment essentially French, will speak with energy to every heart worthy of that name: the voice of the country, which calls them to her defence against an unjust provocation, will not be disregarded by them, and they will all hasten to partake of that long inheritance of glory earned on the Alps, in the Plains of Italy, on the borders of the Rhine and the Danube. He who has always commanded victory, whose genius is as powerful as his determination is firm and immoveable, whose thought embraces every combination of times, places, and men, who has saved you from evils from without and perils from within, and under whose shield you have placed your destinies —your Emperor—the man of the age and of the nation, leads himself your ranks!—What Frenchman is not jealous of sharing his danger and his glory? Who is the man that can hear without emotion that expression of the Emperor to the Senate, at the moment of his departure: "*Frenchmen, your Emperor will do his duty; the Army will do theirs; you will do yours!*"—Public functionaries, it is particularly to you that this is addressed. The first of your duties is the defence of your country: proprietors, cultivators, the tranquil possession of your fields must be ensured: merchants, manufacturers, artists, artizans, in your industry are your riches and your existence; know how to insure to yourselves its free exercise, and to open new outlets to its products. Fathers of families, you should keep at a distance from your peaceable dwellings the evils, and even the very noise of war; and if your sons did not march against the enemy, you would have to take arms for the defence of your fire-sides. Frenchmen, your glory and independence are in question. You, Sir, have to justify the choice by which the Emperor has honoured you; and it is by hastening the progress of the Conscription that you will acquire the highest claim upon his suffrage and his good-will.—Your zeal shall be judged by its results: let it be such that I shall have to felicitate you on having well-merited of the Prince and of the Country. Receive, Sir, the assurance of my perfect consideration.——(Signed)

CHAMPAGNY.

Circular Letter from the Minister of Finance to the Chiefs of Administration in his Department, dated Paris, Sept. 25, 1805.

War, Sir, has broke out on the Continent by the perfidy of our neighbours. The Emperor marches at the head of a formidable army, and the honour of the French Eagles shall be soon avenged. The zeal of all the citizens of the empire ought to second the devotion of its august Chief, and to prove that they are all animated with the same sentiment, the love of the country. It belongs to those whose functions place them the nearest to the government, to distinguish themselves on this important occasion, by their eagerness to concur in measures which may hasten the return of Peace, the sole object of the labours and the wishes of the Hero who presides over our destinies. Those whos children are called by their age to the honourable duty of defending their country, ought to press their junction with their competitors in this glorious career. Every one should redouble his zeal, whether for preventing the frauds which might dimish the revenues of the States, or for accelerating the entry of those revenues into the Public Treasury. I invite you, Sir, to write in this spirit to the different persons employed in the administration which you direct. I have the honour to salute you. (Signed)

GAUDIN.

Letter from M. Talleyrand to Count Cobentzel, on his sending him a Memorial in Answer to his Note of Sept. 3.

The Undersigned has the honour to send to his Excellency Count Cobentzel, the annexed Memorial, drawn up in consequence of the Note of the Cabinet of Vienna, which Count Cobentzel addressed to the Undersigned, on the 3d September.——Since that Memorial received the approbation of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, the Austrian army has passed the Inn, and invaded Bavaria. If the pacific sentiments with which his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria, says he is animated, be real, he must be aware, that no negociation can be entered upon; that no proposition can be listened to, unless the Austrian troops recross the Inn, and return to their due limits. If the Court of Vienna refuses to withdraw them, it is the intention of his Majesty to compel him to it by force of arms. The calamities which must be the inevitable consequence of such a war, will wholly redound upon the House of Austria,

and victory will declare against the oppressor, in favour of the weaker oppressed.——The Undersigned has received from his Majesty, the Emperor and King, express orders to declare, that in no case his Majesty will suffer Austria to aggrandize herself in Germany, or to make acquisitions in Bavaria, and accomplish the project she has often betrayed, to extend her frontiers to the Lech, and to drive the Elector of Bavaria to the left Bank of the Danube. Such a project is too decidedly hostile to the interests of the Germanic Body, to those of France, to the promises in which his Majesty the Emperor and King has bound himself, to the engagements into which he has entered to maintain the integrity of Bavaria.——After this positive declaration of a resolution which, in every circumstance that may arise, will be an invariable rule of conduct for France, it will be for the House of Austria to consider, whether it be her interest to incur all the hazards of war, merely because she wishes, but without any well-grounded hope of being able to accomplish her wish, to obtain a part of Bavaria? for fruitless would be her efforts to conceal what is now notorious to all Europe, that, such in reality, is her only object.——The Undersigned requests the assurances of his high consideration, &c.

(Signed) TALLYERAND PERIGORD.

Memorial referred to in the preceding Note; being the French Answer to the Second Declaration of the Court of Vienna to the French Court. *See p. 533.*

Without dwelling upon the allegations which pervade the Note of the Court of Vienna, (of the 3d of September), attention will only be paid to the notions of peace which that Note holds forth.——The Court of Vienna has made levies of men and preparations of all sorts: she now allows a foreign army to enter her territory.——Her only object to listen to her assurances is to oblige France and England to make peace; but if such be the object of the Court of Vienna, how has it happened that she forgets to make known the basis upon which that peace ought to be concluded? Is the basis to be the treaties of Luneville, or Amiens, or the *status præsens* of the two nations, as seemed to be the wish of Austria when the first overtures were made for the last peace? Or after all pretensions drawn from the same source as the allegations now directed against France? From an attentive perusal of the Note of the Court of Vienna, it would appear that Austria would assume for basis of future negociations the treaties of Luneville and of Amiens; but will England, who not long since refused to re-establish peace upon these principles, accede to them at present?——The Cabinet of Vienna has said nothing upon the subject, and should it happen that England would not adopt them, his Majesty the Emperor of Germany, who would not assume the character of mediator, unless he were really invested with it; a character which essentially consists in an *impassible* justice; a perfect impartiality, has no doubt, in concert with other powers, adopted measures for obliging England to acknowledge his principle of mediation, as he has taken to the same effect to compel France: doubtless he has fleets ready equipped, cruises set on foot; in fine, all possible means put in force which are indispensably necessary to the attainment of his object.——The Note of the Cabinet of Vienna affords no light upon any of these points. It is essential however to know.—1st, Whether the Court of Vienna is aware whether the treaties of Luneville and of Amiens are to be taken as the basis of the new negociations, or whether those treaties are to be abolished? 2dly, In the latter supposition upon what basis does the Court of Vienna understand that the negociations are to be set on foot? 3dly, Whether England has declared her readiness to adhere to the principles of his mediation? 4thly, In case of refusal on the part of England, what measures have been taken by the mediator, and what means has he at his disposal to compel her to adhere to it?—— If the Court of Vienna has not put these questions to itself, and if it requires time to answer them, this alone should make it sensible, that it has acted with a precipitancy contrary not only to all the assurances it had given, but also to the end it declares to have in view; and it may further be attempted to observe contrary to what the enlightened policy of the House of Austria would advise it to adopt. Be it as it may, approaching circumstances will decide, whether it has been guided by a just conviction of its own interests, or led astray by blind prejudices.—— The remonstrances and assurances to which the Court of Vienna has allades, are mere illusions. She made no observation, she preferred no complaint; in, not more than the Court of France has made respecting the incorporation of Lucca, and all the other annexations that have been made by Austria in Italy. The threats of armaments, and the pretended determination to uphold by force, what the Court of Vienna styles in-

novations, have a still less real existence.—The free and salutary organization of a country previously governed by law, arising out of accidental circumstances, most assuredly does not require to be supported by threats, or guaranteed by hostile armaments. And how can it be said with any shadow of probability, that the Emperor of the French was threatening Austria, at the very moment of the greatest activity of his preparations against England?

Marginal Annotations upon the Note of the Court of Vienna, of the 3d September, inserted in the French Official Paper, the Moniteur, of the 30th September, 1805.

Upon this vague indefinite exposition, which sets out with accusations and explanations, but which explains and proves nothing, there is only one observation to be made, and that observation will be peremptory and precise.——Switzerland, Holland, and Italy, have freely established the constitution which they wished for. In what respect does this legitimate use of the primitive right of all states infringe upon the particular rights of Austria? During the negotiations at Luneville, Austria required the evacuation by the French troops of the territory of the Italian, Helvetic, and Batavian republics, and France refused to comply. France required of Austria to guarantee the independence of these republics; and Austria, it is true, manifested the utmost repugnance to accede to this demand, but at length consented. These three states therefore ought, in the sense it was understood by Austria, to remain free; and nevertheless still continue to keep a French army on their territory. How can this independence have been altered by the spontaneous establishment of that fixed form of government which has put an end to former uncertainties; and of the federal system that has connected them in alliance with France?——If Austria will go back to the times antecedent to these new establishments, she will find that France was mistress of all Italy: she possessed every power, even the legislative authority; and the power that governed had been established by the French generals. In Switzerland, in Holland, the French armies constituted the only organized force that secured the public safety. Let Austria quote a single article of the treaty of Luneville that has prescribed the departure of the French troops: let her cite a single note of her's, or any one step formally taken by her since the conclusion of that treaty, which had for its object to require that evacuation.——If Austria considers the present state of things, let her say in what respect constitutions adapted to times, to places, to the interests of countries, and already approved from an happy experience, furnish grounds on her part for regret at the past, or uneasiness respecting the future. What sort of interest is that which prompts one to deplore the happiness and the security of nations? What kind of benevolence is it that would advise states to imagine themselves oppressed, when they are in possession of laws and of a government, the work of their own will, the result of their common suffrages and choice? Of what nature in fine is that justice which proposes war to bring back disorder and confusion to those countries in which at present prevails order, tranquillity, and confidence?——But the Court of Vienna again resorts to generalities: but from under the veil of such vague allegations, one may discern the views of a policy timidly jesuitical, that would dextrously slip over recollections, and prepare itself for disavowals. The Emperor of Austria has not hesitated to acknowledge the changes that have taken place in Switzerland, since he has a minister at Berne: nor those changes that have happened in Holland, since he has accredited a minister at the Hague: nor those that have arisen in Italy, since his Majesty's own letters, as well as those of his minister, M. de Cobentzel, attest them. But now that Court of Vienna would endeavour to get rid of all these previous measures. Is it to be supposed that the King of the Romans would not recognise the acts of the Emperor of Germany? Or does the present aspect of affairs appear to him more favourable, and from the consciousness of being supported, would he not disavow all past engagements? It was thus that Austria rejected the treaty of Campo Formio. Then, as at present, she attributed to the necessity of moderation, to delicate and critical circumstances, to an anxiety to remove greater dangers, stipulations formally entered into. But it may be necessary to say that the circumstances are not wholly alike. When Austria declared that the peace of Campo Formio was broken, she had gained a battle. Now she should at least have waited for a victory before she became so ostentatious of the strange principles that have guided her conduct. The reflections she here indulges in are literally taken from the English papers. Not one of them but furnishes a text for the daily declamations of those writers, who doubtless did not flatter themselves with being honoured by such

plagiarism.——As to the imputation made against France of her endeavouring to exclude Russia from a participation in affairs of general interest, it appears somewhat extraordinary, after the well known steps taken by France to solicit the mediation of Russia in the outset of the present war with England. This imputation is particularly new on the part of Austria, who surely cannot forget that it was France, that, in despite of Austria, brought in the intervention of Russia in the arrangement of the Germanic empire. Was it not Austria who requested a thousand times, and in the most urgent manner, that Russia should take no part in the affairs of Germany? And it is Austria nevertheless that reproaches France with endeavouring to exclude Russia from every kind of interest in the maintenance of the general balance. Neither has France more pretended to such influence with respect to England. Does not the treaty of Amiens contain stipulations with respect to objects foreign to the two contracting powers, and solely relative to the general system?—— Austria speaks of the "rights of victory after the peace that has put an end to them;" justly: and France likewise acknowledges this principle, while Austria not only attempts to revive, but to usurp the rights of victory after the conclusion of peace; and, indeed, what victory has given her a right to refuse paying the debt of Venice? Had Austria conquered Venice? What victory gave her right to annex to herself, in Suabia, a multitude of possessions, by fortifying which she weakens and alarms the neighbouring states? Had Austria been victorious in Suabia? What victory, in fine, has given her a right to torment Bavaria with pretensions, upheld by open force, and to ruin Switzerland by sequestrations? Had Austria conquered Bavaria or Switzerland? Most certainly victory should not be abused, but least of all would it be just or reasonable to take advantage of victories that have not been gained.——It is possible that attempts may have been successfully made to alarm the Emperor of Germany, and to persuade him that his security may one day be threatened by France; but he will feel, perhaps too late, that the power he has most to dread is not France, and that his dangers are much nearer and much greater on the part of that power whose aid he, for the second time, has had the imprudence to accept. It is Austria that requires to be taught if that power be formidable to its neighbours? If it has set limits to the aggrandizement which seems to be the object of its political system? If it be easy to agree with it respecting the operations of war, or the combinations of peace? If the maintenance of its armies be not burthensome to those countries that admit them? If the distance of the places from whence they come does not prolong their stay, and make their return more difficult? In a word, if the devastations committed by its light troops do not leave behind them every where indelible vestiges of their passage? This is the language of reason; but the Court of Vienna has an ear only for the voice of passion, and of a thoughtless resentment against France.—— It was hardly to be expected to have found among the complaints of the House of Austria, the reces of the empire, which was worth to her the Bishopric of Eichstadt, of Saltzburgh; territories which she has not ceased to extend, rights which she has continually endeavoured to exaggerate; and, in fine, of indemnities which she had no reason to expect from the treaty of Luneville. Besides, was not that reces the effect of the power which Austria now connects with her complaints and her cause? States of Germany, it is to you that these remonstrances are addressed. Should the House of Austria prove successful against France, the reces will be annulled. All the states of Germany must expect to see demands of indemnity made upon them for the indemnities they have received. Such is the respect in which Austria holds her engagements! Such is the protection she holds out to feeble states.—— The next article contains its own refutation. The explanations given by France have been sanctioned by events. It is a question *de facto*, to ascertain if violence was or was not done to the will of the people in the countries that have improved their constitution. Allegations of constraint in this respect cannot well be admitted on the part of a jealous power. It was natural for France to have wished that those countries should be happy whom she had separated from a foreign domination; and she is well aware that the only means of ensuring the happiness of a country is to leave it the choice of its institutions and its laws. The preponderance of France over Italy and Switzerland is in the first instance the result of her victories; and in the next place it has been consecrated by the very treaty of Luneville, since it did not exclude the French troops, and that at a time when these countries had no constitution. At the time of the treaty they were in the possession of the French army; they did not exhibit a republican, or any form of government. The fairest use which France

could make of her preponderance, was, no doubt, to leave to the countries the time of settling their own constitutions. They have bestowed their attention upon that subject for three years, and their time has not been mis-spent; since the House of Austria, who had only an internal regulation to establish in her Italian provinces, did not succeed in establishing it. The states of Venice are not yet organized.——This allegation is no less false than the preceding ones. The steps taken by France towards a peace with England have been public. All the documents of this negotiation are confined to a single letter, and we may defy the Court of Vienna to find in this letter, that the Emperor of the French had laid it down as a clause of the pacification, that England should not interfere in the affairs of the Continent.—— England has returned no answer to the overtures of France. First of all she wished to ascertain whether it might be possible to renew a coalition. The coalition is formed, and England is dispensed from answering. This restriction is a chimera, and the relations which then existed between the Courts of London and St. Petersburgh were by no means so close as they have since been. England had no other motive than the hopes of discord, which she has had too much success in realising. It was when the instigations of England had acquired weight in Russia, that the pretended mediation between England and France was determined on; and it was because this mediation had not been founded on principles of moderation and impartiality, that it was revoked almost as soon as announced. What the Court of Vienna alleges here, respecting the political existence of other independent states, is a trite pretext. The organization of these states is a natural consequence of their position, their wants, and their dangers. This organization is as indifferent to England as to Austria, and can excite only the regret of England. It but ill becomes continental powers to desire that there should be no state on the Continent which might improve its marine, and protect itself against the maritime oppression of England.——For the maintenance of peace Austria has begun by the invasion of Bavaria. Thus it is that she has above declared, that the end of her measures was governed by pacific sentiments, and that she was not arming with any hostile view.—— As to the Emperor Alexander, if he had been inclined to peace, he would have known that it was not by insulting great powers that they were to be conciliated. If he had wished to be a mediator, he would have remained impartial between France and England. We do not here canvass the personal dispositions of the Emperor Alexander; we do not in the least doubt that they are just, humane, and moderate; but the experience of all times has shewn that, on every occasion, when they wish, the diplomatic agents of Russia depart from the principles of their Sovereign, and pursue each their passions and their individual political bias. Besides, the Court of Vienna should leave to that of Russia the office of declaring what are its intentions and views.——Every power that appeals to general principles, on its interference in a quarrel between two other powers, ought, it should seem, to hold the same language, and to employ the same means with respect to both. As, then, Austria and Russia declare that they have armed in order to oblige France to listen to terms of accommodation, why do they not make known what they have done, in order to compel England to submit to their mediation? They send armies against France; why do they not also send squadrons against England? They say that the balance of power on the Continent is changed; are the rules of maritime law established by England satisfactory to them? Does it appear to them that the neutrality of the seas has been observed? Do they find that the English fleets respect their flags, and do their pretensions with regard to the blockade of ports appear to them legitimate rights? When the conduct of two belligerent states is under consideration, different standards of weights and measures should not be resorted to.—— If the two Imperial Courts were really disposed to peace, if their intention was to place negotiation beyond the influence and dictation of England; instead of employing vague and indeterminate expressions, such as "on the most moderate terms, compatible with the general repose and security," they would have said, that their intention was to obtain, by an honourable and sincere mediation, the full execution of the treaties of Amiens and Luneville.——We are too far removed from those times when powers arrogated to themselves the right of interfering in the internal affairs of France, to set any value on the renunciation of this right. The sole mention of this ridiculous pretension, so long abandoned, is in itself an indecency.——If the sentiments of England be analogous to those of the Imperial Courts, we ought then to judge of the sentiments of the Court of Vienna by those of England; of its just and impartial policy by the uniform conduct of England; of its benevolence

to the feeble, and of its justice to neutrality, by the moderation of England. If England entertained pacific sentiments, if she was just and moderate, there would be at present no war upon the Continent, because there would be no maritime war.——The doubts of the Emperor Napoleon are wholly removed; you wish for Bavaria; but it is necessary that you too should not remain in doubt respecting the intentions of the Emperor Napoleon: he will never suffer you to retain Bavaria. As to the general question, it is not more complicated. When Russia shall make a declaration of her intentions, we shall be able to judge of them, and there will be no difficulty in answering her; so far as England is concerned, it would be in vain for Austria to endeavour to represent her as just in her pretensions, or moderate in her views. We shall give credit to the justice of England when she shall have consented to come back to those engagements which she entered into by the treaty of Amiens, and which she has violated.

Proclamation of the Emperor Napoleon to the French Army, dated Strasburgh, Sept. 29, 1805.

SOLDIERS,——The war of the third coalition has begun. The Austrian army has passed the Inn, violated treaties, and has attacked and driven our ally from his capital. You yourselves have been compelled to advance by forced marches to the defence of our frontiers. Already you have passed the Rhine. We will not again make peace without a sufficient guarantee. Our policy shall no more give way to our generosity.—Soldiers, your Emperor is in the midst of you; you are only the advanced guard of a great people. If it should be necessary, they will all rise at my voice to confound and dissolve this new league which has been formed by the hatred and the gold of England.——But, soldiers, we shall have forced marches to make, fatigues, and privations of every kind to endure. Whatever obstacles may be opposed to us, we will overcome them, and we shall take no rest until we have planted our eagles on the territory of our enemies. (Signed) NAPOLEON. By order of his Majesty the Major-General of the grand army.——BERTHIER.

Proclamation transmitted by General Massena to the French Army of Italy; dated Sept. 10, 1805.

SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF ITALY,—His Majesty the Emperor and King has nominated me your General in Chief. It is pleasing to me again to behold my former companions in arms, and to find them still actuated by the same sentiments, the same attachment to discipline, and devotion to their duty, for which I have ever known them distinguished. I shall uniformly address them in this language; and I love to believe they well know how to answer it if political circumstances oblige his Majesty, the Emperor and King, to give the signal for war, notwithstanding the desire he has constantly manifested to maintain peace. Soldiers! you will remember that you are on a field of battle illustrious by his victories, and that every step we shall find traces of his magnanimity and genius. I replace at your head a general distinguished by his services. He is called to another destination, where, doubtless, your wishes will accompany him. Soldiers! on whatever theatre his Imperial Majesty places us, let us justify his choice, and let us entertain but one thought; our country and our Emperor.—The Marshal of the Empire, General-in-Chief, (Signed) MASSENA.

Address of the Archduke Charles on taking the Command of his Army, dated Padua, Sept. 21, 1805.

On my arrival, no business presses more upon me than to inform the army that I am again at its head, and have taken the command upon me. I hope, from the recollection of former occurrences, so glorious for his Majesty's arms, that if war should be inevitable, contrary to his Majesty's sincere desire, I shall still find in the army that ancient spirit of confidence and perseverance, that unshaken steadiness in danger, that obedient bravery, and (I cannot mention it without being sensibly affected) that attachment to my person, and confidence in me, by which the most memorable days of my life have been distinguished, and which have led to actions for the welfare of the monarchy that can never be forgotten. I doubt not but the army will remember, at every period of my life, the care and attachment with which I shared its fate, both in prosperity and adversity.——Above all things I recommend the commanders of large or small bodies, to instil into the troops the true military virtues; a strict discipline, patience, obedience, and continence. The spirit of discontent, obstinacy, stubborness, drinking, and gambling, as well as every species of vice which undermine men's mo-

rals, must be extirpated in the army, and I shall seriously hold the commanders responsible for the observance of this exhortation. ——That the business at head-quarters may be managed according to a settled plan, I have divided the whole administration into four parts, each of which is to have its separate functions.

BOULOGNE FLOTILLA. —— *Letter from Rear Admiral Lacrosse to the French Minister of Marine; dated Boulogne, Oct.* 1, 1805.

I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that the day before yesterday, the line of his Majesty's flotilla, consisting of 27 gun-boats alone, under Captain Dordelin, had the whole day 23 vessels in front of them, two of which were of the line, four frigates, and the rest cutters. Yesterday the enemy had not diminished in number; but accustomed to see them in such force, I did not think it necessary to reinforce our line, convinced that it was sufficient to repel all attacks.——At midnight, the weather being very thick, and the sea calm, I heard a warm firing and some discharges of cannon in the line. I made immediate dispositions for several divisions of the flotilla to go out; but the firing having ceased, I suspended that movement. Proceeding along the line, Captain Dordelin informed me that the gun-boat No. 62, head of the line to the east, commanded by Ensign Alex, had been surrounded by a chain of fire ships conducted by several pinnaces.——That officer, without slipping or cutting his cable, which would successively have exposed the whole line to danger from the fire ships, kept his post firmly, and directing all his efforts to the chain which connected the fire ships, he attempted to break it and succeeded.—— The chain being broken, the fire ships defiled along the line, yet the gun-boat No.300, Captain Nivelain, was grappled by six of them. The officer performed the same manœuvre as Captain Alex, and his second in command, and two others, jumped into the boat and disengaged the vessel.——But one of the fire ships having exploded near the gun-boat, she was thrown up covered with water, and had no other damage than her windows broken and some shot on board. No. 291 also experienced the effects of the blowing up. The gun-boats No. 280, 305, 138, 34, and 61, were more particularly attacked, but did not quit their post. Some of the ropes merely were cut by the balls, and the enemy's pinnaces, repulsed by a warm firing, soon took to flight, and were indebted for their safety to the darkness of the night. At two o'clock all was quiet along the line, and we had not a man killed. At day-break, Captain Alex having perceived some articles floating, sent his boat with six men for them: they brought back a spherical machine, copper sheathed, and which was found to be one of the infernal machines, call by the Moniteur, Globes of Compression. As it was being conveyed on shore, it blew up, and the Midshipman Messurier and three men perished.——At low water we found on the coast several wrecks of the fire ships; and particularly a lock like that of the fire machines which the English used last year with as much ridicule and as little success. (The letter concludes by praising the conduct of the soldiers and sailors of the flotilla.) (Signed)

LACROSSE.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

Order read to the different Companies of the Coldstream Regiment of Guards, by order of His Royal Highness the Duke of York, dated October 3, 1805.

The Duke of York cannot allow the period of his removal from the command of the Coldstream Regiment to pass, without expressing in the strongest terms, the approbation to which the regiment is, by its uniform good conduct during the twenty-one years the Duke has had the happiness of commanding it, so justly entitled. His Royal Highness desires, that the officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers of the regiment will, with this faithful testimony to their merit, accept his warmest thanks for the many most grateful marks of their regard and attachment, which he has experienced during the course of his command; and he desires to assure them, that individually they will ever retain his highest esteem; and that, as a corps, their honour and success will ever remain the objects of his most earnest solicitude. The Duke has done them justice in his representation to their present Colonel; and the regret with which His Royal Highness leaves the regiment is lessened, by resigning the command of it to a successor, who, His Royal Highness is persuaded, will feel an equal attachment to the regiment, and will on every occasion, most zealously promote its interest and happiness.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 17.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1805. [PRICE 10D.

"The cause of legitimate monarchy has suffered infinitely more from the folly and pusillanimity of "monarchical ministers, than from the cunning and violence of its open enemies; and, amongst all the "political sins of which the former have been guilty, the most dangerous, as well as the most odious, is, the "abandoning, the basely sacrificing, of their most zealous and most faithful adherents; while the republicans, "and usurpers, in the midst of all their robberies, their murders, their treasons, and their blasphemies, have "invariably, cost what it would, given to their partisans, an honourable and efficient protection. The "Margrave of Baden, my lord, will be, to the princes of Germany, an example not less memorable or "less powerful than that which Napper Tandy presents to the rebels of Ireland. Both will look to France "as the only protecting and remunerating power; both will pay their court to her; and, whenever she "chooses to accept of them, both will range themselves under her banners."——Mr. Cobbett's Letters to Lord Hawkesbury on the New Division of Germany, 1802.

PUPLIC PAPERS.

BAVARIA.—— *Historical Representation of the Events which have directed the Conduct of his Electoral Highness, the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, dated Wurtzburgh, September 29,* 1805.

Bowed down by the consequences of an unfortunate and exhausting war, Bavaria reposed in the slumber of the most profound peace. Without care, it saw the different camps in the adjoining Austrian states formed one after another. The want of peace appeared to be general, and it never suspected that it could be the intention of the powers to interrupt the public tranquillity. Though a dryness between France and Russia threatened a storm from afar, yet it was believed, that the distance between these two powers might afford a well-grounded hope, that the misunderstanding would not come to a final rupture; or, at least, that Germany would not be involved in it.—— Besides, the object of their dispute was so foreign to the interests of the Bavarian states, that the idea could scarcely be admitted, that it could be involved in the contest against France. Bavaria had no complaint against the Emperor Napoleon. By his vigorous co-operation, it had received indemnification for the losses it had sustained in the last war; and the courts of Vienna and Petersburgh cannot deny the interest which the Emperor of the French took on that occasion, in the Elector of Bavaria.—In these circumstances, accounts were received in Munich that the negociations which had scarcely commenced between France and Russia were broken off, and at the same time that a numerous army of Austrian troops was assembling at Wels, while considerable reinforcements were marching to the Tyrol. Several divisions of troops passed without previous notice, on their march to the Tyrol, a part of the electoral territory. ——The remonstrances made upon this subject produced the most satisfactory assurances from the Austrian envoy, at Munich, that this had taken place quite contrary to the will of the Emperor; an inquiry was promised to be instituted into the conduct of the officers who had led the divisions, who they said should be properly punished. Nothing more was heard of the matter, but the passages of troops without permission, followed more frequently and in greater numbers than before. Scarcely were these accounts received when the camp at Wels broke up, and the march of the troops to Braunau gave reason to suppose, that they meant soon to cross the Inn. The Elector, however, hoped to be able to preserve that neutrality which his geographical situation, and the interests of his exhausted states, seemed to prescribe to him as the most agreeable system.——The Elector had already commissioned his minister to make overtures upon the subject to the court of Vienna, when Prince Schwarzenberg suddenly appeared in Munich. He brought a letter from the Emperor of Russia, in which his Imperial Majesty, in the most decided terms, desired the immediate union of the Bavarian with the Austrian troops. This letter contained threats in case this desire was not fulfilled, and an assurance in case of its being accomplished, that he would never make any pretensions on the smallest part of Bavaria. In this categorical manner an overture was made, at a period when we had the less reason to expect any pretensions to be set forth by the Austrian court, that the electoral ministry had just concluded a convention with the Imperial Plenipotentiary at Munich, subject to the ratification of the elector, by which very considerable sacrifices were made in favour of his Imperial Majesty and the Elector of Saltzburgh. The Prince of Schwarzenberg, explained more particularly in an interview granted him by the elector, and in another which he had with

the minister of foreign affairs, in a commanding tone, the intentions of the Emperor. He desired the Bavarian army should forthwith be delivered up to the Austrian generals, and that in seperate divisions it should be incorporated with the Austrian army. The menace even escaped them that the Bavarian troops, if that desire was not fulfilled, should be disarmed. He required a complete and accurate representation of the state of the Bavarian army, and to all his other demands he added another, that the Elector should give him an answer on the same day. Nothing was prepared, the Elector thinking that he ought to yield to his confidence in the court of Vienna, immediately dispatched to his Majesty the Emperor, whose regard for right and justice are so generally recognised, his lieutenant general, the Count Nogarolla, with a letter, written by his own hand, in which in the openest and most cordial terms he confidentially represented to his Majesty the situation in which the elector found himself, the necessity he was under of abiding by the system of neutrality that he had adopted. Without permitting himself to take any steps which could excite suspicions respecting his intentions, the Elector, by the mission of this general, deprived himself of the commander of one of the principal divisions of his army. General Nogarolla had scarcely set out, when they were surprised in Munich by the intelligence, that the Austrian army were preparing to cross the Inn. The Elector now easily perceived that the Austrian generals were determined to put it out of his power quietly to deliberate upon the propositions made to him, and that they hastened at the very commencement of negociations to make sure of the Bavarian troops, and perhaps of the person of the Regent himself.——As to what concerns the troops, the Lieutenant Field-Marshal Mack affected no disguise, and confessed to a Bavarian officer, that, in consideration of the hopes which had been held out to the Prince of Schwarzenberg, he had countermanded the forced march of the division of General Kienau, which was destined to surprise Neuburgh, in order to cut off the retreat of the electoral troops The moment was now arrived when the Elector of Bavaria, who had hitherto lent implicit confidence to the friendly assurances of the Imperial Envoy, should adopt a prompt and steady resolution to preserve his honour and independence. Without the smallest hostile view, but in order to maintain his neutrality, the court of Munich endeavoured to gain time, and to conceal the measures which it had recourse to, under the pressure of the moment, from Prince Schwarzenberg When a wish was expressed further to treat with this general, who had in so commanding a tone required an answer in 24 hours, the Elector and his minister found out with astonishment that he was provided with no powers, and that before coming to any conclusion Field-Marshal Mack must be consulted. The interview for which this general and Prince Schwarzenberg had proposed the 9th of September, was agreed to, and in the mean time the Austrian troops actually entered Bavaria. With their first steps they made heavy requisitions, demanded the administration of the country to be placed in their hands, and began to force their paper money into circulation at its nominal value, while in their own land it had fallen to a discount of more than 50 per cent. in exchange for specie. In such circumstances an alliance should be concluded, stipulating the reform and incorporation of the Bavarian army.——In the night between the 8th and 9th of September, orders were given for the march of the electoral troops. The Elector and his ministers withdrew from further vexations, quitted the capital, and betook themselves to the Franconian provinces.——Notwithstanding the violent proceedings taken against the Elector, his personal confidence in his Majesty the Emperor, and even in Field-Marshal Mack, was not diminished. The electoral Lieutenant Colonel Ribaupierre was dispatched to an appointed interview at Haag, as he was the person best qualified to give the imperial quarter-master the most accurate information respecting the state of the Bavarian army. He was commissioned to represent that the union of the Bavarian troops could not be assented to as a preliminary, but must be the result of previous negociation; and particularly to declare, that his electoral highness would never consent to the disbanding of his troops, and would rather perish than submit to it. He remarked to Field-Marshal Mack, that the Bavarian troops had orders to fire on whatever troops should attempt to disarm them. The Prince of Schwarzenberg proposed to stop the march of the troops till a courier was dispatched to Vienna to fetch new instructions. Colonel Ribaupierre was disposed to accede to this proposal, but Field-Marshal Mack insisted on the Bavarian troops remaining where they were, while the Austrians should be permitted to advance. The Bavarian officer could not assent to such conditions; and here the negociations were broken off.——As the Austrian army were now advancing towards the Inn, the Bavarian troops, which were scat-

tered up and down in isolated garrisons, made their retreat on all quarters, in order not to come in contact with the army that was passing. They crossed the Danube, and went into cantonments in the Upper Palatinate. In order that the communications with the commander of the Austrian army might not be embarrassed or retarded by the court having changed its place of residence, the Elector appointed, for the purpose of entertaining those relations, his minister at the courts of Vienna and Salsburgh, Baron Gravenreuth, who happened then to be at Munich, thereby thinking to give a new proof of his earnest wish to preserve a friendly and good understanding. This minister, on the 13th, sent his brother, a captain of the electoral staff, and formerly attached to the mission at Vienna, to Field-Marshal Mack, to Munich, with a letter, in which, appealing to the system of neutrality that had been adopted, he begged to be informed of the particular tract of country through which the imperial troops were to pass, and what positions the electoral troops might take, in order that the imperial army might meet with no impediment on its march, and all occasion for collision be avoided. Field-Marshal Mack in his answer, contented himself with referring to what he had expressed in words to Captain Gravenreuth, namely, "That the Emperor would never consent to Bavaria remaining neutral, or to the Bavarian troops acting as allies in a distinct corps." The Field-Marshal, in his conversation, entered into a long detail, commencing with the mission of M. Novosiltzoff, and terminating with the transfer of the Austrian head-quarters to Munich, and explained the necessity of the rapid progress made into Bavaria, by the necessity of keeping near it the preparations for an attack on France.—He rejected every proposition for a line of demarcation, which he said would not be observed by the Russian army, which was already drawing near; declared, that the Bavarian troops, if they were not incorporated with the Austrians, would be no where secure, not even in the Franconian Provinces, and that he would follow them wherever they went, allowing no consideration to stop him. The General signified that he was empowered to treat Bavaria in a hostile manner, but that he still entertained hopes of matters being settled with friendship and cordiality. While the Minister Gravenreuth gave intimation of these declarations to his Electoral Highness, and asked for further orders, one account followed another from the officers employed in the civil administration of the country of the conduct of the Austrian army. Provisions and forage were every where driven away without being paid for, and by the receipts, several millions were added to the unacquitted obligations of the last war.—The subjects of the Elector were obliged to furnish horses for the Austrian officers who were travelling post; horses were taken from carriages on the road, for the purposes of draught; considerable requisitions were made of horses, which were seized upon by execution. The Bavarian peasants were forced to drive the waggons. The Bavarian soldiers who were absent on leave, and the recruits, were forbidden to join their regiments, under pain of the loss of property. The land was inundated with Notes of the Bank of Vienna, which were forced into circulation at their nominal value; and the shop-keepers and trades-people who refused to take them, were threatened with a seizure of their goods.—The Commanders of towns, and the Commissaries of the army, adopted measures which seemed an introduction to a formal assumption of the administration of the country.—At last the Commissaries of the Army extended their jurisdiction to that part of the country of which they were not in possession; and, on the 16th and 17th of September, sent, under orders of Field-Marshal Mack, general directions to the Electoral Civil Commissaries at Amberg, at that time the station of the Head-quarters of the Bavarian troops. By these directions the taxes, customs and revenues, of every kind, were to be collected into a chest, on the state of which notice was to be given every eight days to the Commissaries of the Imperial armies, without whose instructions, not the smallest sum should be paid, with the exception of a few current salaries and pensions; and that in all the Public Offices, the Vienna Bank Notes should be taken at their nominal value. By another order, they were commanded to search for, and deliver up the Austrian deserters. The Electoral Civil Commissaries in Amberg, sent back these orders, with a notification that they could receive instructions only from his Electoral Highness. The Minister Gravenreuth, however, remonstrated against these measures of the military Commissaries, and on the 29th of September dispatched a Staff Officer to the Austrian head-quarters. The Archduke Ferdinand, who, in the mean time, had assumed the command of the army, signified his conviction that the Military Commissaries had gone beyond their instructions, appeared to disapprove of their conduct, and promised to communicate an answer in four or five days. As the Aus-

trian troops were now advancing both out of Bohemia, and also by the way of Rain and Newburgh, into the Upper Palatinate, the Bavarian troops found themselves obliged to tetreat, and to withdraw into Franconia.— On the 28th of September, the answer of the Archduke Ferdinand arrived in Bamberg, in which he referred to the Austrian Minister, who was then in Wurtzburgh.— This Minister, notwithstanding all that had taken place, had made no ceremony in repairing to the Court at Wurtzburgh. In an audience granted him, he delivered to the Elector a letter from the hand of the Emperor, in which his Majesty insisted on his first propositions, and desired the union of the troops. This Minister afterwards declared, that he was vested with full power to conclude an alliance with Bavaria. Propositions were brought forward so widely different from the system that had been observed by Austria for a century past, that their sincerity could not possibly obtain belief. Overtures were renewed to him, the principal of which were to recognise the neutrality of the Elector. He did not absolutely reject the proposition, but declared in the most precise terms, that the Emperor of Austria would never consent to an armed neutrality. His Majesty, he said, might perhaps consent to a neutrality, and even agree that a certain circle in the neighbourhood of Munich should never be occupied by Austrian troops, provided the Elector would previously consent to disband his army. Such a proposition necessarily revolted the Elector and his Ministers. In order, however, to avoid the slightest reproach of having abruptly broken off a negociation by which, perhaps, the Elector might have been placed in a situation to preserve his neutrality, these insulting demands met only a cool reply. The Imperial Minister proceeded, that if the Elector made a difficulty in the general disbanding of his army, the Emperor would be contented with the disbanding of only the Bavarian and Suabian troops, permitting him to retain the Franconians. The Minister of Foreign Affairs rejected a condition so humiliating for the Franconians. The Austrian Envoy declared, that besides the Franconian troops, the Suabians might also be retained, if the Elector would consent to disband the Bavarians. Without this express condition, however, no neutrality could be thought of. How could the Austrian Minister propose a measure by which a difference was supposed between the Electoral troops at once so injurious and insulting? His Electoral Highness, and the whole nation, are convinced that the same fidelity, and the same courage pervade the whole army, and know no difference. The Elector cannot better prove this than by intrusting the defence of the country to the Bavarian and Suabian troops, while he delivers up his person and family to the protection of those of Franconia.— The Minister of the Emperor and King further declared, that if the Elector remained armed, his Imperial Majesty would not even on that account treat him as an enemy, but that this measure must necessarily inspire a just distrust, and that his Majesty would in this case feel himself obliged to act as circumstances might require. It was remarked that this expression was extremely undefined, and might be explained in any way suiting the occasion. The reply was, that the Ministers of the Elector made no proposition to him, while he was empowered to discuss every condition which was compatible with the disarming of the Bavarian troops. On this new overture there was nothing further to be said. The honour and the independence of the Sovereign could not permit that the disbanding of the Electoral Bavarian troops should be fixed as the basis of any negociation. The Austrian Minister was now aware that his propositions were not, and could not be attended to; and that his negociation had entirely failed of success. He began, therefore, to complain of the approach of the French troops; he gave it to be understood too, that he did not feel himself in his proper place, and that, if no other proposition was made to him, he would return to the Austrian head-quarters. In fact, the Court learned, that on the 27th of September, at three o'clock in the afternoon, he had taken his departure from Wurtzburgh. Thus ended the negociation which Austria wished to enter upon, after it had over-run the land of a peaceable neighbour with a numerous army. This faithful representation, puts every man in a situation to judge of the intentions of Austria respecting Bavaria, and even to pronounce, that there was nothing left to the Elector of Bavaria, but to throw himself on the protection of the Emperor of France, against demands, insulting at once to his army and the nation.—Confidence in God, in a generous Ally, in a brave army, and a faithful nation, inspires courage in a just cause.— Heaven will bless the Bavarian arms!

GENOA.—*Memorial presented on the Part of the French Government to the several Continental States, on the Annexation of Genoa to the French Empire.*

After many vain attempts of the Ge-

noese people to maintain the independent existence which France had guaranteed them, already on the brink of destruction, they unanimously resolve upon the only measure left them for their preservation; they decree, in the most solemn manner, their union with the French empire, and earnestly implore the Emperor Napoleon to receive them into the number of his faithful subjects, by a deputation, the members of which were directed not to leave Milan till hey had, at least, obtained a promise of his mperial and Royal Majesty, that he would comply with their desire.——The most urgent motives induced all the citizens of that republic to make a proposal which entirely changes their political situation. Important reasons invited France not to oppose this wish. All the naval powers could not but favour an union, which, without augmenting the continental strength of France, enables her, for the benefit of the commerce of all nations, to avenge the maritime encroachments and insults of England. It may not be amiss to consider, in various points of view, an occurrence which will soon be placed in a false light by the panegyrists of that government by whose conduct it was rendered indispensably necessary.——The senate and people of Genoa had made various efforts to give themselves a constitution, but without success. France herself had sincerely wished that this state might preserve its rank among the powers of Europe. She had defended it during the war; she had re-conquered it from Austria; she had endeavoured in various negotiations to stipulate for its advantage; she had increased its territory, to afford it new means of prosperity, and had successively ceded to it the Imperial Fiefs, the Valley of Oneglia, Loano, Serravalle, and other districts, inclosed by its territory, which belonged to France, prevented a free communication, and were injurious to its trade. It is still fresh in the memory of every one, that France, after she had, in the 8th year of the republic, reconquered Genoa and her dependencies from the power which had taken possession of them, did not insist on those rights to which she was entitled by this event. She withstood the wish uttered even at that time by those who were best acquainted with the situation of their country, and rejected the proposal of an union, which would indeed have contributed more effectually to the tranquillity and security of Genoa, but which would then have appeared to be merely the effect of gratitude, and the recollection of the calamities she had endured.——Since that period, Genoa has been convinced that her welfare is no longer compatible with her independence, and that, in consequence of the change in the state of all Europe, she had become too weak to make head against the external attacks of armies or fleets, and to suppress internal commotions. After many years of difficulty and inquietude, she implored his Imperial and Royal Majesty, who had already undertaken to preside over the destinies of France, likewise to direct those of the Ligurian republic, and to unite all parties under a constitution better adapted to the state of the country and its old inhabitants. Genoa, accordingly, received a government whose form and regulations were sanctioned by the experience of many centuries, and whose fundamental principles were carefully examined and approved by the representatives of the State of Genoa, who were charged to take upon themselves that labour. But this new attempt, made with the concurrence of all, was not attended with any better success. Genoa was incapable of having either a government, a marine, foreign commerce, or internal police. She possessed not even the power to exterminate a banditti, who are still plundering a portion of her territories, and who even kept the inhabitants of the adjoining French departments in a continual state of alarm.——From all these fruitless exertions to improve her internal situation, Genoa learned that the causes of her imbecillity, and the means of preventing her total annihilation, were to be sought abroad. Genoa, which subsisted entirely by commerce, has lost it in consequence of the aggrandizement of all the commercial powers. Numerous ports, which 20 years ago were scarcely known, and others which boast the peculiar protection of their respective governments, have vied with each other in diminishing the prosperity of the Port of Genoa.——New maritime states were created by the late war. Venice, whose trade had fallen to decay, is now the depôt of the commodities of a great empire. The same power has acquired a great extent of coast, and gives animation to the ports which nature has so richly distributed along it. The harbours in the republic of the Seven Islands will soon be of far greater importance than they were under the government of Venice. The English, now masters of India, have made Malta a new depôt for their merchandize.—While this competition arose round Genoa, she beheld the remnant of her commerce exposed to the depredations of pirates, and excited the envy of England, which not only refused to consider Genoa as an independent state, but employed every possible measure

to drive her to despair; which incessantly insulted her; which, during the late war, cut out of the harbour two French frigates, and massacred their crews, and treated her just as she pleased during the blockade.—— Before England had declared this war against Genoa, when Upper Italy was yet subject to several Sovereigns, the maritime commerce of Genoa, and her commission-trade with the Continent, was capable of preserving her from ruin. The former is now destroyed; and as England, besides throwing a thousand obstacles in the way of exportation, likewise seized every opportunity of sending her commodities into her own ports as contraband, his Imperial and Royal Majesty, whose dominions surround Liguria, found himself necessitated to adopt a system for the whole of those frontiers, which, while it prevented the importation of English commodities into the departments of France, likewise cut off all communication between Liguria and the Continent, and consequently put a stop to the only trade which England had left the republic.—— Alarmed at a situation which could not fail, in a short time, to involve her in utter ruin, Genoa was long convinced that she had no other resource than to unite herself more closely with France. She daily renounced, from necessity, a portion of her independence, and was protected only by a corps of French troops, for which she had applied. By the depredations of the Barbary corsairs that hovered about the island of Caprea, in order the better to molest her trade, she was, at length, compelled to cede that island to France.——Genoa, unable to equip vessels for the protection of her coasts, possessing dock-yards and magazines, unserviceable in her exhausted state, having merchant vessels which her marine and her flag were incapable of protecting, and which were obliged to sail under that of another power, to escape the privateers, Genoa could no longer procure bread for her numerous population, depending for subsistence on maritime enterprise and the industry that prevails in her ports.——Not being in a condition to carry on, in a direct manner, the war in which England had involved her, she could do no more than send her seamen on board the French squadrons, and implore the French government to make use in France of her labourers for whom she could not find employment. In perpetual apprehension of civil commotions from the discontent of parties, on account of the general poverty, which was continually increasing, and the imbecillity of the government, which could not firmly establish itself, she was persuaded of the necessity of forming a corps of gens d'armes, to be commanded by French officers.——Thus the union of Genoa was imperceptibly effected by her situation. This measure was desired by her inhabitants. Nothing more was therefore necessary than that it should be taken into consideration by those parts of the government which suffered the most from this state of uncertainty, the expenses and burthens of which rendered the condition of Liguria still more oppressive. Hence proceeded the sudden enthusiasm, the eager zeal, of the people of Genoa, to subscribe to the wish for an incorporation; when the senate, after mature consideration, thought it their duty to propose it, and regarded that as the favourable moment, in which his Imperial and Royal Majesty could behold, with his own eyes, the distresses of a country to which arms had restored its independence, but which, in spite of all its efforts, could not again recover its former prosperity.——As Piedmont, Parma, and Placenza, by which Liguria is incompassed, form a part of the dominions of his Majesty; as the kingdom of Italy is in his hands, and has received a Sovereign from him; as the republic of Genoa, which was forgotten by England in the treaty of Amiens, perceives that both the sea and the land are shut against her, she could not have formed a resolution better adapted to her interest and her dignity, than to incorporate herself with a great nation, and that with an impetuosity so enthusiastic as perfectly answered for the success of the measure.——His Imperial and Royal Majesty, affected by the motives which induced Genoa to adopt this resolution, was obliged provisorily to comply with a wish that was the result of long experience and the most mature deliberation. The annihilation of the hopes of a people who were determined no longer to be denied might have been productive of the most serious consequences.— The continental power of France has not, in fact, been augmented by this union. A narrow tract, so cooped up by the sea and by mountains, as to leave a free communication only at a few points, which does not produce corn sufficient to support its 500,000 inhabitants, which is exposed to the havoc of annual inundation in its most fertile districts, and oppressed by the burthen of a prodigious debt, without any probability of its ever being paid off; the incorporation with his Imperial and Royal Majesty's state of such a country, which has but little communication with the Continent, and is incapable of restoring its naval power, on account of the alteration which has taken place in the situa-

tion of all other states, cannot afford any pretext for continental discussions; and its union with France cannot possibly produce any remonstrances by which peace is likely to be endangered. Should England succeed in creating discord on this subject, no alternative will be left his Imperial and Royal Majesty but to prosecute with vigour the unjust war that will be declared against him. ——Enjoying the satisfaction of having rescued a state which threw itself into his arms, he will have in his favour the goodness of its cause, the public opinion, and all the motives of dignity, neighbourhood, and benevolence, which have hitherto induced him to protect Genoa.——Far more important considerations of great interest to all Europe, excepting England, co-operated on this occasion in the resolves of his Majesty. France, which, by her political and geographical situation on the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas, is destined to check the usurpation of the ocean, and to vindicate the rights and independence of the maritime powers, has not coasts so extensive as England. Without enlarging her continental possessions, she will obtain, by the union of Genoa 6000 seamen to supply the place of those whom she lost during the late war, and will thus be enabled the better to cope with a state, the sole object of whose efforts is to usurp the dominion of the seas, which exercises an universal monopoly, which strives to make with every nation commercial treaties in her own way; which is extending her power in India only with a view to employ it against Europe; which violates all the rights of neutrals, and which will not conduct herself with more moderation towards them till France shall have acquired a formidable navy.——Were the English to restore Goa to the Portuguese, Ceylon to the Dutch, the vast possessions of Tippoo Saib to his heirs, and the Empire of the Mahrattas to its independence, it would better become them than to remonstrate against the union of a narrow tract of coast, which is already surrounded by the French territory. But these exaggerating alarmists, who will infallibly raise a prodigious outcry against a measure which they have themselves rendered necessary for Genoa, for France, and for the security of Europe, will, it is to be hoped, not make any impression on the wiser cabinets of the Continent. To all the states of Europe the situation of Liguria must be a matter of indifference. They have long seen that this country is separated from their territories by the dominions of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, and, from its position, can have no communication with them but by sea. They are already accustomed to the intimate relations subsisting between the Genoese and France, to the mutual interests and mutual operations which have rendered the two nations indivisible. Their union must appear to all Europe the inevitable result of their position. It cannot excite any mistrust in the continental powers, as it will not add a single battalion to the French army; as the gradual decay of Liguria forbids the annexation of its territory to be ascribed to wishes of ambition, so there is not a court that ought to entertain any alarm concerning the intentions of his Majesty, after the principles of moderation he has manifested, in accepting the Crown of Italy only till such time as the tranquillity of the south of Europe shall be restored.—England imagined, that while she was conquering India, and plundering the Sovereigns of extensive and opulent kingdoms, the distance of these unexampled usurpations would escape the attention of Europe. To France alone, destined by nature to preserve the rights of neutral states; to France, who has always exerted all her power, and placed all her glory in protecting them; to her alone it belongs to restore the balance of the seas. A few thousand more seamen will be sufficient for the equipment of ten ships which France is building in the midst of the war, and will be the best guarantee for the preservation of any future treaty between her and England. It is beyond a doubt, that, if at a moment of peace France has succeeded in placing her marine on a respectable footing, there will be no danger of a renewal of those hostilities which England thought proper to commence against France in May, 1803, of which the expedition against Denmark, and capture of the Spanish frigates, furnish a farther demonstration.——Europe will not then any longer be perpetually disturbed by the efforts of a government which is incessantly endeavouring to arm the Continent in favour of its design upon the seas, and which has in vain granted 5,000,000*l.* sterling to procure assistance.——The measure of the Genoese cannot, therefore, in any point of view, oppose the smallest obstacle to the negotiations with which M. De Novosiltzoff is charged. ——All the essentials of an equal, secure, and honourable peace still subsist: and if it were allowed to compare trifles with objects of importance, it might be said, that England has no right to complain of the wish for a union between Liguria and France, as France has made no complaint concerning the destruction of the Mahratta empire.

PRUSSIAN NEUTRALITY.——*Proclamation published pursuant to the Orders of his Prussian Majesty, in quality of Prince of Anspach, by the Magistrates of all the Places in Anspach bordering on Suabia; dated September* 24, 1805.

In conformity with a supreme rescript of the 18th instant, addressed to the undersigned local authorities, his Majesty the King of Prussia, our Prince, has resolved during the present critical circumstances, in which the other powers are about to be involved in mutual warfare, to observe the most rigid neutrality, for the welfare of his states and of his subjects. In consequence of this resolution, his Majesty has thought proper to order, for the maintenance of this neutrality: —1st. That no passage of foreign troops, nor of convoys accompanied by a military escort, shall be allowed to take place through the states of his Majesty, without his supreme consent:—2dly. That the passage of any troops, of whatsoever description, that shall either be demanded or attempted, without previous application, shall be refused with civility; but at the same time with unshaken firmness; and that no accommodation, conveyance, assistance, or succours of any kind shall be granted, upon any pretence whatsoever, either for payment or acknowledgment, but that such attempts are to be protested against, &c. The inhabitants of this city are hereby informed of an arrangement which ought to quiet their apprehensions, and excite their gratitude, inasmuch as it evidently proves the paternal solicitude of his Majesty; and it is expected that notice will be given to the undersigned department, of the approach of any troops that shall appear, and of the demands they may make. It is at the same time publicly notified, that his Majesty has thought proper, in the present critical conjuncture, to prohibit generally and most strictly, any exports from his states, and to extend this prohibition to bread corn of every kind, whether in grain or flour; as also to oats, to pease, and other leguminous productions, and to horses of any age whatsoever. All who shall offend against this prohibition shall be punished, without any regard to the particular circumstances, by the confiscation of the prohibited articles which they may wish to export, as well as of the horses and waggons.

AUSTRIA AND FRANCE.——*Note delivered to the Diet of Ratisbon by M. Bacher, Chargé d'Affaires for his Majesty the Emperor of the French at the German Diet; dated Ratisbon, September* 30, 1805.

The note which the undersigned, by order of his most Serene Sovereign, laid before the Diet on the 11th of September, has sufficiently shewn with what sentiments the Emperor of the French is animated; what are his dearest wishes, and what the hopes he ardently cherishes. Austria, however, which is resolved on war, and shuts every opening to negotiation and approach, as if fearful of being brought back to moderate and just sentiments, has suffered her troops to pass the Inn and overrun Bavaria. She has trodden under foot the constitution, violated the peace, and annulled the reces of the German empire, a reces which so essentially interested France since it was the result of her mediation. The House of Austria thus proceeds towards the object she has proposed to herself, not by circuitous ways, by secret attacks, by the slow and dark measures of art and craft, but openly and with an armed force; and the object is no other than to annihilate the constitution of the German empire, destroy its principles, overrun with her troops the states placed under its protection, and on their ruin to establish her tyrannical dominion, and the subjection of Germany.——The Bavarian territories, which extend from the Austrian frontiers to the banks of the Lech, have been long desired by the Court of Vienna: she has neglected no endeavours and insinuations to obtain the consent of France to take possession of them.—These attempts she made during the negotiations for the peace of Luneville, when the Bavarian army was united with the Austrian: she made them after the peace was concluded; renewed them during the negotiations for the regulations of the indemnities; and more lately, while she was making preparations for war; and when she found that his Majesty the Emperor of the French was not to be shaken in his resolution to maintain the reces of the empire, and the integrity of the Bavarian possessions, she threw herself into the arms of England, and opened the gates of Germany to the armies of the north.——When the Emperor of the French learned that invasion of Bavaria, he saw that the time for explanation was past, and that it was necessary to act: his troops, with this view alone, have passed the Rhine, in order to secure the states of the Electors of Baden and Wurtemburgh from a similar fate.——In the moment, however, when the French troops penetrate into Germany, it has been the first care of the Emperor of the French to give the German empire a new pledge of his views; and the undersigned is commissioned to declare them in his name. The Emperor has only one object; this consists in repelling the unjust at-

tack, and restoring the independence of the body of the German empire, which has been attacked by the usurpations, unjust acquisitions, and acts of violence of the Court of Vienna. He will retain possession of none of the territories of Germany which may fall into his hands by the fate of arms. He guarantees to every prince the independence of his rights and possessions; and he will not lay down his arms till the reces of the empire shall be restored and confirmed in all its bases, and till Austria shall have renounced the monstrous claims of sequestration and incameration, and yielding up the acquisitions which she has made in Suabia, contrary to the express tenor of the reces of the empire, namely, by the acquisition of Lindau, and until she shall have ceased to make attacks on the independence and safety of Germany.——The undersigned, who is commissioned by the present declaration to give a new proof of the benevolent care of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, esteems himself happy in fulfilling so agreeable a duty. (Signed) BACHER.

Proclamation of Prince Eugene, Viceroy of Italy, Arch-Chancellor of the French Empire, to all the People of the Kingdom of Italy, given at Milan, October 1, 1805.

People of the Kingdom of Italy, the Cabinet of Vienna has determined upon war, both against you and the French people. That cabinet has dared to say, that the war has been provoked by France and Italy. Undoubtedly it will not be easy for it to make you credit this strange calumny. People of Italy, you know whether, during the last five months, Austria has for a moment ceased to collect forces under your eyes, to victual her fortresses, and to menace your frontiers. You are able to judge whether the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, though informed of all these hostile preparations, whereat you were justly alarmed, has not been in a manner deaf to the statements of the injustice and faithlessness of the Cabinet of Vienna. You know whether, at the moment when you were daily threatened with seeing your territory invaded, Napoleon did not refuse to hearken to your alarms, and to order suitable military dispositions to dissipate them. In a word, you know how often you have been surprised, alarmed, and have even complained of the patience of Napoleon.——Napoleon would not believe that war was possible. He demanded explanations: he did not recal his ambassador: he considered the residence at Paris of the Ambassador from Vienna, as a pledge that the House of Austria wished for peace: and hence it was that the armies of that House, taking advantage of the generous confidence of Napoleon, invaded the territory of a prince of the empire, of a prince guilty of the unpardonable crime of having remained faithful to treaties, and of having continued our ally. Unaccountable blindness, which has led the Emperor of Germany to compel those states to take refuge under the protection of the Emperor of the French, which he had at his coronation been bound to protect and defend. The cry of the Bavarian people has been heard by Napoleon. Napoleon is gone to put himself at the head of his armies. Soon shall the crime perpetrated against Bavaria be avenged. After a few efforts, peace, which has so often been granted, and so often offered by Napoleon, shall be secured for a long period. People of the kingdom of Italy! I am in the midst of you, such as my august and dearly beloved father-in-law, who has placed me here, has wished that I should be. On my part, I will take care that your property shall be respected, and your laws and constitutions preserved. Unquestionably, even with the greatest valour, there is yet cause for a people, still without defence, to apprehend those misfortunes which are inseparable from the state of war. Rely upon my zeal for the performance of all my duties: rely upon the sentiments of my heart, which I have declared to you. People of Italy, I will remove from you all the inconveniencies which I possibly can. I expect from you, zeal, attachment, and courage. You know the unlimited confidence which you all ought to place in that part of the French army, which is destined for Italy. You know the confidence which is due to the darling son of victory, to whom the Emperor has entrusted the care of defending you. People of Italy! Napoleon relies entirely upon you: rely entirely upon him. Napoleon has on his side the God of Armies, always terrible to the perjured. He has in his favour his own glory, his genius, the justice of his cause, the valour and fidelity of the people of Italy. Our enemies shall be vanquished.——THE PRINCE EUGENE.

BAVARIA.——*Address communicated to the Bavarian Troops by the Emperor Napoleon in General Orders, dated October* 5, 1805,

Bavarian Soldiers,——I have placed myself at the head of my army, to deliver your country from an unjust aggression. The House of Austria intends to annihilate your independence, and to incorporate you with its extensive dominions: but you will

be true to the memory of your ancestors, who, though frequently oppressed, but not subjugated, always preserved their independence and political existence, which is the first boon of nations, as fidelity to the Electoral House of Bavaria is the first of your duties. ——As a faithful ally of your Sovereign, I have been sensibly affected by the proofs you have given him, at this important period, of your attachment. I know your bravery, and flatter myself that, after the first battle, I shall be able to say to your Sovereign, and to my people, that you are worthy to fight under the leaders of the grand army.—— NAPOLEON.——By command of the Emperor and King.——MARSHAL BERTHIER, Quarter-Master General of the Army.

BAVARIA.——*Proclamation of Lieutenant-General Deroy to the Bavarian Army.*

Soldiers;——Your country has called you to its defence. In the midst of peace our Elector has been attacked by Austria: Bavaria has been overrun by her troops. Your prince wished to remain neutral; and you have seen yourselves forced to avoid the Austrian armies in order to prevent an engagement. But Austria requires your being incorporated with her army: she wishes you to be disarmed. You know the manner in which you were treated in former campaigns. Then you fought for that power: you marched together, and you submitted to excessive fatigues. What would have been your fate, if, when dispersed in that army, you had not dared to call yourselves Bavarians, the faithful subjects of Maximillian Joseph?——You, Bavarians, would not allow yourselves to be disarmed, you, who at the moment of the enemy's invasion, have traversed through his columns for the purpose of rejoining your colours.——You, Suabians, and Franconians, who, at the first signal, came to unite yourselves with your brethren in arms; you will not suffer yourselves to be dishonoured. Avenge the prince whom you love; avenge the unprovoked injuries which you have received; come to the camp, in order to conquer peace for your country. The great Emperor of the French has joined us with all his forces. Full of confidence in Providence, and in the justice of our cause, do not allow your country to be oppressed. Soldiers, let us possess your courage and confidence, and we shall be victorious.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*First Bulletin of the Grand Army; from the French Official Paper, the Moniteur, dated Paris, Oct. 13, 1805.*

The Emperor left Paris on the 24th of September, and arrived at Strasburgh on the 26th.—Marshal Bernadotte, who, at the moment that the army set out from Boulogne, advanced from Hanover towards Gottingen, marched by Frankfort for Wurtzburgh, where he arrived on the 23d of September. —General Marmont, who had arrived at Mentz, passed the Rhine by the bridge of Cassel, and advanced to Wurtzburgh, where he formed a junction with the Bavarian army, and the corps under Marshal Bernadotte. —The corps under Marshal Davoust, passed the Rhine on the 26th at Manheim, and marched by Heidelburgh and Necker-Eltz, on the Necker.—The corps under Marshal Soult passed the Rhine the same day on the bridge which was thrown over it at Spires, and advanced towards Heilbronn.—Marshal Ney's division passed the Rhine the same day by the flying bridge opposite Durlach, and marched towards Stutgard.—The corps under Marshal Lannes passed the Rhine the 25th, at Kehl, and advanced towards Louisburgh.—Prince Murat, with the cavalry of reserve, passed the Rhine at the same place, and on the same day, and remained for several days in position before the defiles of the Black Forest. His patroles, which often shewed themselves to the enemy's patroles, induced them to believe that it was our intention to penetrate by these defiles.—The great park of artillery passed the Rhine at Kehl, on the 30th Sept. and advanced towards Heilbronn. The Emperor passed the Rhine on the 1st inst. at Kehl, slept at Ettlngen, the same evening, received there the Elector and Princes of Baden, and went to Louisburgh to the Elector of Wurtemburgh, in whose palace he took up his abode.—On the 2d inst. the divisions of Marshal Bernadotte, General Marmont, and the Bavarians who were at Wurtzburgh, formed a junction, and began their march for the Danube.—The corps of Marshal Davoust marched from Necker-Eltz, by the route of Meckmuhl, Ingelfingen, Chreilsheim, Dunkelsbuhl, Frembdingen, Oettingen, Haarburgh, and Donauwerth.—The corps of Marshal Soult, marched from Heilbronn and followed the route of Ochringen, Hall, Gaildorf, Abslgmund, Aalen, and Nordlingen. The corps of Marshal Ney marched from Stutgard, following the route of Erslingen, Goppingen, Weissentein, Heydenheim, Natlkeim, and Nordlingen.—The corps of Marshal Lannes advanced from Louisburgh, taking the road from Gross-Beutelspach to Pluderhausen, Gemund, Aalen, and Nordlingen.—The following was the position of the army on the 6th instant: The corps of Marshal Ber-

nadotte, and the Bavarians, were at Weissenburgh. The corps of Davoust was at Oettingen, and on the Banks of the Rednitz. That of Marshal Soult at Donauwerth, in possession of the Bridge of Munster, and repairing that of Donauwerth. The corps of Marshal Ney was at Koeffingen. That of Lannes at Neresheim; Prince Murat, with his dragoons, stood on the Banks of the Danube. The men were in perfect health, and burning with desire to engage the enemy. —The enemy had approached the entrances into the Black Forest, where it seems they intended to make a stand, and prevent our entering. They had fortified the Iller. Memmingen and Ulm were also fortifying in great haste. Our patroles assert, that the enemy have stopped their proceedings, and appear dismayed at our unexpected movements. The French and Austrian patroles have frequently met; in those meetings we have taken prisoners forty men of the regiment of Latour cavalry.—This grand and extensive movement has brought us, in the course of a few days, into Bavaria; it has enabled us to avoid the Black Mountains; the line of those rivers, which, running parallel, flow into the valley of the Danube; the difficulties of a state of operations which would always have been flanked by the entrances into the Tyrol; finally, it has placed us several marches in the rear of the enemy, who has no time to lose, to avoid his total destruction.

Second Bulletin of the Grand Army, dated Paris, October 14.

Events press upon each other with the greatest rapidity. The second division of the corps of the army under Marshal Soult, commanded by General Vandamme, which from the rapidity of its progress, halted but two hours at Nordlingen, arrived at Donauwerth at eight o'clock in the evening, and carried the bridge, which was defended by the regiment of Colloredo. Some men were slain and taken prisoners. Prince Murat arrived at the break of day on the 7th, with his dragoons; the bridge had been even then repaired, and the Prince proceeded to the Lech with the division of dragoons commanded by General Watter, directed Colonel Watier, at the head of 200 dragoons, to pass, who after a very gallant charge, got possession of the bridge and routed the enemy, who were double his force. Prince Murat passed that night at Reine. On the 8th, Marshal Soult set out with two divisions, Vandamme and Legrand, for the purpose of proceeding against Augsburgh, at the same time that General St. Hilaire advanced thither with his divisions along the left bank. At day-light, on the 8th, Prince Murat, at the head of the divisions of dragoons of Generals Beaumont and Klein, and of the division of carabineers and cuirassiers, commanded by General Nanzonti, set out on his march to intercept the road from Ulm to Augsburgh. When he arrived at Wertingen, he observed a considerable division of the enemy's infantry, supported by 4 squadrons of Albert's cuirassiers. In an instant he surrounded this whole corps. Marshal Lasnes, who was marching in the rear of these divisions of cavalry, arrived with the division of Oudinots and after an engagement of two hours, the whole of this division was captured—colours, guns, baggage, officers, and soldiers. It was composed of twelve battalions of grenadiers, which had arrived in a great hurry from the Tyrol, to reinforce the army of Bavaria. In the course of to-morrow, the details of this truly brilliant action will be made known.—Marshal Soult manœuvred with his divisions the whole of the 7th and 8th inst. on the left bank of the Danube, for the purpose of intercepting all the avenues from Ulm, and of observing the corps of the army which appeared to be still assembled in that fortress. The corps of Marshal Davoust arrived only on the 8th at Neubourg. The corps of General Marmont, has also arrived there. The corps of General Bernadotte, and the Bavarians, arrived on the second, at Aichstet. By the intelligence that has been obtained, it appeared, that twelve Austrian regiments had left Italy to reinforce the army of Bavaria. The official account of these movements, and of these events, will be interesing to the public, and will do the greatest honour to the army.

Third Bulletin of the Grand Army, dated Paris, October 16.

Zusmershausen, Oct. 10.—Marshal Soult pursued the Austrian division, which had taken refuge at Aicha, drove it from thence, and on the 9th at noon entered Augsburgh, with the divisions of Vandamme, St. Hilaire, and Legrand.—On the 9th in the evening, Marshal Davoust, who crossed the Danube at Neubourg, arrived at Aicha, with his three divisions.—General Marmont, with the divisions of Boudet, Gronchy, and the Batavian division of General Dumonceau, passed the Danube and took a position between Aicha and Augsburgh.—In fine, the army under Marshal Bernadotte, together with the Bavarian army commanded by Generals Deroc and Verden, took their position at Ingolstadt. The imperial guard, commanded by Gen. Bessieres, proceeded to Augsburgh; as likewise the division of cuirassiers, under the command of Gen. Hautpoult.—

Prince Murat, with the division of Klein and Beaumont, and the division of carabineers and cuirassiers, under General Nansouty, hastened with all speed to the village of Zusmershausen, in order to intercept the road from Ulm to Augsburgh.—Marshal Lannes, with the grenadier division of Oudinot, and the division of Suchet, took post the same day in the village of Zusmershausen. The Emperor passed in review the dragoons of Zusmershausen; he ordered to be brought before him a dragoon, named Marente, of the 4th regiment, one of the gallant soldiers who, in the passage of the Lech, had saved his Captain, who but a few days before had cashiered him from his rank. His Majesty bestowed upon him the Eagle of the Legion of Honour. The soldier then observed, "I have only done my duty; my "Captain degraded me on account of some "violation of discipline, but he knows that "I have always proved a good soldier."—The Emperor next expressed his satisfaction to the dragoons, of the conduct they had displayed at the battle of Wertingen. He ordered each regiment to present a dragoon, on whom he also bestowed the Eagle of the Legion of Honour.—His Majesty expressed his satisfaction to the grenadiers of General Oudinot's division, than which a finer or more enthusiastic corps cannot possibly exist.—Until we are enabled to give a detailed account of the battle of Wertingen, it may be proper to say something of it in the present bulletin.—Col. Arrighi, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, charged the regiment of cuirassiers of Duke Albert. The action was very sharp. Col. Arrighi had his horse killed under him, and his regiment burned with eagerness to rescue him. Col. Beaumont, of the 10th hussars, fired with a true French spirit, seized upon a Captain of cuirassiers, in the midst of the hostile ranks, whom he himself made a prisoner, after having cut down a dragoon.—Colonel Maupetit, at the head of the 9th dragoons, charged in the village of Wertingen; being mortally wounded, his last words were—— "Let the Emperor be informed, that the "9th dragoons have shewn themselves wor-"thy of their reputation; and that they "charged and conquered, exclaiming,— "Long live the Emperor."—That column of grenadiers, the flower of the enemy's army, having formed in a square of four battalions, was penetrated and cut down.—The 12th battalion of dragoons charged in the wood.—Oudinot's division were indignant at the distance which still prevented them from attacking the enemy; but at the very sight of them, the Austrians hastened their retreat—one brigade only was in time to charge.—All the cannon, colours, almost all the officers of the enemy's army who fought at Wertingen, were taken: a great number were killed. Two Lieut. Colonels, six Majors, sixty officers, 4000 soldiers, have fallen into our hands. The remainder were dispersed; and what escaped owed their safety to a morass, which stopped a column that was turning the enemy.—The chief of a squadron, Excelmans, aid-de-camp of Prince Murat, had two horses killed under him. It was he who carried the colours to the Emperor, who said to him—I know no man can be braver than you; I make you an Officer of the Legion of Honour.—Marshal Ney on his side, with the divisions Walher, Dupont, and Loison, the division of dragoons of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, and the division of Gazan, ascended the Danube, and attacked the enemy in their position at Grumberg.—It is now five o'clock, and we hear the firing of cannon.—It rains heavily; but this does not retard the forced marches of the Grand Army. The Emperor sets the example on horseback night and day, he is continually in the midst of the troops, and in every point where his presence is necessary. He yesterday rode fourteen leagues. He slept in a small village, without servants, and without any kind of baggage. The Bishop of Augsburgh had, however, illuminated his palace, and waited his Majesty during a part of the night.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

JAMAICA COMPLAINTS.——*Representation of the House of Assembly of Jamaica to the Lieutenant Governor relative to the Intercourse with America, dated July* 18, 1805.

Sheweth;—That, after the applications made to your honour by the House, and by the inhabitants at large, assembled in their respective parishes, nothing but a sense of duty the most imperious, and our confidence in your honour's wishes to relieve the distresses of the country, could have induced the House again to call your honour's attention to the interdiction of a supply of salted provisions from the United States of America.——It is matter of public notoriety that the herring fishery on the coasts of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland failed for the last two seasons, and that the internal troubles had occasioned a scarcity of cattle in Ireland. Although the price was exorbitant, in most cases one-third of the quantity of fish for which orders were sent from this island could not be procured, in

many instances no part of it. A great proportion of the expected importation, intended chiefly for the larger estates, was lost in a fleet wrecked on the coast of Portugal, and little or none was brought to the island for sale, the only means by which the smaller settlers procure this most important article. At the proclamation of martial law the country did not contain one-tenth part of the salted fish which was usually to be found at the same season of the year, and had the inhabitants with their negroes been obliged to retire from the sea-coasts, and concentrate themselves in the interior, the wants and clamours of the latter might have produced consequences most fatal to our safety.——The measures pursued by his Majesty's ministers, prohibiting the importation of animal food, would have been a more powerful aid to the enemy than additional armies and squadrons, and, in a similar emergency, may occasion the loss of this country, in despite of the energy and exertions of the army and inhabitants ——Should no such important crisis occur, the greatest calamity will be brought upon our slaves, by a total want of one of the first necessaries of life. About 100,000 barrels of salted fish, and a considerable quantity of beef and pork, are required for their annual consumption: whilst our situation was such as has been stated, calling for an immediate importation of upwards of 8000 barrels monthly, not one has arrived from Great-Britain or Ireland since the 21st of May, and from the British Colonies in America only one vessel has entered in the port of Kingston, with 105 hogsheads of salted cod, and 114 barrels of other fish. ——Salted provisions are the chief corrective of the vegetable diet of the negroes, and a want of them inevitably brings on dysentery and disorders of that class, which, whenever prevalent, never fail to carry off great numbers.——By being deprived of what they know to be absolutely necessary, and have been accustomed to consider their right, discontents are excited, and there have already been instances of gangs of negroes leaving the plantations, to complain to the civil magistrate of the usual allowance being withheld. Unable to comprehend a political necessity, so fatal in its consequences, they attribute the deprivation to the avarice and unkindness of their owners; and those habits of respect and affection, of such importance in the government of the slave, and to the happiness of his master, are rudely torn asunder by the very men who accuse the inhabitants of not cultivating them with due care, and have instructed your honour to institute inquiries, whether strict attention has been paid to the law which requires giving the food we are prevented from procuring.——The poorer free inhabitants are no less injured and oppressed by the regulations complained of. Already fresh beef and other animal food have advanced one-third in price. To the opulent this may be of little consequence; but the poor man, supporting himself and a family by daily labour, is obliged to abridge a meal which before was not abundant.——The cost of fresh beef for the navy and army has augmented in the same proportion. Amongst the millions by which the statesmen of the mother-country reckon her expenditure, this may be little regarded; but in our unfortunate situation, with a revenue unequal to the claims upon it, such an addition to the expense of subsisting the troops is a serious evil. Within a very short period the cost of the ration allowed has been tripled; and it cannot be denied that a perseverance in the measures lately adopted, must accelerate the period when this burthen will become insupportable.——It would be easy to enlarge on the evils which we have thought it sufficient to hint at: the proof of the facts is ready; the consequences cannot be doubted; and we trust that your honour will apply the remedy before it is too late, by issuing a proclamation giving permission to carry on the intercourse as conducted previous to the 21st May last.——In similar situations the mother-country opens her ports to all the world, and invites subsistence on any terms. She has even respected an enemy under the pressure of famine, and permitted food to enter the ports of Spain during the present war.——We only request to be furnished with what she cannot give. Our commerce we submit to her regulations; but, in framing them, we must be permitted to hope that the comfortable subsistence of all the lower orders of the community, and the lives of our slaves, will not be sacrificed on the interested misrepresentations and for the advantage of selfish individuals, who look only to the profits of their speculations, without regard to their effect on the general interest.

Reply of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,——In consequence of the measures which were taken during the late martial law for the security of Jamaica, all neutral vessels have been, by my direction, admitted to an entry at the several Custom-houses in the island, although they may have contained salted provisions prohibited by my proclamation of the 20th May last. The arrival of the Cork fleet, which is daily ex-

pected, will I trust tend essentially to quiet the apprehensions you entertain of a scarcity of those articles, so necessary for the support of the poorer classes of the inhabitants of the island, as well as to correct the vegetable diet of the negroes.

Speech of the Lieutenant-Governor on proroguing the Assembly.

Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,——The business for which you were called together having terminated, I grant you a recess.——Mr Speaker, and gentlemen of the assembly, I thank you for the arrangement you have made for the payment of such part of the expenses of the late martial law as called for your immediate attention, and I have no doubt that you will provide for the remainder, at your next meeting, with your usual liberality.——Gentlemen of the council, Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the assembly. I do now prorogue this general assembly to Tuesday the 13th of August next, and it is hereby prorogued accordingly.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

Letter III.

[The following letter was sent for publication previous to the discussion of the Catholic Question in Parliament. Want of room then prevented its appearing. It is now published at the request of, and in consequence of a promise to the author; and, an additional motive is, that this letter will naturally lead to other topics, which this able writer intends immediately to discuss. The 1st and 2d letters will be found in Vol. VI p. 900, and Vol. VII. p. 33.]

Sir,——The Catholic Petition has at length been presented to both Houses of Parliament, and a discussion of the utmost importance to the vital interests of the empire, may soon be expected to take place. Its reception in the House of Commons was unattended with any remarkable occurrence; but, it is observable, that in the House of Peers, some attempts were made to prejudge the question, and to excite in the minds of that august assembly, and the public, an impression unfavourable to the object of the petitioners. The noble lord, who brought the instrument forward, abstained with the utmost forbearance from all discussion of the subject at that time, and prudently reserved the display of his great talents, extensive information, and dignified eloquence for the important day, when his uncommon powers will doubtless appear in their full lustre. As no argument was offered in favour of the petition, and insinuations were thrown out, evidently to raise a prejudice against it in the House and the country, it is a matter of curious speculation, to consider what would have been the language of a sensible and well-informed Catholic Peer, had he been permitted to deliver his sentiments on that occasion. Let us suppose, however improbable the supposition, that he had been suffered to investigate the business at full length, and that undismayed by the novelty of the enterprise, and exhibiting a dignity of manner not unworthy of his rank, he had in a manly and energetic style, delivered his sentiments to a full house without disguise. We may conceive him to have spoken to the following effect:——My lords; unaccustomed to pursue the career of ambition, formed by habit and disposition to a life of retirement and solitude, and debarred solely by conscientious difficulties from taking my seat in this house, I should not have availed myself of the present indulgence of your lordships, had not some observations been prematurely made by a noble baron on the other side. In consequence of the insinuations, which have fallen from that noble lord, apparently without reflection, and undoubtedly without a knowledge of the question, I feel it an imperious duty, I owe it to myself, to the religion which I profess, to my King and country, and to the high character which my Catholic ancestors always maintained, to state, at some length, the grounds of the petition on your lordships' table, and to shew that an unqualified compliance with the modest and respectful supplication of the petitioners, would be unattended with the smallest danger either to church or state. It is probably unnecessary to appeal to the candour and liberality of your lordships, and to request a patient attention to this address, and a full, calm, and unbiassed consideration of this important subject. (A loud cry of hear, hear, from every quarter of the House.) Animated, my lords, with this mark of your attention, I beg leave without farther preamble, to enter into the merits of the question, and to direct the consideration of your lordships to the plain, obvious, and avowed object of the petitioners. It is not for the purpose of diffusing discontent through the empire, of embarrassing his Majesty's government, and of adding to the disorder of these calamitous times, that your petitioners have made this manly, but respectful appeal to the justice and liberality of Parliament. The good and loyal behaviour of the Catholic body at large, and the character and respectability of the noblemen and gentlemen who have signed

the instrument, utterly destroy such an imputation. No, my lords! they are men of inoffensive conduct, and tried merit, who appear before you in the attitude of supplication; their object is evidently to obtain the civil rights of the British constitution. What can be more just, more honourable to their feelings, than to express a rational desire of participating in the blessings common to their fellow subjects, and of enjoying a full and complete toleration, under that form of government, which makes this country the admiration of the world? What greater proof can be adduced of their judgment, than the rational and decided predilection, with which they declare, they contemplate the admirable principles of the British constitution?——It is not necessary to spend much time in proving to your lordships, that the civil advantages of our invaluable constitution, belong to all British subjects, by the *fundamental* laws of the land; and by consequence that they are to be extended to the natives of Ireland. These advantages are called in the great charter, "liberties and free customs," of which the subjects of this kingdom are not to be despoiled without the consent of their peers. (Chap 29) they are frequently denominated the Birthright of Englishmen, and the *Bill of Rights* or Declaration presented to the Prince and Princess of Orange, Feb. 13, 1688, and afterwards enacted in Parliament, concludes with these remarkable words: "And they do claim, demand, and insist "upon all and singular the premises, as "their undoubted rights and liberties." And the Act of Parliament itself (1 W. and M. st. 2. c. 2) recognises "all and singular "the rights and liberties asserted and "claimed in the said declaration, to be the "true, ancient, and indubitable rights of "the people of this kingdom." (Blackstone's Rights of Persons, Vol. 1. c. 1.) Such, my lords, is the strong and decisive language by which the noble advantages of our constitution, are secured to every Briton without distinction; and on this ground, your petitioners call upon your lordships to remove the restraints, under which they still are doomed to labour, without any just cause; and to reinstate them in the privileges enjoyed by their fellow subjects.—— My lords, it is surely needless to say more, in order to illustrate a point, which none of your lordships can be disposed to controvert, that the blessings of the constitution are the birthright of every Briton; and, consequently, that they are to be diffused among the inhabitants of Ireland. I am, however, too well acquainted with the train of human events, not to know that reasons of justice and policy may exist, which render it necessary to deprive individuals of their "liber-"ties and free customs," and even to extend civil disabilities to whole descriptions of subjects, if their principles or their conduct should prove hostile to the good of the community. But, my lords, there is another principle equally clear and incontestible, that such prescriptions of whole bodies of men are of a very odious complexion, and should never be suffered to exist a day longer, than they are made necessary by the circumstances of the case. They are of their own nature but temporary regulations; in the free government of Britain, where civil servitude is unknown to the spirit of our laws, such proscriptive penalties should cease, when the occasion that gave them birth is removed. On this ground, my lords, I beg leave to put it to the candour of your lordships, whether there can be found in the principles and the conduct of the Catholics of the present period, any substantial reason for the continuance of those restrictions which were made against their ancestors? Is any one of your lordships prepared to say, either that the principles of the Catholics are not fairly stated in the modest petition on your table, or that in the principles thus represented, there is any thing hostile to the community at large? (No! No! No! from every quarter of the House.)——Much less can it be asserted, my lords, that their conduct has been at variance with their professions of allegiance. The most unequivocal testimonies in their favour for a long series of years, are to be found in the public and deliberate acts of the late legislature of Ireland, and in the repeated declarations of his Majesty's representatives in that country. The rebellion of 1798, and the subsequent disturbances of 1803, have not belied their general character. For, though Catholics were found to be deeply engaged in those infernal attempts, that circumstance was naturally to be expected, because the mass of the people of Ireland consists of the members of the Catholic communion. But, my lords, let it not be forgotten that the leaders were not Catholics; but that the Catholic nobility and gentry, the bishops, and even the parochial clergy to the number of 2000, all, with the exception of about 20, preserved their loyalty unshaken, and contributed by their meritorious efforts to the preservation of their country. (See Plowden's History, Rev. Vol. 2. passim.) As long as honour and patriotism are held in any estimation in Britain, it will ever stand recorded to the credit of your petitioners, that many among them exposed

their property and their lives, on that melancholy occasion, in defence of their King and country; that they braved every hardship in contributing to suppress an unnatural rebellion; and that they sacrificed every thing dear and precious in life, to a high and refined sense of honour and loyalty. (loud applauses.) My lords, suffer me here to pause, and ask your lordships, on what grounds you can consent to a more lengthened suspension of the liberties of your fellow subjects, whose principles are so pure, and whose loyalty is so eminently conspicuous? I here solemnly intreat your lordships, to bestow on this affair the most attentive and unbiassed consideration, and to put it to your own minds, how the present situation of affairs can be justified on any grounds of equity, honour, and policy? If the "liberties and free customs" of Britons are their birthright, if they cannot be deprived of them but for very substantial reasons, if when these reasons cease to exist, a restoration of the privileges of the constitution, is a natural and obvious consequence, what shadow of excuse can be produced, for the continuance of the restraints in question, when not only the causes of these disabilities have long ago ceased to operate, but the sufferers are distinguished by a loyal and meritorious conduct?——The noble lord has said, that if the petition should be complied with, we should see a Protestant church without a Protestant congregation; and a Protestant King with a Popish legislature. My lords, from the tone of the noble baron, I should have imagined that the affair was likely to produce the most wonderful consequences, that we were about to witness a spectacle, which had never been exhibited to mankind before, that mountains were to be levelled, and that rivers were to flow back to their source. (a laugh) But after this display of the effects resulting from a compliance with the prayer of the petitioners, what will be the amount of the real consequence of the measure? Why, my lords, we shall continue to witness in Ireland, what we see already, a Protestant church richly endowed, but with a slender proportion of adherents, as four-fifths of the inhabitants are Catholics, and nearly half of the remainder are Presbyterians. We shall behold four millions of Catholics, more closely united than they are at present to a Protestant government. But the wonder is not to stop here. A Catholic legislature is to make its appearance under the government of a Protestant King, and a complete reformation is to take place in church and state. To effect this grand object, there are at present five Catholic peers in Ireland, one of whom might possibly be chosen in the course of a dozen years, to take his seat in the Imperial Parliament. As one eighth of the landed property of Ireland belongs to Catholics, they might, in the same period, return about a dozen members to the House of Commons, out of the hundred who represent the whole country. Then the grand catastrophe is to commence. These twelve sturdy apostles of innovation, with a peer at their head, are to go out *a colonelling*, to rout the whole legislature, to take the cabinet by storm, to give up the country to the pope, and to raise the altar upon the ruins of the communion table. (Loud applauses accompanied with much laughter.)——This, my lords, to trifle no longer, is the real representation of the imaginary alarm raised by the noble lord. It affords a striking proof, how easily the greatest men are led into error, by an imperfect and partial view of the subject on which they deliver their sentiments. But the noble lord proceeds to an objection of a more serious nature. He observes that the test act must necessarily be repealed, and the complaints of the dissenters be redressed; and that thus the bulwark of the church will be thrown down, and the utmost danger ensue to the establishment. May I be permitted, my lords, without the least disrespect to the personal character of the noble baron, to express my unfeigned astonishment, that on a subject which might be presumed to be familiar to him, he should have shown such a notorious deficiency of information. That the repeal of the test act is a leading object of the petition is undoubtedly true, but that concessions would thus be made to the dissenters, to the danger of the church establishment, can be asserted by those only, who are either deceived themselves, or willing to lead others into error. I need not inform your lordships, that the test act bears the date of the 25 Car. 2, and that it was originally framed, not from any danger apprehended from the speculative doctrines of the Catholic religion, but from the connexion of the court at that period with Catholic powers, and the dreaded succession of the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second. The title of the act clearly manifests the purpose for which it was framed, for it is called an *Act for preventing dangers which may happen to Popish Recusants*. Eckard, an historian not partial to Catholics, acknowledges that the law was principally, if not solely, directed against them. (Hist. of England, Vol. 3, fol. edit. p. 893.) It must be owned that the *letter* equally affects the rigid dissenters. But the provisions of the

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 18.] LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1805. [PRICE 1OD.

"No man can tell what will be the issue of war; but, when we look to the past, I ask, with what rational "hope such a war as the late one can be begun, and with what rational ground of success? Is it intended, "that, at the present period of the year, when Austria is unprepared, any operations should be undertaken? "Or, that every thing should be prepared to begin the war in the next campaign? If Austria should move, "and the consequence should be, what is not impossible, productive of serious disasters, what would "become of our hopes of continental connexions? What of the liberties of Europe? What of the "prospect of setting limits to the power of France, justly and rationally considered already too formidable? "Under such circumstances, and on information so scanty as that now before the house, it becomes wise "men to consider well before they grant money for the purpose of subsidising foreign powers."—MR. FOX's Speech, 21st June, 1805. Parl. Debates, Vol. V. p. 537.

CONVOYS.

SIR;——I was much gratified to find in your Register, a statement of the embarrassments which the West-India trade has experienced with regard to convoys. The truth of your observations must be apparent to every one; and, I was in hopes that you would have carried your inquiries a little further, and you would have found cause for remark with regard to the outward bound, as well as the homeward bound convoys.—The immense sum of money which is raised by the convoy duty, authorises merchants to expect both regular and sufficient convoys. Instead of which, there are no more of them, and their force less powerful than they were the beginning of last war, when no such tax existed, and when ships could sail as suited their owners and the planters, without asking for licenses or any thing else.—That the convoy act, provided it was properly attended to by the Lords of the Admiralty, is beneficial to the country, I really believe; but clogged as the trade now is, without the care they have a right to from that board, it is truly detrimental to both planters and merchants. Convoys are now frequently so weak as scarce to deserve the name of them, and in many instances the ships which are sent from the West Indies are in such bad repair, that they require more assistance from the merchantmen, than they can afford to them. But what I have chiefly to complain of, is the delay which constantly occurs with almost every convoy that is appointed. The Admiralty feel no compunction for keeping 40 or 50 ships two or three months after they first notified a convoy would sail, at an enormous expense to the ships, and a great disappointment to the planters. A conspicuous instance is at present well known here. Your paper, upon West-India convoys, fully shews the hardships many planters have laboured under. Martial law in Jamaica prevented many planters from making half their crops in that part of the island, which is late in its seasons, and knowing their inability to ship by the August convoy, earnestly requested ships might be sent them by Christmas. A request was immediately sent to the Admiralty, and a convoy appointed to sail the first of September. A dozen large ships were immediately got ready at an extra expense, and sent to Cork, but not an appearance of a commodore. The end of September a second letter was written by the West-India merchants, and forwarded to Mr. Marsden. The answer was, directions had been sent the 25th September for the convoy's sailing the first favourable wind. It was natural to suppose, that we should hear of the fleet having sailed five days after the 25th, particularly as the winds were almost invariably fair for them; but, by this day's letters, on the 15th of October, they were still there. Six weeks after they were appointed to sail, at a serious expense to the owners of the ships, and a great disappointment to the planter, who is now prevented getting his produce off before the May fleet. No explanation is given for this conduct; but people say, it is because the Rochefort squadron is not accounted for; but, surely a country whose government boast of having near a thousand ships of war, cannot be afraid of sending out a convoy on account of five sail of the line being at sea. If they do, what will become of our boasted trade and commerce? Trusting that these few hasty hints will induce you to inquire into the business, and make known to the world, that our Admiralty takes no more care of outward than it does of homeward bound convoys, I am, &c.——A. T.——*Liverpool, Oct.* 21, 1805.

ABBÉ DE LA MARRE.

SIR,——I think it may possibly tend to a useful purpose, to request your most guarded caution upon the subject of the Abbé de la

Marre's statements. I am biassed by no prejudice against that gentleman, nor any personal consideration whatever. The only motive I can have for any sort of interference in the matter in question, is my zeal in the cause of truth and honour.—I am extremely apprehensive, Sir, that this angry, and, as I think, unfortunate misunderstanding, will give a plausible handle to the mean, unfeeling herd, that have from the first set their faces (to use a hackneyed phrase) against the gallant French nobility. This illustrious and most unfortunate body have been treated throughout Europe, with a harshness, which I confess, has lowered my opinion of the human character. I could hardly have imagined, that even the lowest classes of mankind could have wanted some degree of generous compassion for such a case: and, indeed, the lowest classes are those that I principally acquit upon this occasion. Their demeanour in general does not subject them to any particular reproach; and were they even convicted of illiberality, every allowance is to be made for the various disadvantages under which they necessarily labour.

> "Chill penury repressed their noble rage
> "And froze the genial current of the soul."

No, Sir; the persecutors of this gallant body, were to be looked for amongst the vile tribe of money-makers of every denomination, and the degenerate portion of the higher classes. The *low man* is in reality found in every rank of society; while the brightest flame of virtue will sometimes burn in a cottage. In my own particular country, (Ireland) a country, which were I to define it, I should (without the apprehension of a blunder) denominate that in which the common man is a gentleman; in that country, Sir, I can assure you, I should be extremely sorry to injure any one of our peasants, by a comparison with some very opulent men, and bustling characters, that I could name in this metropolis.—I find I have made a most unwarrantable digression. To return to the subject of this letter: you would not, as I am convinced, be accessary to any reflection upon the character of the French nobility, that could afford a cause of triumph and self complacence, to the meanest, most selfish, and degenerate description of the inhabitants of this island. The charge, were it true, does not impeach the *body* of the French nobility, in the eye of any man of honour. I know nothing of the Abbé de la Marre The Count de V... I is a nobleman of established character, not to be shaken upon trivial grounds; and, I am certain is incapable of any unjust reflection upon the Abbé's conduct, unless it were indeed, in one of those moments of peevishness or weakness, from which some of the best and greatest characters have at times, unhappily, been found not to be exempt. Henry the IVth was known to speak with harshness of Sully. Should the Count have done this gentleman any injury, he will be in haste to repair it. But it is for ever to be lamented, that any misunderstanding should arise for a moment amongst the faithful servants and adherents of Louis the XVIIIth. —As to any emigrant royalists taking or appropriating to themselves any supplies that were destined for the King of France, or his real service, I can aver, upon grounds, which, I think, were I to state them, would be as satisfactory to the public as they are to me, that there was *nothing to take*. The money of this country, so far as regarded the internal affairs of France, was wholly dedicated to miserable intrigues, and worse than foolish expeditions. The insurrections of La Vendée, by which, alone, revolutionary France could have been brought to the feet of this country, was notoriously starved; the immortal actors in that glorious struggle, would have dispensed with gold; they wanted only arms and ammunition; and could never obtain them in any quantity, that did not amount to a perfect mockery of the situation in which they had so bravely placed themselves. We were here as parsimonious, as in some other things we were prodigal. These gentlemen, who were abandoned for no other reason, that I ever could discover, than that they *were* gentlemen, were often reduced to engage the enemy without powder, and not half-armed. Yet such was their spirit, and the number of their adherents, that they actually once deliberated whether they should not march to Paris. That part of the then ministry, who disapproved this cold barbarity, but who were so fatally overborne by others, best know the truth of my assertion. But when I say that the circumstance exceeds every instance of misconduct which the last war can furnish, I believe it is impossible to add any thing further to the idea that is meant to be conveyed.——I am, Sir, &c.——*Oct.* 1, 1805.

SHERIFFS' OFFICE.

Sir,——I have hitherto, abstained from noticing J. W. G.'s letter, published in your paper of the 10th of August, in the hope that it would have been answered by some one better qualified by legal knowledge to undertake the task; no answer having ap-

peared, I have determined on offering you the following remarks.—In the case stated by your correspondent, if an action were brought against the sheriff for a *false return*, it is evident that the only question would be, whether he had delivered the ten acres of land or not, since on that fact alone the truth or falsehood of the return would depend. I have little difficulty in saying, that your correspondent's case cannot really have occurred, because it is impossible that the sheriff should be permitted, in defending himself, to give evidence in support of the claim which a third person may have to the land: but, supposing for a moment that such evidence was admissible, how would it support the sheriff's return that "he had "delivered the land to the plaintiff?" Or, rather, does not the sheriff, by offering such proof in excuse for not having delivered the land, virtually confess that his return is false? The proof or admission of which fact is all that is necessary to entitle the plaintiff to succeed. I am aware that the recovery of pecuniary damages from the sheriff in this action, may be a very inadequate satisfaction to the plaintiff, whose object most probably is, to get possession of the land; but this object there can be no doubt, the court would by some means enable him to attain. The insinuation that the courts will endure a sheriff's disobedience of their process, is so absurd and so repugnant to every day's experience, that it needs no refutation: it is difficult, however, to attribute to any good motive a misrepresentation which tends directly to depreciate the laws of the country, and bring the administration of justice into discredit. To those who understand the latter part of your correspondent's letter, I must leave the care of answering it.——I am, Sir, &c.——S. N.——*Oct.* 12, 1805.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*Fourth Bulletin of the Grand Army; from the French Official Paper, the Moniteur.—Augsburgh, Oct.* 11, 1805.

The battle of Wertingen was followed, twenty-four hours afterwards, by the action of Gunzburgh. Marshal Ney marched with his corps—Loison's division against Langenau; and Malher's division against Gunzburgh. The enemy, who attempted to oppose that march, were every where overthrown. Prince Ferdinand endeavoured, in vain, to defend Gunsburgh in person. General Malher attacked it with the 59th regiment. The action was obstinate, hand to hand. Colonel Lacuée was killed at the head of his regiment, which, notwithstanding the most vigorous resistance, carried the bridge by main force. The pieces of cannon which defended it, were carried, and the fine position of Gunzburgh remained in our power. The three attacks of the enemy were useless; they retired with precipitation. The reserve of Prince Murat arrived at Burgau, and cut off the enemy on the right. The details of the action, which cannot be given for some days, will make known the officers who distinguished themselves.—The Emperor passed the night of the 9th, and part of the 10th, between the corps of Ney and Lannes. The activity of the French army, the extent and complication of the combinations, which entirely escaped the enemy, disconcerted them to the last degree. The conscripts shewed as much bravery and good will as the old soldiers. The weather is bad; it now rains, but the army is in good health.—The enemy lost upwards of 2,500 men in the action of Gunzburgh. We made 2000 prisoners, and took six pieces of cannon. We had 400 men killed or wounded. Major-General d'Asprée is in the number of the prisoners. —The Emperor arrived at Augsburgh on the 10th, at nine p. m. The town has been occupied for these two days. The communication of the enemy's army is cut off at Augsburgh and Landsperg, and is about to be cut off at Fuessen. The Prince Murat, with the corps of Marshal Ney and Lannes, are engaged in the pursuit. Ten regiments have been withdrawn from the Austrian army of Italy, and are coming by post from the Tyrol. Some Russian corps, who also travel post, are approaching to the Inn; but the advantages of our position are such, that we can make head against every thing.—— The Emperor is lodged at Augsburgh, at the Palace of the old Elector of Treves, who has treated with great magnificence the suite of his Majesty, as they successively arrived.

Fifth Bulletin of the Grand Army.—Augsburgh, Oct. 12, 1805.

Marshal Soult marched with his Corps d'Armée to Landsberg, and by this means has cut off one of the chief communications of the enemy. He arrived on the 11th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and found there the regiment of cuirassiers of Prince Ferdinand, which, with six pieces of cannon, repaired with forced marches to Ulm. Marshal Soult made the 26th regiment of chasseurs charge this regiment. It was so disconcerted, and the 26th regiment was animated with such an ardour, that the cuirassiers took to flight on the charge, and left 120 soldiers prisoners, one lieutenant-

colonel, two captains, and two pieces of cannon. Marshal Soult, who imagined that they would continue their route upon Memmingen, had sent several regiments to cut them off, but they had retreated into the woods, where they rallied, in order to take refuge in the Tyrol.—Twenty pieces of cannon, and the equipage of the enemy's pontoons, had passed, on the 10th, by Landsberg; Marshal Soult sent General Sebastiani in pursuit of them, with a brigade of dragoons. Hopes are entertained that he would come up with them.—On the 12th, Marshal Soult directed his course to Memmingen, where he will arrive on the 13th, at day-break. Marshal Bernadotte marched the whole day of the 11th, and pushed his advanced guard to within two leagues of Munich. The baggage of several Austrian generals is fallen into the hands of the light troops. He made a hundred prisoners from different regiments. Marshal Davoust advanced towards Dachau. His van is arrived at Moisac. The hussars of Blankenstein were put into disorder by his chasseurs, and in different actions, he took 60 horsemen prisoners. The Prince Murat, with the reserve of the cavalry, and the corps of Marshals Ney and Lannes, has placed himself directly in front of the enemy's army; the left of which is at Ulm, and the right at Memmingen. Marshal Ney is on horseback, on the banks of the Danube, opposite to Ulm. Marshal Lannes is at Weissenberg.—General Marmont is advancing, by a forced march, to take a position on the height of Ilter heim; and Marshal Soult is advancing to turn the right of the enemy at Memmingen.—The imperial guard has left Augsburgh for Burgau, where, probably, the Emperor will pass this night. A decisive affair is just about to take place. The Austrian army has almost all its communications cut off. It is nearly in the same situation in which the army of Melas was at Marengo. —The Emperor was upon the bridge of the Lech, when the division of General Marmont defiled. He caused each regiment to form a circle; he spoke to them of the situation of the enemy, of the approach of a great battle, and of the confidence he reposed in them. This harangue was made in dreadful weather. The snow fell in abundance, and the troops were up to the knees in mud, and were exposed to a severe cold; but the Emperor addressed them in expressions warm as fire; on listening to him, the soldier forgot his fatigues and his privations, and was impatient for the hour of the combat to arrive.—Marshal Bernadotte arrived at Munich on the 11th, at six o'clock in the morning: he made 800 prisoners, and set out in pursuit of the enemy. Prince Ferdinand was at Munich. It appears that this prince had abandoned his army of the Ilier. —Never will more events be decided in less time. Before the expiration of fifteen days, the destinies of the campaign, and of the Austrian and Russian armies, will be fixed.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

BANK OF PARIS.——*Report made by M. Perregaux to the Proprietors of Bank Stock, relative to the State of the Bank of Paris; October* 17, 1805.

The Bank has, in the course of the year, received sums on account of its old debts, which are reduced to a mere trifle. It has securities for about 10,900 francs, which will come successively into payment. A loss of 22,184 francs has been sustained on discounts by forgery: the culprits were discovered; but justice has not yet been able to seize them; the special tribunal is, at this moment, proceeding against them. Government has thought proper to take into its own hands the management of lotteries, with which the Bank has had no concern since the month of Thermidor. The amount of sums paid and received, has been about 4,500 millions. Discounts have been given to the amount of 630,870,368 francs, without any other loss than that above-mentioned.—The reserved funded capital, laid out in 5 per cent. consolidated, is 5,390,257 fr. producing an interest of 485,031 fr. The disposable reserve is 947,574 fr. The dividend of the first half of the year 13, was 35 fr. per share, including 5 fr. for the interest of the 5 per cents. The reserve acquired by each share is 13 fr. The dividend of the second half-year was 36 fr. per share, including 6 fr. for the 5 per cents.; and the reserve upon each share was 19 fr. 62 c. The whole year's dividend on each share, therefore, is 71 fr. and the total reserve for the year is 32 fr. 17 c. making, in all, 103 fr. 7 c. which amounts to 10 3-5ths per cent. on the original capital. All the reserved stock acquired, till the present time, amounts to 141 fr. 54 c. per share.—Each of you, gentlemen, will, undoubtedly, be ready to ask why, in such an evident state of absolute prosperity, the Bank has been obliged to withhold the payment of its notes in specie? This necessity has been occasioned by events which it was impossible to foresee, by the extraordinary and instantaneous removal of the crowns *(écus)* which supplied the general circulation, and which, in consequence of their momentary destination, could not

be immediately reserved; by contrary circumstances which, notwithstanding the most judicious measures, it was not possible to prevent, the departments were subjected to various incidents which contributed to produce a temporary scarcity of specie. The Bank having, from the nature of its operations, become the common centre of the major part of commercial negotiations, it is from its funds that the departments, and those who are embarked in any kind of undertaking, procure the specie for which they have occasion. The demand increased in proportion to the difficulties with which the Bank had to struggle, in order to keep up its reserved stock.—Till the last half-year, an average sum of from 15 to 16 millions was sufficient for all its services. A sum so important, and which was found to be indispensable, was a sufficient proof of the disadvantages of the individual commerce of Paris, with the departments. The unforeseen events of the year, appear to have increased still more. They are already well known.—It is but too probable, that malevolence has contributed to the extraordinary run which has all at once been made on the reserve of the Bank. It is certain, that, till lately, the daily payments (deducting the receipts of Paris, and excepting the months of paying interest), did not exceed 5 or 600,000 fr. In the three last months they rose progressively to 14 and 15 hundred thousand francs, per day. These three last months, particularly, drew the attention of the government. Nothing had been neglected: the diminution of discounts, extraordinary arrivals from the interior, purchases of piastres, all were ineffectual. The reason of this is simple. In the first six months, the payments of the Bank, in specie, amounted to 123 millions; those of the six last to 143,500,000 francs. Here is a difference of 20,500,000 francs, which is the amount of the reserved fund. This difference took place, notwithstanding other purchases of piastres, which procured 17,500,000 francs during this half-year.—The Bank relied on a remittance of four millions of piastres, which would have produced 21 millions in crowns. It was to have arrived in Fructidor and in Vendemiaire. The remittance was delayed. It is particularly to this circumstance, uncontroulable either by our will or our power, that the insufficiency of the measures and the resources for procuring a supply of specie must be ascribed.—Measures, the most active and the most extensive, were taken, the moment the increase of the payments, and the uncertainty of the resources, were perceived. The governors hope, that the public will not fail to experience their good effects. We are now in the month, when the contributions arrive with facility, and in abundance. The Bank possesses good assets sufficient to justify the presumption, that their conversion into money will facilitate the means of soon returning to its ordinary course. Its embarrassment is only relative, and, for that very reason, it ought to give no serious concern. But it has furnished mistrust with a pretext for exaggerating dangers. Hence has arisen a distressing obstruction, the effects of which are felt every day.—In fact, gentlemen, it has been demonstrated to the governors, that, in ordinary times, 4 or 500,000 francs in crowns, are sufficient to supply the daily circulation of the capital. Since the 2d of Vendemiaire, the Bank has issued about 600,000 francs per day, and the demand is not sensibly diminished. But, when it is considered that this scarcity is prolonged, notwithstanding the actual payment of nearly 11 millions in crowns, in the space of three weeks, we are tempted to ascribe it to cupidity, which speculates on this temporary crisis, and to the mistrust which increases in the same ratio as the speculations of cupidity. The capital of the Bank remains, however, untouched; and it has been augmented by upwards of six millions. None of the bills to which mistrust seemed to attach discredit, was ever issued from the Bank, without being previously represented by its full value. Finally, the position of the Bank is such, that if the value of the assets which represent its capital be added to that which notes have brought into its possession, there is not one of those notes, the repayment of which, in specie, is not insured by an amount equal to twice its nominal indication. Consequently, no establishment of this kind can afford more security, more numerous motives for public confidence.—Undoubtedly, gentlemen, we ought to endeavour to resume our payments in specie, and to exert every effort to attain that object. But you will likewise admit, that this desire ought to be subordinate to the wisdom of a foresight, more necessary than ever; and that, in consequence of the machinations of mistrust, it is prudent to wait till the reserved fund is provided with such an abundance, as to prevent the credit of the Bank from being again compromised by immoderate demands. The most important duty of the governors, at the present moment, is, not to lose sight of the daily necessities of Paris, with regard to specie, nor the inconveniences inseparable from a too great scarcity of the circulating medium. It therefore behoves them to employ the ut-

most circumspection in their future measures. Their eagerness, laudable, without doubt, ought not to expose this great city to a want which might occasion the heaviest calamities.—It is necessary for the Bank, the common centre of operations, to consider what would be the results to itself of a great commotion. This consideration has made still more apparent the necessity of continuing the distribution of aids: it has neglected nothing to attain the object it was its duty to keep in view, under such circumstances. It has provided for the most urgent wants, and has employed every means to restore the abundance of specie. It has been inspired with new hopes of the arrival of the piastres, the delay of which has contributed to its embarrassment; but what will prove still more efficacious, are the wise and vigorous measures taken by his Majesty the Emperor and King, to render France triumphant over her enemies. Yes, gentlemen, the success of his arms will dispose every mind to confidence, which a glorious peace will consolidate. The specie concealed, or hoarded up, will again return into general circulation. This crisis will only serve to convince the incredulous, that, with its system and its capital, the Bank can never experience any but temporary embarrassments.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*Proceedings in the Tribunate of France on the 26th of September 1805, relative to the War with Austria.*

In the name of the special commission, formed in the secret sitting of the 24th instant, and composed of Messrs. Fabre (de l'Aude), President of the Tribunate, Tarrible and Duvidal, Secretaries; Faure, President of the Section of Legislation; Gardin, President of that of the Interior; Jard-Panvilliers, Questor, Jaubert, Freville, Leroi, Jubé, and Carrion-Nizez, M. Freville, Reporter of the Commission, appeared at the tribunate, and spoke as follows:

Gentlemen, if at the epoch when the acclamations of Europe ratified the treaty of Luneville, any person had said, this monument of the most brilliant victories, of the most skilful negotiations, will scarcely stand four years, you would have rejected with impatience this sinister prediction; you would have exclaimed, has not the conqueror given the highest proofs of moderation and wisdom? Has he not combined advantages which he ought not to have given up, with compensations the most satisfactory, for a power whom victory had so little favoured? If he had persisted in affirming, that the same power, so often overcome in battle, so much favoured in treaty, should dare to rekindle the torches of war, you would only have found in this supposition a stronger motive for an honourable incredulity; for the wisdom of politicians consists in well appreciating the true interests of governments, but not in foreseeing all the wanderings of the most extravagant passions.—However, gentlemen, this sweet persuasion had only subsisted, in all its force, at the very moment when peace was signed. Soon the different steps of Austria warranted the belief, that she would rather prefer the suggestions of an inveterate hatred, than the councils of sound policy. You have seen her, gentlemen, reveal herself, in a thousand circumstances, by malevolent measures, by proceedings almost hostile. You have found your own observations in the picture so faithfully traced by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Your commission will only produce details, which you too well understand, to make it necessary for me to repeat them; and which, besides, have been so happily placed in their true light, that a new exposition cannot alter their accuracy, nor diminish their interest. There is no occasion for us to dwell upon each of these particular grievances, in order to unravel the sentiments, or to explain the conduct, of the Austrian government. What we have often expected, has this day been proved. The Cabinet of Vienna, weakened by long efforts, and frightened by the most cruel reverses, was compelled to make peace; but, at the very moment that she proffered the oaths, she only wished to procure a truce, and time to recruit her forces, in order to engage with France in a new struggle. With obstinate enmity she equally resisted generosity and victory. Nothing could soften or subjugate her.—This is not the first time that Austria has trifled with treaties; she has now violated the peace of Luneville, as she did that of Campo-Formio. Scarcely had her conqueror quitted Europe, than she launched anew into the field of battle; her success only lasted during the absence of the hero; one day alone tore from her the conquests of a year. The memorable battle of Marengo, the news of which Europe heard with admiration, was not able to inspire our enemy with a sincere desire of peace. An armistice had been granted to her vanquished and almost captive army, a solemn convention had been negotiated in her name at Paris, she dared to refuse its ratification. The French government manifested its indignation; Austria offered, as a pledge of her good faith, several fortresses in Germany. Well, gentlemen, this deceitful pledge was

in our hands, an Austrian ambassador went to Luneville, and it was still necessary that the fate of arms should decide.—Is not the hatred of this implacable enemy of France sufficiently characterised? She commences the war, with the intention of stripping her of many provinces. When she obtains a momentary success, she does not profit by it, in making overtures of peace; but, when at length she solicits it, it is only after a long continuance of defeats, and with a fixed determination of breaking it, as soon as she thinks herself strong enough to return to battle. Gentlemen, let us compare these different circumstances of the actual determination of Austria, and the secret of the long understanding of our enemies will be completely revealed. We do not here see the commencement of a new war; this which now blazes up, is the same which burned thirteen years since, and which, according to the intention of Austria and England, was only suspended, not terminated. Austria, more exposed to our arms, retires first from the field of battle. This apparent defection makes no difference between her and the Cabinet of St. James's. We cannot now doubt, but that her formal consent has authorised her ally to seek the advantages of a suspension of arms, under the pretence of peace. They did not delay to affect pacific intentions, and the treaty of Amiens was concluded.—The momentary cessation of hostilities promised many advantages to the British government. It thus deceived the nation, which murmured against the prolongation of the war, and concealed its true intentions. It flattered itself, that the security of France, equalling her good faith, would give them an opportunity of gaining, by a new aggression, those odious advantages which they so often procure in the commencement of a war before it is declared. It flattered itself, that a part of our naval forces would become its prey, as easily as the greater part of our commerce. In short, it appearing to concur in the general repose of Europe, it better concealed the perfidious mystery which united it to the Court of Vienna.—Now, gentlemen, it is easy to perceive a rupture, which has no less excited our astonishment than our indignation. That England was sincerely reconciled with France, could not be a cause of surprise, but it was difficult to know how the Cabinet of St. James's should determine to neglect the aid of all continental alliance, and draw on itself alone all the weight of our forces, and to provoke the re-establishment of our navy, in putting the French government into a position that must make it the principal object of its efforts, and of its expenditures.—Every thing is now explained; England was the advanced guard of this coalition, which at length determines to attack us with all its forces. If Great Britain commenced by contending alone with us, it is because her insular situation and maritime preponderance, inspired her with a blind confidence, particularly in the first epoch of the war. She did not reckon on the prodigious activity, which has been able, in so short a time, to launch fleets into all the seas, to construct and unite that immense flotilla, the importance of which may be judged of by the fears of those which it menaces.——You may have remarked, gentlemen, whilst our preparations augmented the terror of England, her ministers, sacrificing a part of their secret to the necessity of tranquillising the public mind, shewed themselves disposed to encourage the hope of continental alliances. Finally, when the danger became more pressing, towards the end of the last session of parliament, when they were about to vote five millions sterling, for the subsidies to be employed in the present year, if the opposition had asked, of what effect the intervention of Russia would be, without that of Austria? They would only have appeared embarrassed to conceal that they were certain of it.—These facts all tend to produce the same conviction; they are recent; they are known to all Europe. The Cabinet of Vienna hoped to bury these facts in oblivion, whilst it alleged, I know not what pretexts, relative to ameliorations, which the inhabitants of some parts of Italy had desired in their political existence. The treaty of Luneville found and left them under the influence of France, in guaranteeing to them, in the most formal manner, the right of giving to themselves the government which would best suit them. Assuredly, France was well authorised to enrol this maxim in the public law of Europe; sufficient energy, constancy, and success, had consecrated it.—This power, which sends her soldiers to provoke a war, in which her intervention is so foreign, is no longer ignorant of the force of our arms. The distance which separates the French empire from the Russian empire, reduces their relation to an extreme simplicity, and prevents between them any real subject of discussion. What is the portion of territory about which they can dispute? Have they ever even seen those fleets which bring together the most distant enemies, to weigh the fortune of the two flags against each other. These powers are so destined to be strangers to each other, that, at the time when the course of events

shall allow them to sign a treaty of peace, they must confine themselves merely to stipulate for the re-establishment of a good understanding. This has ceased for more than a year; and, down to the present day, it is only known on one side or the other, by the absence of their diplomatic agents. If Russia now decide upon open hostilities, what motive then can she assign for engaging in them? She has manifested fears for the balance of power in Europe. Yes, the balance of power was menaced, when, fifty years after the treaty of Westphalia, Russia came by surprise, as it were, into the system of Europe. The balance of power was deranged towards the middle of the eighteenth century, when Russia, taking advantage of the blindness with which Austria had struck the French government, united with her to oppose Prussia, which the Cabinet of Versailles had attacked with so much folly, when it ought to have employed all its efforts to create in Germany the Prussian power, if it had not already existed there. Could not Russia better evince her solicitude for the equilibrium of Europe, than by undermining the independence of Sweden, which was only saved by the revolution of 1772? Or, by preparing the annihilation of Poland, by the first partition, in which every observer beheld the germ of the most dreadful commotions? Is it then, also, to insure the balance of power in Europe, that Russia has employed against the Ottoman Porte the force of her arms, the resources of intrigue, and repeated invasions? At one period (which can never be obliterated from the memory of all mankind), in 1791, the same minister who governs Great Britain at this moment, raised a cry of alarm against Russia. There was nothing less than an opposition the most decided in public opinion, and even in the parliament, to prevent recourse to arms, for the purpose of defending against Russia the equilibrium of Europe. And what was the object then? To obtain some amelioration in favour of Turkey, in the conditions of peace. What, then, can the present minister say now, when the Emperor of Russia is as well obeyed in Constantinople as at St. Petersburgh?—But the time of political combinations is passed; it has given place to a junction of hateful passions. It must be confessed, that the most perfect harmony reigns, in this respect, between England and Russia. We need no other proof of this wonderful concord, than the very mission of that negotiator, whom they have affected to announce to Europe as the Angel of Peace; who was every moment to set out and to remain; whose journey was so tardy, whose return was so precipitate.—You have not forgotten, gentlemen, what was the agony of England; her ships were wandering through every sea, to learn where the French ships appeared; every day she saw the arrival of new battalions on our coasts; the necessary barks to transport numerous armies, united in those ports best situated for sending out the expedition. All was prepared; they only waited him from whom victory is never separated; but, in the midst of these most formidable preparations, his heart has not, for one single instant, swerved from the wish for peace; he strove to cherish this generous hope so long as Austria was not ready to throw down the gauntlet. I appeal to your memory, gentlemen, that hardly had we learned that the Russian negotiator had gone back, than we learned the movements of the Austrian troops. Thus they professed a desire for peace only, that they might the better prepare for war; and whilst they announced the noble ambition of restoring tranquillity to Europe, they disposed themselves to deluge it in blood.—It is impossible to dissemble, gentlemen, that England has obtained a great advantage; but is it over us or over her own allies?—Our August Monarch, in preparing to punish the perjury of the English, flattered himself, that the calamities of war would not be extended to the Continent. He had been so generous! Could he have suspected perfidy? He is so powerful! Could he have imagined that they would dare to defy him? When a coalition, conducted as a conspiracy, comes to interrupt the execution of his projects, it does not result, that they must be abandoned. The whole of his forces will not be directed against England, but will dispute with her the sea, at the same time that he subdues the provinces of her allies. Perhaps, even she may prepare for him other triumphs. Has she not made the flattering menace of employing a part of her troops upon the Continent?——In a word, should the chances of a Continental war answer the hopes we are authorised to form, from that moment it will be decided, that the fortune of England must bend under the ascendancy of France.——If, then, the British government, for the moment, diminishes its dangers, if it turn the thunder on its allies, it is only over their blindness that it triumphs. How has it happened that Austria has so soon forgotten so many reverses? How does it happen that she is so completely ignorant of the difference of the epochs? When she adopted this system of eternal enmity, of fallacious negociations, of wars incessantly interrupted

and rekindled, she regarded time as a precious auxiliary. All was changeable in France, except the courage of her armies. Troubles incessantly starting up, threatened every day to annihilate the result of the most splendid victories. Every instant afforded reason to fear, that all the resources of administration would be at once destroyed. Too well acquainted with our misfortunes, to which they are no strangers, our enemies consoled themselves for the loss of a battle, with the hope of the news of an insurrection. But what have those times in common with the present? Eternal agitations have given place to tranquillity the most profound; the fury of change is converted into the spirit of perfecting. The energy of the nation, which had been absorbed in civil troubles, is now entirely turned to useful labours. The sentiments of domestic enjoyments are so much the more lively, as they have been so long and grievously suspended. Every day, from one extremity of the empire to the other, vows are addressed to Heaven for him who has restored to the state her splendour, and to her citizens, repose and confidence in the future. Our enemies have no more to watch the play of factions, or to hope in storms; this would be the grossest error of the strongest credulity.—If they cannot in this point deceive themselves so far upon the state of the empire, they must know still better the armies which have left them immortal remembrances. The boiling courage which distinguished them in the war of independence is not grown cold. Never was ardour more truly great, never was the confidence of the troops in themselves and in their leaders, carried farther. Those sentiments which produced those exploits, those prodigies, which Europe cannot for a long time forget, exist in all their force. Every probability unites to promise us triumphs still more brilliant, if possible. Those warriors who have acquired the admiration of the world, have never been enflamed by passions more generous, or influenced by motives more powerful over the hearts of the brave. They go to combat under the eyes of their Monarch, whom they love as their country and their glory; they go to combat under the eyes of him, whom even his enemies have named the first captain of his age.—There is another title, gentlemen, which he has not less merited, and of which he has shewn himself yet more jealous, it is that of Pacificator. The conqueror of Montenotte, of Arcole, and of Rivoli, might have conducted his army to the capital. He preferred stopping at Tolentino, to give peace to the Sovereign Pontiff. The general, constantly victorious, who had subdued Frioul, Carniole, Carinthia, and Styria, might have been tempted to one march farther, of two days, to enter the capital of Austria. He preferred addressing to the Archduke Charles the language of peace and philanthropy, which will secure to him, from age to age, the blessings of posterity. From the time he took in hands the reins of government, what has been his first pursuit? He proposed peace. After having borne refusals, after having surpassed, in the brilliancy of his victories, the nation's hopes, he shewed himself still ready to negociate. Already we have had occasion to remark to you, what patience he manifested in granting successively to Austria the different armistices which preceded the treaty of Luneville; with what alacrity he caught at the first words of peace, which escaped the cabinet of St. James's. The strongest proofs might farther be adduced, to shew to what an extent the love of peace is invariably implanted in the heart of his Majesty. Since the violation of the treaty of Amiens, we have many times had to tremble at seeing parricides threaten his life, and we have been compelled not to doubt but that the British government has encouraged these frightful attempts. Has not the Emperor stifled his just resentment, to listen to the voice of humanity? Never could his rights have been claimed with more eloquence and magnanimity, than in that letter to the King of England, the reading of which has filled you with such religious tenderness. The same sentiments inspired his Majesty in his late relations with Austria. Already a thousand circumstances combined to betray hostile intentions; the Emperor forced himself to doubt; he demanded explanations from the cabinet of Vienna; he returned to the charge, to obtain new information; he endeavoured to open their eyes to their true interests; he pressed all the neighbouring states to join their remonstrances to his. He went so far as to impose silence on his pride, to oppose instances of reasoning to their injurious allegations; when the armies of Austria, invading Bavaria, have annihilated every other resource but that of arms.—This heroic moderation has been fruitless for peace; however, it will not be altogether without produce. The Emperor will find his reward in the gratitude of his people. The more the Monarch has shewn his solicitude to spare it the sacrifices required by war, the more the nation will display its zeal and energy to defend the cause of the throne and of the empire. Those who now provoke us, are the same

enemies whom we have already forced to acknowledge our independence. They now conspire against the glory of the Emperor and the splendor of France. The Emperor and France, more united than ever, by the ties of good will and fidelity, of affection and admiration, will oppose to an odious aggression, the irresistible alliance of strength and genius.—These sentiments, gentlemen, we participate with all the French; it is for us to carry to the throne the affecting declaration of them. The commission, of which I have the honour to be the organ, proposes to you to order, that there shall be drawn up an address to his Majesty the Emperor and King, to express the indignation that his faithful subjects have felt at the news of the hostile proceedings of Austria and Russia; the gratitude with which they have been penetrated, in learning all that his Majesty has done to avoid the sacrifices inseparable from a new war; the dispositions they feel to multiply the acts of devotion, the most sanguine, to avenge their Prince and their country; to shorten the war by decisive success; and to place the Emperor in a situation to dictate to his enemies a glorious and permanent peace.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——When the preceding sheet was going to the press, it was observed (p. 672), that, in all probability, before it reached the public, the intelligence of a general engagement, between the French and the Austrians, would be received; for, that, seeing how nearly the Russians were approaching, it was impossible to believe that Buonaparté would lose a moment in assailing the Austrians; and, in short, that, so decisive was the battle likely to be, that, it was by no means improbable, that the mail was coming on towards London with the *decision* of the fate of Europe.——Such, it now appears, was really the case; that is to say, if the battle of the 19th of October was, in all respects, what the French represent it to have been. Whether it was, or was not; whether the loss on their own side may have been diminished, and that of the Austrians augmented, in their accounts; whether, upon the whole, these accounts are fair, or whether they present gross exaggeration, it must be left to time to decide: but, in the mean while, it would be great folly, in us, not to believe, that the French have gained a very important victory; that our friends in the war have sustained a corresponding defeat; and that the consequences to ourselves may be extremely dangerous. Still greater and more inexcusable folly (to use the mildest term applicable to the case) would it be for us to shut our eyes to those dangers; to pretend not to see them; or, seeing them, to affect to treat them with contempt.——Adversity, says the old adage, is the teacher of wisdom. To those who have minds capable of profiting from her admonitions, she is so; to those, who have the candour to confess their errors, and the courage to bear up against the difficulties to be overcome in retrieving the consequences of such errors; to these adversity is the teacher of wisdom: but, to the fool and the coward, her lessons seldom fail to give an addition of the quality, for which, respectively, they are already distinguished.—— Let us hope, that, notwithstanding the ignorance, imbecility, and baseness, so prevalent in a large proportion of our public prints, country as well as town; notwithstanding this fact, so disgraceful to the character of the nation, let us hope, that there are yet a vast majority of the people of this kingdom, who are not, by adversity, however great, to be terror-stricken into either stupor of mind or inactivity of body. The way to profit from the lessons of adversity is, first to look back on the causes whence it has proceeded; and, having ascertained these, next to determine upon the means of lessening the present, and of preventing future evil of the like kind.——One of the causes of the adverse circumstances and events, which we have to lament, is, the facility, which, by means of the press, the ministers have found of deluding the people into an approbation of their measures. That continental connections are desireable; that a continental combination against Buonaparté was to be desired; no man in his senses; at least, no sensible politician, speaking with sincerity, would attempt to deny. But, though we all agreed, and still agree, perfectly agree, as to this principle of English policy, there was, at the outset of the measures, on the part of England leading to a continental coalition against France, as to the *time* and *manner*, a wide difference of opinion, decidedly and clearly expressed on the side of the Opposition, and particularly by Mr. Fox, as will be seen by a reference to the speech quoted from in my motto, and which speech (now worthy of the attention of every one) will be found at full length in the Parliamentary Debates, Vol. V. p. 536, upon the subject of His Majesty's message calling upon the Commons for a supply to enable him to subsidise powers upon the continent. This ground of objection having been stated; the *urging* of Austria into a war at this mo-

ment; the plunging of her into hostilities in an unprepared state, having been deprecated, and the ministers having, apparently done so (as was suggested at the time and frequently since) for the purpose chiefly of retaining their power by the means of the reputation to be acquired from being considered as the authors of a combination against France; in this state of things, it became, on their part, necessary to put public opinion on their side; it became useful to them, that the people should think, that the situation of Buonaparté was dangerous in the extreme, and that, to the allies, danger was proportionably small.——The partizans of the minister, therefore, began to exert all their powers of misrepresentation as to these matters, a happy specimen of which exertion may, if the reader can have forgotten it, be referred to, in the present volume, p. 491. The troops and the subjects of Austria were, we were told, all burning with zeal in the cause, while, as to those of Napoleon, the latter were upon the point of rebelling openly, and the former were deserting by hundreds. The specimen here referred to was taken from the Sun news-paper: that to which I am now about to recall the attention of the reader, is taken from the Morning-Post.——"That hostilities, therefore, "have already commenced, we do not entertain a doubt; the precise time, place, "and manner, may not yet be so easily ascertained. But while the French indulge "in their usual characteristic boasts, that "nothing can check their rapid and victorious career, one circumstance has at least "occurred, which, if it exists to the extent "we have heard, must appear ominous, if "not prove fatal to them in the outset of "the war in Italy. We have been assured "that the camp of Marengo is broken up, "a measure which was *fearfully* and abruptly resolved upon, on account of the *daily "and numerous desertions of the French "soldiers*, who formed the principal force "of that camp. They are said *to desert in "bodies of two and three hundred men at a "time*, with their arms, and to return direct "to France. There are many other symptoms "of fear and alarm betrayed by the French." ——At other times, we were assured, from the same high authorities, that "the "tyrant had given himself up to despair;" that "the day of retribution was at hand;" and, that "fear had over-powered those "faculties, which he had been thought to "be endued with." This great good to England and to Europe, having been produced, there remained nothing to do but to ascribe the *merit* of it to the English ministry, and particularly to Mr. Pitt. This was done in all the ministerial papers, almost every day, and in forms as various as the nature of the case and the minds of the writers would admit of. One only out of *two hundred and fourteen* paragraphs, having this object evidently in view, I shall here insert from the Morning Post of the 5th of September.——"We shall not here remark on "the impediments which certain writers "constantly throw in the way of a grand "continental alliance, at the same time "that they acknowledge such an alliance is "the only means of opposing an effectual "barrier to the encroachments and outrages "of the French government, and the only "means of re-establishing the tranquillity of "Europe on a secure and lasting basis. We "shall not comment on the *want of patriotism* that was so painfully striking in "the language of those who told the country, that *no alliance* was to be expected "while Mr Pitt was minister" [We *never* told the country so] "who, in order to "make good this good-natured assurance, "told the continental powers that they "could expect *nothing but ruin from an "alliance with a government of which Mr. "Pitt was the first minister*; and who, now "that a confederacy is formed on the *grandest scale*, and for the *noblest objects*, tell "the British people and the nations of the "Continent, *that defeat, disappointment, "and destruction, will be the only fruit of "their glorious spirit, and honourable exertions.* The vexation of so great an achievement by an obnoxious minister, may have "counteracted and suppressed in persons of "an opposite party, the joy which every "one else must feel at the *accomplishment* "of an object universally acknowledged to "be most desirable to us, and most auspicious to the deliverance of Europe. But "all those who do not attach themselves to "party, independent of every consideration "of the good of their country, must feel "rejoiced, that this *great good is attained*, "and must, of course, feel *grateful to the "government that has effected it*. But there "is still a stronger sensation than gratitude "to ministers, which will render it an indispensable duty to those who have the "interest of their country at heart, to support the vigorous measures and the grand "exertions which government will have "now to make. The great impulse of "every patriotic mind must be to strengthen "and support the effort on which the "fate of the country, of Europe, and "of the World depends so much. We "should hope and trust, that even the

" most decided of the leaders of oppo-
" sition will see, in the accomplishment
" of this *grand object of British nego-*
" *tiation*, strong grounds for restraining the
" violence of their attacks; and that if it
" does not render them more friendly to
" the ministers who have done *so great a*
" *service*, it will at least prevent them from
" repressing the spirit, from checking the
" energies, from depressing the resources,
" and paralysing the efforts of the country
" at a moment so eventful."——This latter part is an exhortation in favour of Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville. We are not (to use this half French and half English cant) to *paralyse* the efforts of the country, by " occupying ", as the writer further on expresses himself, " the attention of ministers with
" matters of inferior moment, the discus-
" sions relating to which tend to injure
" rather than to add respectability to *the*
" *characters of our statesmen*, and, thereby,
" to weaken *the government*" [alias Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville] " in more ways than
" one."——Returning to the paragraph above quoted; we, the opponents of Mr. Pitt, deny, or, at least, the editor of this work does, that he ever told the country, or that he ever, for one moment, thought, that no alliance against France, upon the continent, was to be expected, while Mr. Pitt should be minister. On the contrary, we always said, that nothing was easier than for Mr. Pitt to get powers enough to accept of subsidies, and subsidies necessarily imply an alliance. But, we did give it as our opinion, that, while this gentleman should remain minister of England, there was no reason to expect such an alliance as would tend to the restoration of the balance of European power, and, of course, to the permanent tranquility and security of this kingdom. Whether we really did " tell the
" continental powers, that they could ex-
" pect nothing but ruin from an alliance
" with a government of which Mr. Pitt was
" the first minister;" whether we did, afterwards, " tell the British people and the na-
" tions of the Continent, that defeat, disap-
" pointment, and destruction would be, in
" case of such an alliance, the only fruit of
" their exertions;" whether we did so distinctly and so unconditionally state these forebodings, I, for my own part, shall not pretend to " charge my memory," to use a phrase of Mr. Pitt upon the affair of the loan to Boyd and Benfield; but, *if we did*, I trust, we shall now be acquitted of all blame, even by those, who were then the most strongly inclined to censure us; I trust, indeed, that we, then reproached by this hireling scribe, this seller of paragraph-room by the inch, with a "*want of pa-*
" *triotism*"; I trust, that *we* shall, by all sensible and *truly* public-spirited and loyal men, now be thought entitled to some " gratitude " from our country and from our King, for having, in due time, checked the effects of delusion; for having prepared the people for an exertion of that fortitude, of which their country now stands so much in need; and for having diminished that disappointment, which, had it not been for us, would, at this moment, have made so fearful an addition to the evil consequences of the disasters, out of which it would, and must, have arisen.——Collaterally with the delusion relative to the war upon the Continent ran another, of less importance to be sure, but not unworthy of notice here; I mean, respecting the maritime means of the enemy, particularly as exerted by the sending out from, and keeping at sea, the squadron from Rochefort. " What other divisions," said the ORACLE of the 5th of September, " may have sailed,
" the British Moniteur" [meaning the Morn-
" ing Chronicle] " best knows its authority,
" if it has any besides that of its own fabri-
" cation. But, however *annoying* it may be
" to the *internal enemies of the country*, we
" have the satisfaction to assure our readers,
" that the *sea is perfectly clear*, and that not
" a doubt remains on the minds of the mer-
" cantile interest, that all our valuable con-
" voys will arrive unmolested and unin-
" jured."——The next day, the Morning Post assured its readers: " With respect to
" the Rochefort Squadron, little doubt is
" entertained of its having re-entered port,
" and a squadron is immediately to be de-
" tached from the Channel Fleet, to block-
" ade that force; a service, which there
" will be no difficulty in performing, even
" throughout the winter, from the very con-
" venient situation of the bay. The whole
" of the enemy's naval force may, therefore,
" be *now* considered *hermetically sealed up*
" in their respective skulking places; and
" should any part of them have the temerity
" to venture out, the result, we may confi-
" dently predict, cannot fail proving brilliant
" and glorious on our part."——The reader will perceive, that, for having intimated an apprehension (for it was really nothing more), that some of our merchantmen might fall into the hands of the enemy, the editor of the Morning Chronicle is, in a way by no means difficult to comprehend, accused of being one of " the *internal enemies* of the country," of which description of persons, we have not, be it observed by the bye,

heard before, since the election at Brentford. He is represented as a person, who must naturally be "*annoyed*" at the circumstance of our convoys being able to sail in safety; his paper is called by a name calculated to produce the impression that it is supported by the French government, and is, of course, devoted to its interest; in short, he is stigmatized as an enemy to his country and a traitor to his Sovereign: nor, should there, unhappily, ever exist the *power* sufficient to give effect to a *disposition* like that by which the UPSTART controler of the ORACLE is well known to be actuated in common with the rest of his faction, ought we to be at all surprised, if a person intimating, like the editor of the Morning Chronicle, his apprehension for the safety of our fleets, were to be indicted and harrassed half to death, upon a charge of compassing the death of the King! The reader now knows what foundation there was, in the case referred to, for such an apprehension; and he will, of course, want nothing more to enable him to award the degree of indignation due to this writer in the ORACLE, as well as to others of the same description.——There are not, I am aware of it, wanting persons to maintain, that, truly or falsely, no disastrous event should ever be anticipated; persons who say (as was observed elsewhere) with the Israelites, "prophesy to us smooth things; "prophesy to us lies;" but, those persons should recollect, that, in company with this disposition, existed, that baseness, that degeneracy, that want of all public virtue, all those degrading propensities and crimes, which finally drew down on them that dreadful denunciation that preceded the laying waste of their country, and the carrying of their persons into slavery.——So far is this disposition from arising out of a love of country; so far is it from proceeding from real public spirit or real loyalty, that it generally proceeds from a source of a nature directly the contrary. Some persons there certainly are, who from mere ignorance, and some who from unreflecting fear, fall, by degrees, into a habit of anticipating nothing unfavourable to the measures of the ministry, and of censuring, with or without reason, all those who anticipate otherwise; but, a little attention will soon convince us, that out of every hundred of these indiscriminating *hopers* and *expectors*, ninety-nine hope and expect, not for their country, but for *themselves*. Long habit has, perhaps, deceived many of them; but, let almost any one of those, who so charitably accused us of "a want of patriotism," we, who expressed our fears of the success of Buonaparté; let almost any one of those just and charitable persons examine well into the motives, by which he was actuated in preferring that accusation; let him dive into his heart, and, if his discoveries do not scare him from the pursuit, he will find *self*, grovelling dirty self, at the bottom. He will find there, instead of a real love of his country, some place, some pension, some contract, some job, something or other, by the means of which (dependant upon the duration of the ministry) he hopes to be enabled to prey upon the carcase of that country.——Such persons, and the mode of reasoning which they adopt, will always be found most to prevail, during an administration that lives by trick and expedient. Such a ministry depends for its existence upon the success of deception. As long as the people can be deluded, as long as they can be carried on, buoyed up from one hope to another; so long such a ministry may exist; but, in a country, where the voice of the people has its due weight, it will exist not one moment longer.——Guarding ourselves against delusion in future, we must also endeavour to guard ourselves against the other causes, which have led to the present disasters, and the principal of those causes evidently is, want of wisdom in our councils, or, a want of that sort of feeling in public men, which would lead to a resignation of their places, when too feeble, either in talents or in the public confidence to enable them to conduct the affairs of the nation in a manner agreeably to her interests, leaving their own private interests or gratifications quite out of the question. The partisans of the ministry, and particularly those who are devoted (and for *good cause!*) to Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt, seem to be fully aware of what can and will be said, and of what the people think upon this subject. They have, ever since the alliance upon the Continent, began to assume an air of activity, been engaged in strenuous endeavours to impress upon the minds of the people, a persuasion, that all the *merit* of that alliance, and especially of the "*wonderful activity*" of the allied powers," was to be ascribed to the "all-commanding genius" of Mr. Pitt "True," said the UPSTART, after having abused me for comparing Mr. Pitt's merit, in this case, to the merit of the workmen who brought a claim for such exertion to quell the flames at Westminster Abbey church; by having first caused the fire; "true," said the *loyal* UPSTART, on the 28th September, "the alliance would, *in time*, have grown, perhaps, out of the oppressed state of the "continental powers, but who has *quick-*

" *ened* it into action ? Mr. Pitt. Who has " *hastened* Austria, at other times so tardy, " to march 200,000 men" [mark the *number* and the *place*] " to within thirty leagues of " the frontiers of France ? Mr. Pitt. Who " has made the USURPING Braggart with " draw his troops from opposite our shores, " and hurry them away with the hope " (vain hope, we trust !) of stopping the " progress of the veteran MACK and his " gallant army ? Who ? We ask the " Opposition ; who, but *Mr Pitt* ?— " But, whatever the answer of the Opposi- " tion may be, we doubt not that the *voice* " *of parliament* will, at a very early date of " the ensuing session, convince them that " the country is grateful for these mighty " and successful exertions ; and that it will " not again see with pleasure the precious " time of the ministry wasted in *vexatious* " *inquiries*."——Always closing, you see, with a broad hint at the subject nearest his heart!——Now, reader, prepare yourself ; duly prepare yourself, for such an instance of tergiversation as you have never before witnessed, and as, I hope, you never will witness again. You have heard the partisans of the ministry speaking *before* the intelligence of the defeats of the Austrians was received: now listen to their language *since* the receipt of that intelligence: here how they now speak of " the *veteran* MACK," and of " the veteran MACK's *Sovereign* too." In the same, or nearly similar sentiments, the COURIER, the ORACLE, the SUN, and the MORNING POST have joined ; but, we will confine ourselves to the COURIER ; and, though the extracts will be long, certain I am that they will be found worth recording. It is, observe, the language of the ministerial papers, which we are now about to listen to. We are going to hear what they *now* say about " the veteran MACK," and about that " *quickened* march," that *hasty* advance to " *within thirty leagues* of the frontiers of " France," the sole *merit* of which they before ascribed to the " all-commanding ge- " nius of Mr. Pitt," and of the country's gratitude for which the *voice of parliament* was soon to convince the Opposition. ——" In a situation of affairs so difficult, " [29th of October] at a crisis so tremen- " dous, the Opposition remain true to the " character which Mr. Wilberforce gave of " them, that if they did not wish the *total* " *overthrow* and ruin of the country, they " wished for just so much public calamity " and distress as *would serve to get Mr. Pitt* " *out and themselves in.* All the misfor- " tunes of the Austrian arms are imputed " to Mr. Pitt——he is the only person to " blame for the *imbecility and supineness* " of General Mack ;" [no longer the " *ve- teran* Mack "] " and the minister of " Great Britan is alone responsible for those " movements and operations which have " been attended with such disastrous effects. " But, in the name of common sense, did " any one suppose that in any coalition " with Austria we were to have the choice " of the generals who were to command " her armies ? Was any one stupid enough " to imagine that Mr. Pitt was to be requir- " ed to point out the general that would be " most agreeable to him ? That he was to " *draw out the plan* of the campaign, to " trace the march, and to point out the po- " sitions which the Austrian troops were to " occupy ? Not a fortnight ago, when af- " fairs wore a more cheering aspect, and " the Opposition thought that success might " attend the Austrian arms, they were " amazingly anxious to convince the coun- " try, that Mr. Pitt, having had no hand in " the formation of the coalition, could have " no right to any participation of the glory " it might acquire. But no sooner has the " prospect become clouded, no sooner has " disaster attended the arms of the allies, " than Mr. Pitt is welcome to all the blame " and censure which an *ill contrived plan of* " *operations* may deserve. He is blamed, " too, for not having made any diversion in " support of Austria.——But had he or any " man reason to suppose that Mack" [What! plain *Mack* already !] " would act, " as he has done, or that he would prefer " entering upon the war *before the arrival* " *of the Russians* ? Had he *waited for* " *them*, had he fallen back upon the Inn, " or *never advanced beyond it*, the Expedi- " tion, which is now ready for sailing, " would have reached its destination, by the " time the combined Austrians and Russians " were ready to commence operations upon " the frontiers of Bavaria. Had General " Mack fallen back to wait for the Russians, " he would have produced another good ef- " fect, and have given more time for Prus- " sia to have interposed. But even here " the Opposition, who would not allow Mr. " Pitt the slightest credit for having indis- " posed Prussia towards France, will be " very ready, we perceive, to impute " to him all the blame, should Buo- " naparté regain his influence over the " Prusian cabinet, which they seem to think " he will easily have it in his power to do by " negociation, or by the success of the " war."——I think we may safely defy the

world to produce an instance of baseness equal to this. Here is General Mack *censured* and abused for having done that, for which Mr. Pitt was *praised for having caused him to do!* But, let us hear a little more of this, in the same paper of Wednesday last.——" The discontented in this country, " the jobbers in politics, and the retainers " of faction, will now extol the genius of " Buonaparté to the highest pitch, repre- " senting him as something supernatural, " who cannot be resisted; thus shaking the " confidence and courage of the people of " England, and weakening our national " strength. There is nothing so much to " wonder at in the prowess of Buonaparté " on this occasion, as in the *imbecility*, to " call it by *no worse* a name, of General " Mack. *Those who laid down the plan of " the campaign*, too, cannot escape *blame*; " but above all things they are blameable for " choosing such a *creature* to command a " great army as General Mack, whose in- " tellects seem to be of the very lowest or- " der. What had he ever done in war? " Nothing. He had gained the confidence " of Colonel Craufurd, indeed, who, in " our House of Commons, was *perpetually* " quoting and extolling him, founding all " his lessons on tactics on the great authori- " ty of General Mack. Among other things " he concurred with Mack in maintaining, " that 60,000 men were sufficient to beat " any army, however numerous; that be- " yond 60,000 men additional numbers " were weakness, not strength. Alas! that " Mack could not prove this by practical ex- " perience against Buonaparté. General " Mack, we fear, has talked it as well at " Vienna as Colonel Craufurd did among " the Opposition in the House of Com- " mons. He is no doubt a plausible *talking " fellow without brains*, and has imposed " upon those who know no more than himself. " General Mack is the *wretched instrument*, " which some unskilful hands have used " There is an old story which he brings to " mind, King James of England showing " Waller the poet some pictures, among " others, that of Queen Elizabeth: Waller " observed, that she was a wise princess. " 'Aye,' said King James, 'she had wise " counsellors.' 'Please your Majesty,' re- " plied Waller, 'did you ever know a fool " have wise counsellors.'—It is to the want " of common sense in General Mack, and " not to any very superior genius in Buona- " parte, that we are to impute the sad re- " verse of affairs on the Continent. The " only manœuvre the French played off was, " that, in their newspapers, and even in " some official documents, they represented " that all their efforts were directed to Italy, " that the army of Italy would be immense, " and that it would move on to Vienna. " This probably made the Austrians send " more troops to Italy, and less to Germany " than they otherwise would have done, " while the design of the French was to " bring their main forces into Germany, " there to take great steps, leaving their " troops in Italy on the defensive. Hence " the Austrians sent reinforcements from " Italy, where they had expected the first " attack, to General Mack, on whom, con- " trary to expectation, they found the first " attack was made. But this was a trivial " advantage on the part of the French, and " would have served them but little, had " Mack retreated when he found himself " overpowered by numbers, as he must " have done in the end of September, since " he sent to Italy for reinforcements, and " received them. Bonaparte does not de- " serve so much praise for the result of af- " fairs in Germany as he did for the battle " of Marengo, while Mack deserves far " more censure than General Melas. Me- " las was victorious; he was led away too " far in pursuit of a defeated enemy, which " no where could stand against him: and " he might not expect that a new raised raw " army, coming by a difficult passage, " could master his veterans flushed with " triumph. He was in active warfare led " astray by the advantages he had gained; " and, not without apparent reason, he " viewed the French army from Dijon with " contempt. But Mack was not in active " war previous to his being surrounded; he " was not led astray by any successes, nor " was he at the head of victorious soldiers; " yet he saw the chosen troops of France " (so much more numerous than his own, " that he sent to Italy for reinforcements) " selected, embodied, and commanded by " Buonaparté in person, advancing on him, " past him, and around him, without mak- " ing one effort to retire, or to keep on " that side of his opponents which would " enable him to join his friends. Melas " was blamed for want of prudence and " foresight; but what shall we say of " Mack? In *charity* we must suppose him " to be *the most stupid of all God's crea- " tures*, notwithstanding Colonel Craw- " furd's admiration and panegyrics." —— This poor, miserable attempt to saddle *the Opposition* with General Mack is perfectly ridiculous; but, far other feelings than those

accompanying ridicule ought to be excited, and, let us hope will be excited, by this unmannerly, this foul, this base abuse of a distinguished general (in the service of our principal ally) against whose honour and fidelity nothing has been alleged, and whose conduct in the instance referred to may, for aught this writer can know, have been as gallant and even as judicious as that of any other man would have been under similar circumstances. "The *imbecility* and *incapacity*" of General Mack cannot, from this quarter, but remind the public of the "*incapacity* and *imbecility*" imputed to the Addingtons only just six months before Mr. Pitt solicited them to join him in the ministry. Those who reflect on that; those who reflect on the language made use of towards the Addingtons, by the man who had selected them for office and recommended them to the House of Commons, will be the less surprized to hear his partisans calling the "*veteran* Mack," in "*chapacity*" calling the "veteran Mack," after his defeat, "the most stupid of all God's creatures!" General Mack may possibly be, "a TALKING *fellow without brains*," and, if he be, there would be no rational ground for wonder at any folly or mischief he might be guilty of; for, Gracious God! what follies, what fooleries, what mighty, what terrible mischiefs, what national sufferings and what national disgrace, have arisen from the councils and the influence of "a "*plausible talking fellow without* brains!!" Would that all such fellows were methodist preachers, or mountebank doctors; or, any thing but politicians and regulators of armies! They are every where, when off a stage, detestable, but, that king or people who listens to them in military affairs shall rue it. The genius of war seems to say, with a voice of thunder, woe unto the nation that trusts its glory, or its defence, to the guardianship of "a plausible talking fellow without brains!"—But, observe me well; let me not be misinterpreted; I mean not to say, or to insinuate, that General Mack is such a fellow. We can know very little of the circumstances that produced his defeat; and, as to "the *plan of the campaign*;" as to his "not *waiting* for the "Russians," as to his advancing *too near* to the French frontiers, these writers certainly forget, that, previous to the receipt of the news of the defeat, they had attributed that plan and all those advanced movements solely to the "*all-commanding genius* of Mr. Pitt!"—They perceive the effect of these their former representations: they are well aware of it: they are all upon the alert to remove it, to wear it out of the public mind, or to disfigure the impression, if possible. With this object in view they stick at nothing. The Emperor of Austria, or, at the very least, his ministry, are involved in the censure and abuse, bestowed upon General Mack. "Those who laid down the plan of the "campaign cannot," we are told "escape "blame;" they are said to have no more sense than General Mack; no more sense than "a talking fellow without brains;" and a clumsy story is resorted to in order to convey the idea of their being *fools*, without using the term directly. And, observe well (for this is the main point) all this is said, by a ministerial paper, in a defence of Mr. Pitt against the charge, the *anticipated* charge, of having *precipitated* the movements of the Austrians, and having, thereby, been the principal cause of their overthrow. This charge would have been made, without doubt, when parliament came to meet; for, whatever different views men might entertain as to continental connexions in general, or as to an alliance at this present time, all men who reflected must have been of Mr. Fox's opinion as to the impolicy, the extreme danger, of hurrying Austria into a war, or, as the Pittites exultingly called it, of "*quickening* the alliance into action," before Austria was duly prepared. The "voice of parliament" will not, therefore, be so forward to express its gratitude for this favour; and, indeed, it is truly shocking to contemplate the motive, to which it is but too obvious these writers attribute the war. What did they mean by saying, that, when parliament met, it would show the "*gratitude* of the country," and that it would not "again see with pleasure the precious "time of the ministry *wasted in vexatious* "*inquiries?*" What did they mean by this? Are we to understand them as regarding the subsidies granted and the continental war exacted merely to answer a *domestic purpose!* Shocking idea! Let us hope, that, here, at least, their minds have outstripped those of their superiors! [Here I must break off. The other parts of the subject, as elucidated by more recent intelligence, shall be discussed in my next.]

Botley, Thursday,
31*st Oct.* 1805.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 19.] LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1805. [PRICE 1OD.

"The spectacle now exhibited on the Continent, so glorious to human nature in its commencement, will, "we trust, proceed with consistent splendour, and the contest terminate in the attainment of the grand "objects, for which it is undertaken. We do not hesitate to take credit to our government for these great "events. We do believe that the present auspicious state of things has arisen from the able management "of his Majesty's government, and we are sure the credit and popularity, they already possess, will be "increased and confirmed in consequence."——MORNING POST (ministerial) news paper, 28th Sept. 1805.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——The official papers, received from France and Germany, since the date of the preceding sheet of the Register, have confirmed the truth of the melancholy intelligence before unofficially communicated to the public. These official papers will all be found in another part of the present sheet, together with some demi-official statements, regarded as useful in forming a record of the transactions of the time.——Whether there be, or be not, any exaggerations in either the official or demi-official accounts of the French is, in this case, a matter of little consequence. We know, to our sorrow, that the army of Austria, about a hundred thousand strong, has been, with regard to the present war, totally destroyed; and, as to the consequences, we know, that the victorious enemy was, when the last intelligence came away, on his march (and not a *slow* march!) towards Vienna. He may, possibly, be arrested in his progress by the combined arms of Austria and Russia; but, who can expect such an occurrance? It was, as was observed in the Register of the 26th ultimo, p. 671, evident, that, be the position of the Austrians what it might, Napoleon would assail them; it was evident, that the next battle was for his crown, and that, as was then said, it was "for something approaching very near to the crown of the House of Austria;" for, as I continue to fear, the Russians will oppose but a feeble resistance to a victorious army of a hundred and forty thousand men. It was then supposed, that, in case of a decisive victory on the part of Napoleon, "the dangers on the side of the North, if they "*really* menaced him, he would cast behind him, rushing forward upon the "wings of vengeance, to humble, to chastise, to destroy, his most dreaded adversary, the last remaining bar to his inordinate ambition." He *may* be stopped in his career. Without a fuller knowledge of all the circumstance of the war than we possess, it is impossible to say what probability there is of a reverse of fortune: but, to expect any thing short of a treaty of peace, signed upon the drum-head, to save the capital and the crown of Austria, does, at present, appear to be treasuring up disappointment for ourselves.——At such a time, and upon such a subject, it is useless, it was worse than useless, to build any thing like a system in speculation; but, as to the line of conduct, which Prussia will probably pursue, it does, seeing the sanguine hopes that prevail, appear to be necessary to offer a remark or two.——"Our "strongest hope," says the COURIER of the 4th instant, "is placed upon the im-"mediate interference of Prussia. If the "reluctant confession of the French and "Dutch papers had not informed us, that "the Prussian armies were on their march, "we should have felt no doubt, that the "Cabinet of Berlin had determined upon a "system of vigorous action against Buona-"parté. These reverses will *only quicken* "*and invigorate her.* Our readers will re-"collect, it was after the account of these "successes of the French had been received "that the Prussian minister warned Prussian "ships not to sail for the Dutch and French "ports. Had he not been sure of the sys-"tem of his court, had he felt the least "doubt with respect to the conduct of his "sovereign, in the event of the Austrians "being defeated, he would have paused, he "would have waited for further instructions. "And can it be conceived for a moment "that Prussia will withdraw her troops, and "thereby prove her fear of Buonaparté? "Can she think she would really conciliate "him by such a measure? He has already "declared Europe to be in a state of revo-"lution, and characterized himself as the "dictator. Let Prussia look to that; but "we feel confident she sees that not only "her glory, but that her interest and her "independence require her immediate in-"terference. Buonaparté seems to be aware "of the intentions of the Prussian Cabinet, "and it is on that account he is accelerating "his march and operations against Austria, "in order to compel her to sign a separate "peace. But the *capture of Vienna* would

" hardly, we should think, compel Austria " to sign a separate peace. If Prussia march " her armies immediately, she will be able " to do that to the French which they did to " General Mack. But every thing almost " depends upon the utmost promptitude, " dispatch, and decision."——It is truly disgusting to observe the coolness, with which writers of this description talk of the misfortunes of the powers upon the Continent. " The *capture of Vienna* would hard- " ly, we should think, compel Austria to " sign a separate peace!" Senseless assurance! The only reason why it should not compel Austria to sign a separate peace, is, that it might, possibly, annihilate, totally and for ever annihilate, that authority, which constitutes what we, when thus figuratively speaking, call Austria. But, to return to Prussia, whose hostile operations against France, will, we are told, " be *quickened* " and *invigorated* by these reverses;" I, for my part, retain my formerly expressed opinion. " If things go well on the Danube, " we shall have Prussia for an ally; if they " go ill, it is to be feared, that Lord Har- " rowby and Mr. Hammond will preach in " vain; for, if the Austrians be complete- " ly defeated, it is to be believed, that all " the bank notes that ever were printed in " Threadneedle-street will make one Prus- " sian soldier shoulder his musket?" The COURIER asks: " can it be conceived for a " moment, that Prussia will withdraw her " troops, and thereby prove her fear of " Buonaparté?" Yes. I conceive it, and I believe it; and, I should be glad to be convinced that I ought not to believe it. No: it was *not* after the intelligence of " *these* reverses" that the Prussian minister issued his notification as to the ship of that power; and, if it were, that circumstance would be very far indeed from warranting the inference that has been drawn from it. I may be deceived. The reader will do well not to rely upon what I state as a mere opinion; but, if, after what has happened upon the Danube, Prussia should join in open hostility against France, my surprise will be great indeed. We are told of the bitter *complaints* of the court of Berlin relative to the violation of the neutrality of Anspach. Those who mean to fight do not usually content themselves with complaining; and, besides, these complaints bear date, it seems, on the 14th ultimo, several days previous to the defeat of the Austrian army.——To speculate, however, upon what will happen is a waste of time with us, whom it behoves to reflect on the past, and, having discovered the cause, to endeavour to *remove* that cause.

" The mind," says the ministerial hirelings, " has scarcely yet recovered sufficient calm- " ness to take an impartial view of the " events that have occured; events which " have disappointed the expectation of *every* " *man* in the country, and which no *ad-* " *mirer*, no, not the most *sanguine admirer* " of Buonaparte himself, could have been " prepared to expect."——No; they have not disappointed the expectation of every man. They have not disappointed any one of those, who agreed in opinion with Mr. Fox; for, read his speech of the 21st of June last, and say if he did not, with perfect accuracy, foretell what has now come to pass. Have the readers of the Register been " *disappointed* by those events?" If they have, they have shut their ears against the voice of truth and of reason; for, has it not, from the first, and all along, been shewn, that no good could be expected from the present hasty and crude coalition? Was there not the objection to it, that Mr. Pitt was the grand mover, on the part of England; he who *never succeeded* in any measure of war or of peace? He, during whose administration, the *power* of France and the *debt* of England have been more than doubled? He, the father of the Catamaran and Parish-Army projects? Must not that man be a dolt indeed, whose expectations of good from such a minister have been disappointed?—The insinuation, that all those who did not expect good from this *Pitt and Melville* undertaking (for that is its proper appellation); the insinuation that all such persons are " *admirers* of Buonaparté" is just what one would expect, at this time particularly, from the partizans of Mr. Pitt and his Colleague. What a pity for them! what a lamentable thing, that there are no Corresponding or other political Societies, towards whom they might turn the attention of the public! Can none be found? Can nothing disloyal be found out, whence to trace the opinions of those who expected that the professed object of the continental war would not be accomplished? Can it not, some how or other, be made out treason, or, at least, sedition, not to have been disappointed at the successes of Buonaparté? Miserable hirelings! And is it by devices like this, that you hope to stifle inquiry! Do you imagine, that we are to be deterred from exercising our judgment and expressing our opinions as to the events of the war, lest (those opinions being unfavourable to the measures of the ministers) you should ascribe to us *sentiments in favour of the enemy*?——The most important part of this subject is, that which relates to the *cause* of the recent

calamities upon the continent. But, first, let us hear, from the mouths of the minister's partizans, what is the nature, and what the probable extent, of these calamities.—"We dread to look at the probable consequences of this terrible calamity. One of the first and worst will be, that it will fill the French armies and people with confidence and enthusiastic ardour, that it will raise the fame and strengthen the power of Buonaparté, the greatest enemy of this country, as well as of the independence of the states of Europe. His army will immediately form along the Inn, its right towards Inspruck, its left towards Passau. Near Passau General Kienmayer has about 20,000 Austrians, probably joined before now by the first army of 50,000 Russians. What reinforcements Austria may be able to send, we cannot tell; but probably Buonaparté, having half his army under Bernadotte on the lower part of the Inn, will advance with the other half by Inspruck into Italy, to surround the army of the Archduke Charles. Should he succeed in this, and make prize of the Austrian Italian army as he has done of General Mack's troops, Austria will then be robbed of her two finest armies, amounting together to 170,000 men, and she will scarcely be able to muster 80,000 soldiers, besides the Russians, with whom to cover Vienna; while Buonaparté will approach that city at the head of his united German and Italian armies, amounting to nearly 300,000. Under such circumstances, Austria will be compelled to accept such terms of peace as the Conqueror shall please to grant, the surrender, perhaps, of all her Italian and Tyrolian States, together with her possessions on the Adriatic, and the total loss of her influence in Germany. Austria gone, her armies annihilated, Russia can do nothing against France, and Prussia may be deterred from stirring; the war on the continent will be at an end, the last struggle for the liberties of Europe will have failed, and the hordes of the French soldiery, inflamed by their successes, will return to the coasts opposite England, from whence Invasion will be attempted, if ever there was a serious design of attempting it." What! *If* ever there was a serious design of attempting it! This *if* from writers (in the COURIER), who have, a hundred times over, positively asserted, that the ministers had received *certain* intelligence, that the enemy was just then about to embark for our shores! But, such, then is the nature, and such the probable extent of the calamities upon the continent. The invasion of England (for that is the tender point after all) will now become more probable than ever; and will, as to us, be much more full of terrors than before. This is what the partizans of the ministry now say; and, the reader will not fail to remember, that this is what we have said from the moment that the war upon the continent was first seriously talked of. The reader's recollection will refer him to at least five or six numbers of the Register, in which, since the month of July last, endeavours have been made to prepare the public for what has now happened; but I am particularly anxious that he should re-peruse the passage in pages 584 and 585, where he will find, that the very consequences, *now* foreseen by the ministerial writers, were then foreseen and foretold. *Reasons* were given for the opinions then expressed; though, to think ill of any plan adopted by a person that has *never been successful*, really requires no special reason to justify it.——Such being the probable consequences of the calamities upon the continent, we have only to ascertain the *causes* of those calamities; and, I think, we shall not be long in clearly discovering that the principal of these causes is, Mr. Pitt's precipitating Austria into the war. His partizans deny that any part of the blame attaches to him; and, cost us what it will, in time and patience, we must hear them out, if we wish to form a correct judgment upon the subject. The extract now about to be made is from the COURIER of the 2d instant. The "*Opposition*," here talked of, must mean the *writers* on the side of the Opposition; for, as to the members of parliament, they have, as yet, had no opportunity of publicly expressing their opinion as to the cause of the disasters in Germany.——"That the Opposition should impute the blame of the late disasters in Germany to Mr. Pitt, surprises no one. Their system with respect to him is short and sweeping; should the allies be successful, allow every body praise but Mr. Pitt; should they be unsuccessful, blame nobody but Mr. Pitt; but having so openly and positively declared that Mr. Pitt had nothing to do with the formation of the coalition, we were curious to see how they could make out that he alone was to blame for the selection of the coalition generals, or for the disasters of the coalition arms. We thought they would have proved, that, by some convention or agreement, Mr. Pitt had the selection of the generals to command the Austrian armies, and not having chosen General Mack, he was responsi-

" ble for all the faults he has committed. " But no such thing; the Austrians have " been unsuccessful, and therefore Mr. Pitt " must have been the cause of that want of " success; General Mack has been defeat- " ed, and does not his defeat proceed mani- " festly from the weakness, the folly, and " baseness of ministers? Such are the argu- " ments and the reasoning which they hope " will convince the country that Mr. Pitt " has ruined the allies, and forfeited all " claim to the confidence of the people. Yet " a month has not elapsed since the contem- " plation of such a coalition against France, " extorted from them the warmest eulogies, " it was the most noble spectacle the world " ever afforded, it gave Europe the best " chance of rescuing herself from the rapa- " city and ambition of Buonaparté. General " Mack was at that time at the head of the " Austrian army, and the Austrian troops " were on their march to Bavaria.—Did " they then blame the nomination of Gen. " Mack, or impute censure to Mr. Pitt for " the selection of such a general? Not a " word escaped them. And is it not the " height of absurdity and stupidity to sup- " pose that any man will seriously impute " blame to Mr. Pitt for the disasters in Ger- " many? Whenever we have entered into " a coalition with the Emperor of Germany, " did it ever enter into the head of any Bri- " tish minister that his Imperial Majesty " would, for the consideration of any sub- " sidy, relinquish his appointment of his " own generals, and the directions of the " movements and positions of his own ar- " mies? The thing is too ridiculous to " dwell upon for a moment. Had it not " been so, had the Opposition been in pow- " er, and had they had the selection of an " Austrian general to command the army " against Buonaparté, whom would they " have selected? If they attach any weight " to the opinion of their military councillor, " Col. Craufurd, they would have selected " this very Gen. Mack, whom the colonel " has always described as one of the great- " est generals in Europe.——Of the Oppo- " sition article [in the Morning Chronicle] " to which we have been alluding, it is an " appropriate conclusion to remind us, that " 'his Majesty's eldest daughter has been " compelled to be the hostess of Buona- " parté.' Such a humiliation has, no doubt, " deeply wounded the feelings of her illus- " trious father. But is that event imputable " to Mr. Pitt? Or do the Opposition mean " an indirect censure upon the King for " marrying his daughter to a prince whose " power is unable to resist, and whose ter- " ritories are situated so near France? " Surely *that wound might have been spared*, " unless the Opposition suppose that the " same humiliation awaits the illustrious " family at home; that Buonaparté will be " able to make as triumphant an entry into " Windsor Castle as he did into Ludwigs- " burg, and that our Queen, like her daugh- " ter, the Duchess of Wirtemberg, may be " equally compelled to be the hostess of the " Usurper."—This closing passage, though little connected with the main subject before us, demands a remark or two. " That " wound might have been *spared!*" Just as if the writer, who made the observation relative to the Duchess of Wirtemberg, meant thereby *to wound* the breasts of her Royal Parents! Nothing was more striking, and nothing more fitting, than the observation. Being upon the subject of the probable consequences of Mr. Pitt's continuing to rule the country, as prime minister of the King; being upon this subject, and considering Mr. Pitt as holding his place by the mere will and pleasure of his Majesty, was it not perfectly proper to remind the public of the consequences which the ministry of that gentleman has produced elsewhere, particularly as to any branch of the Royal Family of England? A very pretty state, indeed, should we be in, were we to suffer ourselves to be deterred from making such observations, by insinuations like that here resorted to.——In returning to Mr. Pitt, we may first observe, that our statement against him is completely blinked by his partisans. We never blamed him for the *choice of General* MACK; no, nor of any of the other generals employed in the Suabian campaign; we only blamed him for *precipitating* Austria into the war. That there was precipitation we know. We know, that the Russians did not arrive soon enough to assist General MACK; and, it will be seen, from a letter of COUNT STAHREMBERG (with respect to the *discretion* of writing which letter nothing need be said) to the editor of the Morning Post, that the Russians were not *expected* so soon as they actually arrived. What, then, could urge them on? We are told that they were deceived by the Elector of Bavaria. Where are the documents to *prove* this? The Elector has published his narrative, and Austria has not contradicted it. The Austrians overran Bavaria; they took possession of its treasures and of its government; they issued their paper-money there in payment for things of real value, which things they took. What obstacle, therefore, was Bavaria in their way? That Mr. Pitt *urged on*, the Austrians his partisans, as was shown in the preceding

sheet, have a hundred times asserted; it has been a subject of great boasting with them; their phrase was, that he had "*quickened* "the House of Austria," at other times so tardy, into action. They represented his merit in this respect as being so great as to cause an obliteration of all the "*little non-* "*sense*," as the Morning Post termed it, "about Naval Inquiries and Tenth Re- "ports;" thus pretty broadly insinuating, that the merit of having urged Austria into the war ought to be balanced against all the facts brought to light by the Tenth Report and by the subsequent enquiries and discussions; but now, behold, the "*quickened*" operations having failed, General *Mack*, or even the Emperor of Austria himself, is welcome to all the merit of the campaign; and, they are, into the bargain, welcome to all the abuse, which a venomous and baffled Pittite can invent. The former is called "a "talking fellow without brains," and it is insinuated that the other is very little better, or, at least, that his ministers are not. If one had seen COUNT STAHREMBERG interfere upon *this* account, indeed, one need not have been so much surprised. Probably, however, he is going to interfere in another, and, it is sincerely to be hoped, in a not less dignified, manner, in defence of the character of the Austrian commanders and the Austrian government.—No: it never did enter into the head of any reasonable man, that, in consideration of any subsidy, the Emperor of Austria would relinquish the appointment of his own generals; but, as to the *movements* of his armies, and as to the time of entering the field, these certainly may become subject of *agreement*; and, is it certain, that the movement of the Austrians, in nearly the direction in which they unfortunately did move, was not agreed upon as a condition of their receiving, by a certain time, that part of the subsidy, which has been already sent them? I put this directly as a question to this ministerial writer: will he say, that there was no such *agreement*? I believe that there was. But, be this as it may, we all *know*, that the Minister went a recruiting for Princes to fight against France, and that, in his advertisements, he made an offer of a five-millions bounty. What were those 5 millions talked of for, in the budget of February last? The intention of the measure was, evidently, to say to the powers of the Continent, "here, if you will fight, you "see we have *money* for you." This was a measure of precipitation: it was calculated to "*quicken*" courtiers at any rate: it was calculated to produce war between the powers of the continent and France; but, it was not calculated to effect a well-combined plan of operations against the latter; and, this was stated at the time, and has been repeated a hundred times since.——Mr. Pitt, in answer to the observation of Mr. Fox, that a continental war *might* render our situation *worse*, instead of better, said, that this objection would apply to *all cases* of danger. No, replied the other; I do not say, that you are *never* to risk any thing; but, I tell you, and I beg the house to remember that I tell you, that, in this particular case, the chances against you are so great, that you ought not to proceed. The question was, indeed, a question of mere policy: Mr. Fox was against hurrying Austria into the war, and Mr. Pitt was for it.——As to the motives by which Mr. Pitt was actuated, I shall not pretend to describe them; but, the exultation of his and Lord Melville's partizans at the prospect of seeing "the atten- "tion of the House of Commons turned from "the *little nonsense* about naval inquiries "and Tenth Reports to the mighty con- "cerns connected with the deliverance of "Europe;" this and similar passages, in the ministerial prints cannot already be forgotten, and the public will do well to keep them constantly in mind. Ever since the army of Austria began to move, the ministerial papers have been holding a language, calculated to convince one, that they looked forward to the effect which the campaign on the continent would produce *upon the divisions* during the ensuing session of parliament! They seem to have cared but very little about any other consequence; and we now see them, in the same spirit, bending all their efforts, not towards an endeavour to prove, that the House of Austria will recover the blow; but, *that Mr. Pitt is not to blame*, and that, on account of these calamities, he ought *to lose no votes* in the House of Commons! Such is the consolation, which they tender to their country and to the Emperor of Austria!

CHOICE OF COMMANDERS.——The ministerial prints have, with one accord and with open mouth, joined in a cry against the Emperor of Austria, or, against his cabinet ministers, for choosing General MACK, "a man," say they, "who had *never de-* "*feated an enemy*, and who had "*always* "*been unfortunate*." Now, *if* these be good and solid objections in the choice of a general, how will these gentlemen account for the choice, which, it is affirmed, Mr. Pitt has made of a Commander in Chief of the expedition now going out? For, we have, very few of us, at any rate, ever heard

of any enemy *defeated* by His Royal Highness the Duke of York; and, those who recollect the plains of Dunkirk, and the convention of the Helder, will not, it is presumed, regard his royal Highness as singularly *fortunate*. The Duke of Cambridge was, I believe, in Hanover when the *plate was saved:* so far his royal highness might be called fortunate; but, all taken together, the defence of Hanover was not a fortunate one, whatever may be said of its bravery. Nor has Lord Chatham ever, that we have read of, been very *fortunate* in war, except, indeed, in the obtaining of *commands* at home, in which respect his fortune has, by most persons been thought to be nearly equal to his merit.——Observe, UPSTART, that I do not say, that a want of good fortune in the past ought to prevent a man from being entrusted with a command: observe me well, UPSTART, that I say no such thing; but, I say, that *if* this reason ought to have prevented the Emperor of Austria from committing the command of an army to General MACK, what shall we think of Mr. Pitt for committing the command of an army to the Duke of York?——I am aware, that the partizans of Mr. Pitt will say, that the appointment is not *his*. Base insinuation! Thus it is that they, upon all such occasions, endeavour to shift the responsibility from his shoulders! But, what will they say as to the appointment of Lord Chatham? Was that not Mr. Pitt's?——Once more, observe, that I do not give any opinion as to the justice of the maxim which these Pittites prescribe to the Emperor of Austria; I am only endeavouring to show, that, whether their doctrine be sound, or not, Mr. Pitt has not acted in conformity to it. For my part, I hope, that the Duke of York's good fortune is to come; and that he will bring home *this* army covered with glory; but, I cannot, then, join in abusing the Emperor of Austria, merely because he appointed a commander, who had *never been fortunate*. General Mack is, indeed, the ministerial writers tell us, "a talking fellow without "brains;" and, here, the comparison with our Commanders would not hold; but, I beg the reader to remember, that the accusation against the Austrian cabinet is, that they appointed a commander, who had *never been fortunate*.

LOLD NELSON'S LAST VICTORY.——Upon this subject every man's heart will teach him what to think. There need no words; and no words can express what we all ought to feel.——Yet, it may, as to the *future*, be necessary to caution the public against giving way to any great degree of hope, founded upon this glorious achievement. It is of value, of high value, as an acquisition *of glory;* but, in other respects, the effect will not be of much importance. ——Great part of the enemy's loss consists of Spanish ships and men; that is to say, of the ships and men *of our friends;* and, this loss will, in all probability, tend to bend more submissively, and to bind more firmly, the Spaniards to France.——As to the final result of *the war*, this victory will do little, very little indeed; and, I submit to the reader, whether the news of it be likely to afford much satisfaction amongst our defeated allies upon the continent? Whether they may not feel tempted to exclaim: "this war may be sport to you, but it is "death to us."——The official accounts of the battle and of the subsequent operations of the fleet will be found in another part of this sheet.

Botley, Thursday, 7*th Nov.* 1805.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Proceeding of the Extraordinary Meeting of the Conservative Senate of France; Oct.* 24, 1805.

At one o'clock this day the members of the Conservative Senate met, in virtue of a convocation extraordinary ordered by his Highness Prince Joseph, grand elector. His Imperial Highness Prince Louis, constable; his Serene Highness the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire and some of the ministers, were present at the setting. It was opened under the presidency of the grand elector, with the following speech pronounced by his Highness. "Senators, in the midst of his triumphs his Majesty has felt the necessity of giving to the Senate a new proof of his esteem; it is the object of the message which his Majesty has ordered me to submit to you. You will perceive, gentlemen, that his Majesty is impatient that the French youth should take their share of the fresh successes which await him. But already our young Conscripts are in motion; they are setting out, or have already done so. All parents know, that when their children go to the grand army, they go to place themselves under the shield of the common father of the French, who is more sparing of their blood than he is anxious for glory. The Emperor and his army have exceeded the hopes of the nation; I have the happiness of informing you, that it answers, in a manner worthy of it, the glorious invitation of its chief." —The message of the Emperor and King, which his Imperial Highness read to the meeting, is expressed in the following man-

ner: "Senators, I send you 40 stand of colours, which my army has conquered in the different actions which took place since that at Wertingen. It is a homage which I and my army pay to the sages of the Empire; it is an offering made by children to their father's Senators, accept it as a proof of my satisfaction for the manner in which you have always assisted me in the most important concerns of the Empire. And you, Frenchmen, cause your brothers to march; let them hasten to combat by our sides, in order that, without shedding of blood, without extraordinary exertion, we may repel far from us all the armies created by the gold of England, and overwhelm with confusion the allies of the oppressors of the seas. Senators, a month is not yet elapsed since I told you that your Emperor and his army would do their duty—I am impatient to say, that my people have done their's. Since I began the campaign I have dispersed an army of 100,000 men: I have almost taken the half of them prisoners; the rest are killed, wounded, or deserted, and reduced to the greatest consternation. These brilliant successes I owe to the affection of my soldiers—to their patience in supporting fatigue. I have only lost 1500 men in killed and wounded. Senators, the first object of the war is already fulfilled. The elector of Bavaria is re-established on his throne. The unjust aggressors have been struck, as if by lightning; and, with the help of God, I hope, in a short space of time, to be able to triumph over my other enemies.—From my imperial camp at Elchingen, Oct. 18.—(Signed) NAPOLEON."——By order of his Imperial Highness, the 6th bulletin of the grand army was then read, with the articles of the Capitulation of Ulm.—A member proposed, in a short speech, that five members should be appointed to prepare an address to his Majesty, to be presented to him by one of the members of the committee of the Senate and three other Senators. Senators Lacepede, Clement De Ris, and François (De Neufchateau), with his Imperial Highness Prince Louis, and his Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, were appointed to prepare the same; and a deputation, consisting of Colaud, one of the Secretaries, St. Suzanne, Monge, and Garnier Laboissiere, were chosen by ballot to present it to the Emperor.

Fifth Official Bulletin of the Grand Army; from the French Official Paper, the Moniteur of the 25th of Oct. 1805.

Elchingen, Oct. 16.—Events of great consequence, the battles of Albeck, Elchingen, and the capture of Ulm and Memmingen, followed the actions of Wertingen and Gunzburgh. Marshal Soult arrived, on the 13th, before Memmingen; immediately surrounded the town, and after some negotiation the commandant capitulated. Nine battalions, two of which were grenadiers, taken prisoners; a major-general, three colonels, many superior officers, ten pieces of cannon, a great deal of baggage and ammunition of every kind, was the result of this affair. All the prisoners were immediately sent to head-quarters. At the same time Marshal Soult marched for Oschenhausen, for the purpose of reaching Biberach, and cutting off the only retreat which lay open to the Archduke Ferdinand.—On the other hand, on the 10th, the enemy made a sortie from Ulm, and attacked the division of Dupont, which occupied the position of Albeck. The battle was a most obstinate one. Surrounded by 25,000 men, these 6000 brave fellows opposed them on all sides, and took 1,500 prisoners. This corps should not be astonished at any thing; it consisted of the 9th light, the 32d, 69th, and 76th of the line.—On the 13th the Emperor went to the camp before Ulm, and ordered the army of the enemy to be invested. The first operation was to take possession of the bridge, and the position of Elchingen.—On the 14th, at day-break, Marshal Ney passed the bridge, at the head of Loison's division. The enemy opposed his taking possession of Elchingen, with 16,000 men; they were every where overthrown, lost 3000 men, who were made prisoners, and were pursued to their entrenchments.—Marshal Lannes occupied the small heights which command the plain above the village of Pfoel. The sharp shooters carried the works which protected the bridge of Ulm; the confusion in the town was excessive. At the same time Prince Murat made a movement with the divisions of Klein and Beaumont, which every where put the enemy's cavalry to flight.—On the 14th Gen. Marmont occupied the bridges of Unterkirch, and Oberkirch, at the confluence of the Iller with the Danube, and all the communications of the enemy on the Iller.—On the 15th, at day break, the Emperor himself appeared before Ulm. The corps of Prince Murat, and those of Marshals Lannes and Ney, ranged themselves in order of battle, to make an assault, and force the entrenchments of the enemy. Gen. Marmont, with the division of dismounted dragoons of Gen. B. D'Hilliers, blockaded the town on the right bank of the Danube. The day was dreadful: the troops were up to their knees in mud. The Emperor had not

taken off his boots for 8 days. Prince Ferdinand had marched off in the night towards Biberach, leaving 12 battalions in the town and upon the heights of Ulm; which were all taken, with a considerable quantity of cannon. Marshal Soult took possession of Biberach on the 15th, in the morning. Prince Murat set out in pursuit of the enemy, which is in a dreadful state of dissolution. Out of an army of 80,000 men there are only 25,000 remaining, and hopes are entertained that they will not be able to escape us. Immediately after his arrival at Munich, Marshal Bernadotte pursued the army of Gen. Kienmayer, and took some waggons and prisoners from him.—Since the commencement of the campaign we have made 20,000 prisoners; taken from the enemy 30 pieces of cannon and 20 standards. On our side the loss has been but small. If we add to that the deaths and the desertions, we may reckon the Austrian army is already reduced one half.—So much devotedness on the part of the soldiers, so many affecting proofs of their attachment to the Emperor, and so many brilliant achievements, would require to be detailed more minutely. They shall be given as soon as these first operations of the campaign are terminated, and that it is positively ascertained how the wreck of the Austrian army will escape from Biberach, and the position they will take.—At the battle of Elchingen, which was one of the most brilliant military achievements that can be quoted, the 18th regiment of dragoons, and Colonels Lefevre, Colbert, the colonel of the 10th regiment of chasseurs, who had a horse killed under him, Col. Lajonquieres, of the 76th, and a great number of officers, distinguished themselves. The Emperor has to-day his headquarters at the Abbey of Elchingen.

Abstract of the Sixth Bulletin.

Elchingen, Oct. 18.—Annexed is the capitulation of Ulm. The Emperor might have taken the place by assault, but 20,000 men, defended by fortifications and wet ditches, would have made a resistance, and his desire was to save the effusion of blood. Gen. Mack was in that city. The Austrian army consisted of 14 regiments of infantry of the army of Bavaria, as it was called, 13 regiments from the Tyrol, and 5 regiments which had been sent in waggons from Italy: altogether 32 regiments of infantry, and 15 regiments of cavalry.—Gen. Mack intended to escape with his army, but the Emperor destroyed a bridge, and took the position of Elchingen. Marshal Soult took Memmingen, and followed the other columns. Prince Murat pursued Prince Ferdinand, and took 3000 prisoners, at Langen, of the division of Werneck.—It appears that Prince Ferdinand will not be able to escape, unless by concealing his person, and getting off with a few squadrons by a detour.—On the 15th Marshal Bernadotte, having pushed his advanced posts as far as Wasserbourg and Haag, on the high road of Braunau, took 4 or 500 prisoners, and 17 pieces of cannon; having thus taken, since his entry at Munich, 1500 prisoners, 19 pieces of cannon, 200 horses, and a quantity of baggage, without the loss of a single man.—On the 15th the Emperor was in possession of Memmingen, and on the 17th of Ulm. In the different engagements of Wertingen, Gunzburgh, Ulm, &c. he has taken 40,000 prisoners, above 40 stands of colours, a number of cannon, &c. The loss of the French army in the same engagements is only 500 killed, and 1000 wounded. The Austrian army may be considered as annihilated.

Capitulation of Ulm,—*Occupied by the Troops of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, to the Army of his Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy.*

We, Alex. Berthier, Marshal of the empire, and Field Marshal Baron Mack, &c. have agreed upon the following articles: Art. I. The City of Ulm shall be surrendered to the French army, with all the magazines and artillery.—Answer: The half of the field artillery shall be retained by the Austrian troops. Refused.—II. The garrison shall march out, with all the honours of war, and after filing off, lay down their arms. The field officers shall be sent, on their parole of honour, to Austria, and the soldiers and subalterns shall be sent into France, where they shall remain until they are exchanged. Answer: The whole shall be sent into Austria, under condition of not serving against France until they are exchanged. Refused.—III. The officers and soldiers shall retain all the effects belonging to them. Answer: And also the regimental chests. Agreed to.—IV. The sick and wounded Austrians shall be treated in the same manner as the French sick and wounded. Answer: We know the generosity and humanity of the French.—V. If, nevertheless, there should appear by noon of the 25th Oct. 1805, an army capable of raising the blockade of Ulm, the garrison of this fortress shall in that case be released from the present capitulation, and at liberty to act as it may think fit. Answer: If the blockade of Ulm should be raised by an Aus-

trian or Russian army before midnight of the 25th of Oct., on whatever side, or at whatever gate it shall happen to be, the garrison shall freely depart with their arms, artillery, and cavalry, to join the troops which may have raised the blockade. Agreed to.—VI. One of the gates of Ulm (that of Stutgard) shall be given up to the French army at 7 o'clock to-morrow, as also quarters sufficient for the accommodation of one brigade. Answer: Yes.—VII. That the French army shall be put in possession of the grand bridge over the Danube, and also have a free communication between both banks. Answer: The bridge is burnt down, but all possible means shall be taken to rebuild it.—VIII. The service shall be regulated so as to prevent any disturbance, and to maintain the best understanding. Answer: The French and Austrian discipline afford the firmest guarantee in this respect.—IX. All the cavalry, artillery, and waggon horses, belonging to the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, shall be given up to the French army.—X. The 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 9th articles shall not be carried into execution until it please the commander in chief of the Austrian troops; provided nevertheless, that the period of execution shall not be later than twelve at noon of the 25th of Oct., 1805: and, if by that time an army should make its appearance, in sufficient force to raise the blockade, the garrison shall, conformably to Art. V. be at liberty to act as they may think proper.—Done in Duplicate at Ulm, 17th Oct. 1805. (Signed)

MARSHAL BERTHIER.
——— MACK.

Abstract of the Seventh Bulletin.

Elchingen, Oct. 19.—On the 18th Prince Murat arrived at Nordlingen, and surrounded the division of Gen. Werneck, who capitulated, and is a prisoner on parole, with 7 other generals. The soldiers will be sent to France as prisoners. It is asserted, that the reserve artillery of the Austrian army, consisting of 500 carriages, is taken. Prince Ferdinand has now but few men left.—After an audience which the Emperor granted to Gen. Mack this afternoon, Marshal Berthier and that general signed an addition to the capitulation, purporting that Ulm must be evacuated by the Austrian garrison on the 20th. There are at Ulm 27,000 men, 3000 horses, 18 generals, and from 60 to 80 pieces of cannon, with their horses. We become more certain every day that there are not 20,000 men escaped of that army of 100,000 men; and this extraordinary advantage has been obtained without the effusion of blood. The Emperor presents the colours he has taken to the senate; they amount to 80, instead of 40 stand.

Additional Articles of the Capitulation of Ulm, proposed on the 19th.

Marshal Berthier, Major-General of the French army, being empowered by the Emperor's command, gives his word of honour, 1st, That the Austrian army is this day on the other side of the Inn, and that Marshal Bernadotte, with his army, has taken a position between Munich and the Inn. 2d, Marshal Lannes, with his corps, is pursuing Prince Ferdinand, and was yesterday at Aalen. 3d, That Prince Murat, with his corps, was yesterday at Nordlingen; that the Lieut.-Generals Werneck, Baillet, Hohenzollern, and 7 other generals, have yesterday capitulated at the village of Trotzelfingen. 4th, That Marshal Soult is posted between Ulm and Bregentz, observing the way to the Tyrol; that there is, consequently, no possibility of succour arriving before Ulm. That Lieut.-Gen. and Quarter-Master Gen. Mack, giving credit to the above declaration, is ready to evacuate Ulm to-morrow, on the following conditions:—That the whole corps of Marshal Ney, consisting of twelve regiments of infantry, and four regiments of horse, shall not quit the City of Ulm and its environs, at the distance of ten leagues, before the 25th October at midnight, the period when the capitulation is to expire.—The Marshal Berthier and Baron Von Mack agree on the above inserted articles. Consequently the whole Austrian army shall defile to-morrow, at 3 in the afternoon, before the Emperor of the French, with all the honours of war; they shall lay down their arms, and the officers, who shall keep their arms, shall receive passports to go by the two roads of Kempten to Austria, and of Bregentz to the Tyrol. Done in Duplicate at Elchingen, the 19th October, 1805. (Signed) THE MARSHAL BERTHIER.
THE LIEUT.-GEN. MACK.

Eighth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Elchingen, Oct. 20.—The Emperor took his station, from 2 in the afternoon to 7 in the evening, on the heights near Ulm, where the Austrian army marched past him. The French army were posted on the heights. The Emperor, surrounded by his life-guards, sent for the Austrian generals, and kept them with him until their troops had filed off. He treated them with the utmost distinction. There were present, besides the General in Chief, Mack, eight generals, and seven lieutenant-generals. The number of

prisoners since the commencement of hostilities, amounts to 60,000, and 80 standards have been taken, besides artillery, baggage, &c. It is supposed that the Emperor, after dispatching his couriers, will set out this evening for Augsbourg and Munich.

Ninth Bulletin.

Elchingen, Oct. 21.—The Emperor has just issued the annexed proclamation with decrees. He set off for Augsburgh at noon this day. We are now in possession of an accurate list of the army which was shut up in Ulm. It consisted of 33,000 men, to which number the 3000 wounded being added, the total amounts to 36,000. There were also found in the place 60 pieces of artillery, and 50 stand of colours. There cannot be a more striking contrast than the spirit of the French and the Austrian armies. In the French army heroism is carried to its extreme point. In the Austrian army discouragement is at its height. The soldier is paid with notes; he can send nothing home; and is very ill treated. The French think of nothing but glory. A thousand traits like the following might be cited: Brard, a soldier of the 70th, was going to have his thigh amputated; death had laid hold of him. As the surgeon was preparing to perform the operation, he stopped him:—'I know that I shall not survive; what does it signify? A man the less will not prevent the 70th from marching against the enemy, with the bayonet in front, and in three ranks.'—The Emperor has had occasion to complain of nothing except the excessive ardour of the soldiers. The 17th light infantry, for example, which arrived before Ulm during the capitulation, rushed into the place in such a manner, and the whole army were so anxious to storm it, that the Emperor was obliged to declare it as his positive intention that the place should not be stormed.—The first column of the prisoners at Ulm has just begun its march for France. The following is a statement of the total of the prisoners, with their present situation: 10,000 at Augsburgh, 33,000 at Ulm, 12,000 at Donauwerth, and 13,000 already on their march for France.—The Emperor addressed the Austrian generals, whom he sent for, as their army were filing past him, in the following terms: "Gentlemen, your master carries on an unjust war. I tell you plainly, I know not for what I am fighting; I know not what can be required of me. It is not in this army alone that my resources consist, though were that the case I should still be able to make head with it; but I shall appeal to the testimony of your own prisoners of war, who will speedily pass through France; they will observe with their own eyes the spirit which animates my people, and with what eagerness they flock to my standards. This is the prerogative of my nation, and my condition. At a single word 200,000 volunteers crowd to my standard, and in six weeks become good soldiers; whereas your recruits only march from compulsion, and do not become good soldiers but after several years. I would give my brother the Emperor of Germany one further piece of advice: let him hasten to make peace. This is the crisis when he must recollect all states must have an end. The idea of the approaching extinction of the dynasty of Lorraine must impress him with terror. I desire nothing upon the Continent. I want ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is as much your interest as mine that I should have them." M. Mack replied, that the Emperor of Germany had not wished for war, but was compelled to it by Russia. 'If that be the case,' said the Emperor, 'then you are no longer a [illegible]'—Most of the generals have confessed how disagreeable this war was to them, and how much they were affected to see a Russian army in their country. They rejected the cold system of politics, which would bring into the centre of Europe a people accustomed to live in an uncultivated country, and in the field, and who, as well as their forefathers, might once take a fancy to settle in a milder climate.—The Emperor has treated Lieut. Gen. Klenau (whom he knew as commander of the regiment of Wurmser) with much civility, as also the Lieut. Generals Ginlay, Gottersheim, Ries, and the Prince of Lichtenstein, &c. comforting them in their misfortunes, and telling them that war has its chances, and that they who had frequently been conquerors might be conquered once.

Proclamation of the Emperor Napoleon to the Soldiers of the Grand Army; dated Elchingen. From the Imperial Head-quarters, Oct. 21, 1805.

Soldiers of the grand army.—In 15 days we have made a campaign. What we proposed is accomplished. We have chaced the troops of the House of Austria from Bavaria, and re-established our ally in the sovereignty of his states. That army, which, with equal ostentation and impudence, came to place itself upon our frontiers, is annihilated. What signifies it to England? Her object is accomplished. We are no longer at Boulogne, and her subsidy will be neither more nor less. Of 100,000 men which composed that army, 60,000 are prisoners: they

will go to replace our conscripts in the labours of our fields; 200 pieces of cannon, all the park, 90 colours, all the generals, are in our power. Not 15,000 men of that army have escaped. Soldiers, I had announced to you a great battle; but thanks to the bad combinations of the enemy, I have been able to obtain the same success without running any risk; and, what is unexampled in the history of nations, so great a result has not weakened us above 1500 men *hors de combat*. —Soldiers, this success is due to your boundless confidence in your Emperor, to your patience in enduring fatigues and privations of every kind, and to your rare intrepidity.—But we shall not stop here: you are impatient to commence a second campaign. We shall make that Russian army, which the gold of England has transported from the extremities of the universe, undergo the same fate.—To this combat is more especially attached the honour of the infantry; it is here that is to be decided, for the second time, that question which has already been decided in Switzerland and in Holland? Whether the French infantry be the first or the second in Europe? There are among them no generals against whom I can have any glory to acquire: all my care shall be to obtain victory with the least effusion of blood: my soldiers are my children.

Elchingen. From my Imperial Camp, 21st of Oct. 1805. *Napoleon, Emperor of the French, and King of Italy.*

Considering that the grand army has obtained, by its courage and its devotion, results which could not be hoped for but after a campaign; and wishing to give it a proof of our imperial satisfaction, we have decreed and decree as follows: Art. I. The month Vendemaire, year 14, shall be reckoned as a campaign to all the individuals composing the grand army. This month shall be so charged to the state in the valuation of subsistence and military services. II. Our ministers of war, and of the public treasury, are charged with the execution of this decree.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Elchingen. From my Imperial Camp, 21st Oct. 1805. *Napoleon Emperor of the French, and King of Italy.*

We have decreed, and decree as follows: Art. I. Possession shall be taken of all the states of the House of Austria in Suabia. II. The war contributions which shall be there levied, as well as the ordinary contributions, shall go to the army. All the magazines which shall be taken from the enemy, excepting the magazines of artillery and provisions, shall also go to their account. Each shall have a share in these contributions proportionate to his pay. III. The private contributions which shall be levied, or the objects which shall be taken from the magazines of the enemy, shall be restored to the general mass; no one being to profit by the right of war to the injury of the general mass of the army. IV. A treasurer and director-general shall be immediately appointed, who shall render a monthly account to a council of administration of the army, of the contributions that shall be raised. The state of it shall be published with its division. V. The subsistence shall be punctually paid from the funds of our imperial treasury. VI. Our minister of war is charged with the execution of this decree. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

Tenth Bulletin.

Augsburgh, Oct. 22.—On the capitulation of Gen. Werneck, near Nordlingen, Prince Ferdinand, with a body of 1000 horse, and a portion of artillery, had taken to flight: he threw himself into the Prussian territory, and took the route by Gunvenhausen for Nuremberg. Prince Murat followed on his heels, and succeeded in overtaking him; which gave rise to a battle on the road between Furth and Nuremberg, in the night of the 21st. All the rest of the park of artillery and all the baggage, without exception, were taken. The Chasseurs à Cheval of the imperial guard covered themselves with glory; they overthrew every thing which opposed them; they charged Mack's regiment of cuirassiers. The two regiments of carabiniers have sustained their reputation.—We are full of astonishment when we consider the march of Prince Murat from Albeck to Nuremberg. Although always fighting, he excelled in speed the enemy, who were two days march before him. The result of this prodigious activity was the taking of 1500 waggons, 50 pieces of cannon, 16,000 men, including the capitulations of Gen. Werneck, and a great number of colours. 18 generals have laid down their arms. 3 were killed. [Here follows an enumeration of officers who distinguished themselves.] On the 21st, at night, Prince Murat slept at Nuremberg, where he rested the 22d. The division of Wirtemberg is arrived at Geislingen. The battalions of chasseurs, which had followed the army since its passage through Stutgard, have gone to conduct to France, a new column of 10.000 prisoners. The troops of Baden, 3 or 4000 strong, are on their march to Augsburgh.—The Emperor has made a present to the Bavarians of 20,000 Austrian fusils

for the army and the national guards. He has also made a present to the Elector of Wirtemberg of six pieces of Austrian cannon.—During the manœuvre of Ulm, the Elector of Wirtemberg was for a moment apprehensive for his Electress and family, who then went to Heidelberg, and he disposed his troops to defend the heart of his states.—The Austrians are detested by all Germany, well convinced that, without France, Austria would treat them like its hereditary states. No idea can be formed of the misery of the Austrian army; they are paid in notes, by which they lose 40 per cent. Our soldiers pleasantly call the Austrians paper soldiers. They are without any credit. The House of Austria could not any where borrow ten thousand francs. The generals themselves have not seen a piece of gold for several years. The English, when they heard of the invasion of Bavaria, made a little present to the Emperor of Austria, which has not rendered him more rich: they have engaged to remit him the 48 millions which they had lent him during the last year. If this be an advantage to the House of Austria, it has already paid pretty dear for it.

Address of the Emperor Napoleon to his Soldiers, the Evening before the Surrender of Ulm.

Soldiers! a month ago we were encamped on the shores of the ocean opposite to England; but an impious league compelled us to fly towards the Rhine.—It is but a fortnight since we passed that river, and the Alps of Wirtemberg, the Necker, the Danube, and the Lech; those celebrated barriers of Germany have not retarded our march a day, an hour, or an instant. Indignation against a Prince whom we have twice reseated on his throne, when it depended entirely on our pleasure to hurl him from it, supplied us with wings. The Enemy's army, deceived by our manœuvres, and the rapidity of our movements, is completely turned. It now fights only for its safety. It would gladly embrace an opportunity of escaping and returning home; but it is now too late. The fortifications which it erected at a great expence along the Iller, expecting that we should advance through the passes of the Black Forest, are become useless, since we have approached by the Plains of Bavaria.—Soldiers, but for the army which is now in front of you, we should this day have been in London; we should have avenged ourselves for six centuries of insults, and restored the freedom of the seas.—But bear in mind, to-morrow, that you are fighting against the allies of England; that you have to avenge yourselves on a perjured Prince, whose own letters breathed nothing but peace, at the moment when he was marching his army against our ally; who thought us cowardly enough to suppose that we should tamely witness his passage of the Inn, his entrance into Munich, and his aggression upon the Elector of Bavaria. He thought we were occupied elsewhere; let him, for the third and last time learn, that we know how to be present in every place where the Country has enemies to combat.—Soldiers, to-morrow will be an hundred times more celebrated than the day of Marengo. I have placed the enemy in the same position.—Recollect, that the most remote posterity will remark the conduct of each of you on this memorable day. Your progeny 500 years hence, who may place themselves under those eagles around which we rally, will know in detail every thing that your respective corps shall achieve to-morrow, and the manner in which your courage shall confer on them eternal celebrity. This will constitute the perpetual subject of their conversation; and, from age to age, you will be held up to the admiration of future generations.—Soldiers, if I wished only to conquer the enemy, I should not have thought it necessary to make an appeal to your courage, and your attachment to the country and to my person; but merely to conquer him is doing nothing worthy either of you or your Emperor. It is necessary that not a man of the enemy's army shall escape; that that Government, which has violated all its engagements, shall first learn its catastrophe by your arrival under the walls of Vienna; and that, on receiving this fatal intelligence, its conscience, if it listens to the voice of conscience, shall tell it, that it has betrayed both its solemn promises of peace, and the first of the duties bequeathed by its ancestors, with the power of forming the rampart of Europe against the eruptions of the Cossacks.—Soldiers, who have been engaged in the affairs of Wertingen and Guntzburgh; I am satisfied with your conduct. Every corps in the army will emulate you, and I shall be able to say to my people, 'Your 'Emperor and your army have done their 'duty. Perform your's.' and the 200,000 conscripts whom I have summoned will hasten, by forced marches, to reinforce our second line. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

Bulletin of the Italian Army. 18*th Oct.* 1805.

"At four o'clock in the morning, the general in chief caused the bridge of the old castle

of Verona to be attacked: the wall which barricadoed its middle was thrown by means of a potard; the two coupeures which the Austrians had made were rendered practicable by the aid of planks and boards; and twenty-four companies of Voltigeurs sprung from the other side of the river, from whence they were followed by the first division. The enemy warmly defended the passage; they were driven back, and chased from all their positions, after a battle which lasted till six o'clock in the evening. They lost seven pieces of cannon, and eighteen covered waggons.—We took 14 or 1500 prisoners, and killed or wounded nearly an equal number; but a few combatants fell on our side. We had about 300 slightly wounded. A bridge-head was immediately constructed at the bridge of the old castle. We shall make known the results of this happy day.

DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.——*Correspondence of Mr. King, the American Minister, with Lord Hawkesbury. Great Cumberland Place, March* 13, 1801.

MY LORD—The decree of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Nassau, a copy of which is annexed *, concerning the cargo of an American vessel, going from the United States to a port in the Spanish Colonies, upon the ground that the articles of innocent merchandize composing the same, though *bona fide* neutral property, were of the growth of Spain, having been sanctioned, and the principles extended, by the Prize Courts of the British Islands, and particularly by the Court of Jamaica, has been deemed sufficient authority to the Commanders of the ships of war and privateers cruizing in those seas, to fall upon and capture all American vessels bound to an enemy's colony, and having on board any article of the growth or manufacture of a nation at war with Great Britain.—These captures, which are vindicated by what is termed the Belligerent right to distress his enemy by interrupting the supplies which his habits or convenience may require, have produced the strongest and most serious complaints among the American merchants, who have seen, with indignation, a reason assigned for the capture and confiscation of their property, which is totally disregarded in the open trade carried on between the British and Spanish colonies, by British and Spanish subjects, in the very articles, the supply of which, by neutral merchants, is unjustly interrupted.—The law of nations, acknowledged in the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between the United States and Great Britain, allows the goods of a enemy to be lawful prize, and pronounces those of a friend to be free.—While the United States take no measures to abridge the rights of Great Britain, as a belligerent, they are bound to resist, with firmness, every attempt to extend them, at the expense of the equally incontestible rights of nations, which find their interest and duty in living in peace with the rest of the world.—So long as the ancient law of nations is observed, which protects the innocent merchandize of neutrals, while it abandons to the belligerent the goods of his enemy, a plain rule exists, and may be appealed to, to decide the rights of peace and war: the belligerent has no better authority to curtail the rights of the neutral, than the neutral has to do the like in regard to the rights of the belligerent; and it is only by an adherence to the ancient code, and the rejection of modern glosses, that fixed and precise rules can be found, defining the rights, and regulating the duties of independent states.—This subject is of such importance, and the essential interests of the United States, whose policy is that of peace, are so deeply affected by the doctrines which, during the present war, have been set up, in order to enlarge the rights of belligerents, at the expense of those of neutrals, that I shall, without loss of time, submit to your lordship's consideration such farther reflections respecting the same, as its great importance appears to demand.—In the mean time, as the decisions referred to cannot, from the unavoidable delay which attends the prosecution of appeals, be speedily reversed, and as the effect of those decrees will continue to be the unjust and ruinous interruption of the American commerce in the West-India seas, it is my duty to require that precise instructions shall, without delay, be dispatched to the proper officers in the West-Indies and Nova Scotia, to correct the abuses which have arisen out of those illegal decrees, and put an end to the depredations which are wasting the lawful commerce of a peaceable and friendly nation.—I have the honour to be, &c. RUFUS KING.

(To be continued.)

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NAVAL VICTORY AND DEATH OF LORD NELSON.—*From the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Admiralty Office, Nov.* 6, 1805.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were received at the Admiralty this day, at one o'clock, p. m. from Vice-Admiral Collingwood, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels off Cadiz.

Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar, Oct. 22, 1805.

SIR,—The ever-to-be-lamented death of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson,

who. in the late conflict with the enemy, fell in the hour of victory, leaves to me the duty of informing my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 19th instant, it was communicated to the commander in chief, from the ships watching the motions of the enemy in Cadiz, that the combined fleet had put to sea; as they sailed with light winds westerly, his lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean, and immediately made all sail for the Streight's entrance, with the British squadron, consisting of 27 ships, 3 of them 64's, where his lordship was informed by Capt. Blackwood (whose vigilance in watching, and giving notice of the enemy's movements, has been highly meritorious), that they had not yet passed the Streights.—On Monday, the 21st inst. at day-light, when Cape Trafalgar bore E. by S. about 7 leagues, the enemy was discovered 6 or 7 miles to the eastward, the wind about west, and very light; the commander in chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they are formed in order of sailing, a mode of attack his lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay, in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The enemy's line consisted of 33 ships (of which 18 were French and 15 Spanish), commanded in chief by Admiral Villeneuve; the Spaniards, under the direction of Gravina, wore, with their heads to the northward, and formed their line of battle with great closeness and correctness; but as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new; it formed a crescent, convexing to leeward; so that, in leading down to their centre, I had both their van, and rear, abaft the beam; before the fire opened, every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second a-head, and a-stern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very little interval between them; and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the Bucentaure in the centre, and the Prince of Asturias bore Gravina's flag in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed, without any apparent regard to order of national squadron.—As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the flag officers and captains, few signals were necessary, and none were made, except to direct close order as the lines bore down.—The commander in chief, in the Victory, led the weather column, and the Royal Sovereign, which bore my flag, the lee.—The action began at 12 o'clock; by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line, the commander in chief, about the tenth ship from the van, the second in command, about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the enemy unoccupied; the succeeding ships breaking through, in all parts, astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns; the conflict was severe; the enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers, but the attack on them was irresistible; and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events, to grant his Majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory; about three, p. m. many of the enemy's ships having struck their colours, their line gave way; Admiral Gravina, with 10 ships, joining their frigates to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The 5 headmost ships in their van tacked, and standing to the southward, to windward of the British line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off, leaving to his Majesty's squadron 19 ships of the line (of which 2 are first rates, the Santissima Trinidad and the Santa Anna), with 3 flag officers, viz. Admiral Villeneuve (the commander in chief), Don Ignatio Maria D'Aliva, Vice Admiral, and the Spanish Rear Adl. Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros.—After such a victory, it may appear unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several commanders; the conclusion says more on the subject than I have language to express; the spirit which animated all was the same; when all exert themselves zealously in their country's service, all deserve that their high merits should stand recorded; and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle I have described.—The Achille (a French 74), after having surrendered, by some mismanagement of the Frenchmen, took fire, and blew up; 200 of her men were saved by the tenders.—A circumstance occurred during the action, which so strongly marks the invincible spirit of British seamen, when engaging the enemies of their country, that I cannot resist the pleasure I have in making it known to their lordships; the Temeraire was boarded by accident, or design, by a French ship, on one side, and a Spaniard on the other; the contest was vigorous, but, in the end, the combined ensigns were torn from the poop, and the British hoisted in their places.—Such a battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the British navy, and the British nation, in the fall of the commander in chief, the loss of a hero, whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his country; but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief

for the death of a friend, to whom, by many year's intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell does not bring the consolation which perhaps it ought; his lordship received a musket ball in his left breast, about the middle of the action, and sent an officer to me immediately, with his last farewell; and soon after expired.—I have also to lament the loss of those excellent officers, Captains Duff of the Mars, and Cooke of the Bellerophon; I have yet heard of none others.—I fear the numbers that have fallen will be found very great, when the returns come to me; but it having blowed a gale of wind ever since the action, I have not yet had it in my power to collect any reports from the ships.—The Royal Sovereign having lost her masts, except the tottering foremast, I called the Euryalus to me, while the action continued, which ship lying within hail, made my signals: a service Capt. Blackwood performed with great attention. After the action, I shifted my flag to her, that I might more easily communicate my orders to, and collect the ships, and towed the Royal Sovereign out to seaward. The whole fleet were now in a very perilous situation, many dismasted; all shattered, in thirteen fathom water, off the shoals of Trafalgar; and when I made the signal to prepare to anchor, few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot; but the same good Providence which aided us through such a day, preserved us in the night, by the wind shifting a few points, and drifting the ships off the land, except four of the captured dismasted ships, which are now at anchor off Trafalgar, and I hope will ride safe until those gales are over.—Having thus detailed the proceedings of the fleet on this occasion, I beg to congratulate their lordships on a victory, which, I hope, will add a ray to the glory of his Majesty's crown, and be attended with public benefit to our country. I am, &c. (Signed) C. Collingwood.

To William Marsden, Esq.

The Order in which the Ships of the British Squadron attacked the Combined Fleets on the 21st of October, 1805:

VAN.	REAR.
Victory	Royal Sovereign.
Temeraire	Mars.
Neptune	Bellisle.
Conqueror.	Tonnant.
Leviathan.	Bellerophon.
Ajax.	Colossus.
Orion.	Achille.
Agamemnon.	Polyphemus.
Minotaur.	Revenge.
Spartiate.	Swiftsure.
Britannia.	Defence.
Africa.	Thunderer.
Euryalus.	Defiance.
Sirius.	Prince.
Phœbe.	Dreadnought.
Naiad.	
Pickle Schooner.	
Entreprenante Cutter.	

(Signed) C. Collingwood.

General Order.—Euryalus, Oct. 22, 1805.

The ever-to-be-lamented death of Lord Viscount Nelson, Duke of Bronté, the Commander in Chief, who fell in the action of the 21st. in the arms of victory, covered with glory, whose memory will be ever dear to the British Navy, and the British Nation, whose zeal for the honour of his King, and for the interests of his country, will be ever held up as a shining example for a British seaman, leaves to me a duty to return my thanks to the right hon. Rear-Admiral, the Captains, Officers, Seamen, and detachments of Royal Marines, serving on board his Majesty's squadron, now under my command, for their conduct on that day; but where can I find language to express my sentiments of the valour and skill which were displayed by the Officers, the Seamen, and Marines, in the battle with the enemy, where every individual appeared an hero, on whom the glory of his country depended; the attack was irresistible, and the issue of it adds to the page of our naval annals, a brilliant instance of what Britons can do, when their King and their Country need their service.—To the right hon. Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk, to the Captains, Officers, and Seamen, and to the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Privates of the Royal Marines, I beg to give my sincere and hearty thanks for their highly meritorious conduct, both in the action, and in their zeal and activity in bringing the captured ships out from the perilous situation in which they were, after their surrender, among the shoals of Trafalgar, in boisterous weather. And I desire that the respective Captains will be pleased to communicate to the Officers, Seamen, and Royal Marines, this public testimony of my high approbation of their conduct, and my thanks for it. (Signed) C. Collingwood. To the right hon. Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk, and the respective Captains and Commanders.

General Order.

The Almighty God, whose arm is strength, having of his great mercy been pleased to crown the exertion of his Majesty's fleet with success, in giving them a complete

victory over their enemies, on the 21st of this month; and that all praise and thanksgiving may be offered up to the throne of Grace for the great benefits to our country and to mankind, I have thought proper, that a day should be appointed, of general humiliation before God, and thanksgiving for this his merciful goodness, imploring forgiveness of sins, a continuation of his divine mercy, and his constant aid to us, in the defence of our country's liberties and laws, without which the utmost efforts of man are nought; and direct therefore that , be appointed for this holy purpose.—Given on board the Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar, 22d October, 1805. (Signed) C. Collingwood. To the respective Captains and Commanders.—N. B. The fleet having been dispersed by a gale of wind, no day as yet has been able to be appointed for the above purpose.

Euryalus, off Cadiz, 24 Oct. 1805.

Sir,—In my letter of the 22d, I detailed to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the proceedings of his Majesty's squadron on the day of action, and that preceding it, since which, I have had a continued series of misfortunes; but they are of a kind that human prudence could not possibly provide against, or my skill prevent.—On the 22d, in the morning, a strong southerly wind blew, with squally weather, which, however, did not prevent the activity of the Officers and Seamen of such Ships as were manageable from getting hold of many of the prizes (13 or 14) and towing them off to the westward, when I ordered them to rendezvous round the Royal Sovereign, in tow by the Neptune: but, on the 23d, the gale increased, and the sea ran so high, that many of them broke the tow-rope, and drifted far to leeward, before they were got hold of again, and some of them, taking advantage in the dark and boistrous night, got before the wind, and have perhaps drifted upon the shore and sunk; on the afternoon of that day, the remnant of the Combined Fleet, ten sail of ships, who had not been much engaged, stood up to leeward of my shattered and straggled charge, as if meaning to attack them, which obliged me to collect a force out of the least injured ships, and form to leeward for their defence; all this retarded the progress of the hulks, and the bad weather continuing, determined me to destroy all the leewardmost that could be cleared of the men, considering, that keeping possession of the ships was a matter of little consequence, compared with the chance of their falling again into the hands of the enemy; but this was an ardous task, in the high sea which was running. I hope, however, it has been accomplished to a considerable extent; I entrusted it to skilful officers, who would spare no pains to execute what was possible. The Captains of the Prince and Neptune cleared the Trinidad, and sunk her. Captains Hope, Bayntun, and Malcolm, who joined the fleet this moment from Gibraltar, had the charge of destroying four others. The Redoubtable sunk astern of the Swiftsure, while in tow. The Santa Anna, I have no doubt, has sunk, as her side was almost entirely beaten in; and such is the shattered condition of the whole of them, that unless the weather moderates, I doubt whether I shall be able to carry a ship of them into port. I hope their Lordships will approve of what I (having only in consideration the destruction of the enemy's fleet), have thought a measure of absolute necessity.—I have taken Admiral Villeneuve into this ship; Vice-Admiral Don Aliva is dead. Whenever the temper of the weather will permit, and I can spare a frigate (for there were only four in the action with the fleet, Euryalus, Sirius, Phœbe, and Naiad: the Melpomene joined the 22d, and the Eurydice and Scout the 23d), I shall collect the other Flag-Officers, and send them to England, with their flags, if they do not all go to the bottom, to be laid at his Majesty's feet. There were 4000 troops embarked, under the command of General Contamin, who was taken with Admiral Villeneuve in the Bucentaure. I am, Sir, &c. (Signed) C. Collingwood.

The 5th Volume of the Parliamentary Debates has been some time finished, being the 3d and last volume of the Debates of last Session. The Appendixes to these three volumes contain the whole of the papers, that were laid before Parliament, relative to the war with Spain; the Eleven Reports of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry; the Reports of the Select Committees of the House of Commons upon the Tenth and the Eleventh Naval Reports; and also all the annual accounts relating to the Finances and Commerce of Great Britain and of Ireland. The importance of the several papers, here mentioned, need not be pointed out; and, as the Editor believes, they are not to be found in any other work extant.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 20.] LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1805. [PRICE 1Od.

"No one laments more sincerely than I do the loss of our influence upon the Continent; but, if I were "called upon to say what would have the greatest effect in restoring our influence upon the Continent, I "would say, that it would be the giving back to France her colonial possessions. Let her commerce be "revived; let her colonies flourish, and our interests will proportionally increase."—LORD CASTLEREAGH'S Speech, 13th of May, 1802.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NAVAL VICTORIES.—The very brilliant action and success of SIR RICH. STRACHAN, the official account of which will be found in another part of this sheet, has made a considerable addition to the advantage and the glory, acquired by the hero, whose death has filled the nation with mourning.—Upon occasions like this, it were unnatural not, at first, to give way to our feelings; and, it may safely be said, that, generally speaking, feelings more honourable to a nation never were, upon any occasion, demonstrated. Having, however, expressed our joy and our sorrow (for, here, they have, unfortunately, been pretty equally mixed), it becomes us to listen to the voice of reason, and to inquire, whereunto these victories tend; for, here, as in most other cases, it is not the event, but the *consequence*, that is the object of greatest importance.—With such an inquiry before us, it is mortifying to be detained, though but for a moment, by the captiousness of the ministerial writers; yet, before we go an inch further, it is necessary to notice their conduct, their *factious* conduct, upon this occasion; an occasion, one might have hoped, in which all party animosities would have been suspended, at least. So far from this, however, the ministerial writers have made the victory of Trafalgar the subject of new disputes; and, so full, so overflowing, are they of the malice of their most malicious of all factions, that they have converted the eulogium due to the brave Nelson into a vehicle of an attack upon the character and the views of their political opponents. Upon the former of these topics, I allude to a paragraph in the SUN of the 8th instant, which concludes thus: "Those who "are in the daily habit of abusing every "branch of the present administration, will, "of course, allow them no *merit* for *these* "*exertions*" [having been before speaking of the great naval victories]. "Those who "make Mr. Pitt responsible for the *errors* "and failures of the Austrian *generals*, and "who censure him for measures over which "he had no controul, *will*, we have *no* "*doubt*, in the same spirit of candour, al-"low him and his colleagues no credit for "the most decisive and glorious victory ever "obtained by the British navy."——Why was this said? Why was this challenge thrown down? Why thus interrupt the harmony of the nation? Why disturb either their joy or their grief? Selfish faction! Were the people not to be suffered to praise Lord Nelson and his brave companions in arms, unless they also praised Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville? It is a wonder that a portion of the praise is not demanded for Mr. Trotter! But, what are "the *Opposition*" (for that is the phrase now) charged with, by way of anticipation? They are charged with *being about to refuse* to Mr. Pitt and his colleague any merit on account of the victory gained by Lord Nelson, though they have made Mr. Pitt responsible for the *errors* of the Austrian *generals*, over the appointment of whom and over whose movements he had no controul. In the first place, no one has, that I know of, ever attempted to make Mr. Pitt responsible for the *appointment* of the Austrian generals; nor has any one, the ministerial writers excepted, thus unqualifiedly accused the Austrian *generals* (including princes of the blood) with misconduct, most reasonable men being of opinion that such accusations should not proceed first from this country, and that all the exulting comparisons between the conduct of the Austrian armies and our fleets will, in all probability, tend to mischief. It was not for the *appointment* of the Austrian generals that "the Opposition" made Mr. Pitt responsible, that being a measure over which he could have no controul; but, the Opposition made him, now make him, and will hereafter make him, responsible, and, it is to be hoped, perfectly and in the true and useful sense of the word, responsible for having, by his measures of subsidy and others, *precipitated Austria into the war*, contrary to the advice, the clearly expressed advice and remonstrance of "the Opposition," by whom he was fully, and in open parliament, warned of the fatal consequences; con-se-

quences which have already come to pass to nearly the extent, in which they were anticipated. For this it is that "the Opposition" make him responsible; and not for the appointment of general Mack.——But, returning to the ministerial "merits" of Lord Nelson's victory, what "controul" had Mr Pitt and Lord Melville over the measures that produced it; unless, indeed, their claim of merit be founded upon their having forced Spain into the war by a seizure of her plate ships previous to a declaration, and having thereby *created* a combined fleet to fight with and to kill Lord Nelson: unless this should be urged as the foundation of their claim, it would be amusing enough to hear what sort of "controul" they had; what share they had, as to the event of the 21st of October. Did they order out the combined fleet? Did they give the orders for battle? No: but they *appointed* Lord Nelson! This is insinuated; but even a hireling writer dares not *say* it out. Lord Nelson, when Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville came into power, was in the chief command of the Mediterranean and the coast of Spain, to which he had been appointed by Lord St. Vincent; and, it is hardly possible for the nation to have forgotten, that one of the first of their acts was, to send out Sir John Orde (Lord Nelson's *senior*) to take the *chief* command. That Sir John Orde *came away* from that very station, which has recently witnessed the glorious fall of the hero, whom he was appointed to supercede, we all remember well; and *that circumstance* it was, and *no appointment by Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville*, that once more restored Lord Nelson to the chief command in that quarter; that let him loose from his *inferior* station, and that enabled him to fly to the rescue of our most valuable colonies, then exposed to the insults and the inroads of an enemy, whom there was not a fifth part of the force sufficient to check. Whether, if Sir John Orde had *remained* in his command, and if Lord Nelson had *continued shut up as his inferior*, or had, in disgust, demanded his recall; whether, in such case, the victory of the 21st of October would have been gained, there may, perhaps, be found persons of different opinions; but, as to the merit of first appointing and then restoring Lord Nelson to the command which enabled him to gain the battle of Trafalgar, no one can deny, that the former belongs to Mr. Addington and Lord St. Vincent, and that to the latter the exclusive claim remains with Sir John Orde, in the appointment of whom Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville have certainly a right to all the merit.——After all, however, how ungrateful it is to provoke discussions of this sort! How discouraging to commanders, to see, that their deeds of bravery, that their toils and their blood, are, by some men, thought little of, except as they can be made conducive to the selfish purposes of party politics! What a pang would the gallant Nelson have felt, if it had come athwart his mind, that he was, as these writers would have it, dying, not for England, but for the Pitts, the Melvilles, the Roses, and the Cannings! How dangerous must the promulgation of such notions always be, with respect to the people at home, as well as to our fleets and armies! What would be the consequence, the inevitable consequence, if it became a generally-adopted notion, that our soldiers and sailors were fighting to uphold the reputation and preserve the power, not of the country, but of the minister? No answer to this question is necessary. That the discussion should have been provoked by the ministerial prints every true friend of the country must regret: having been provoked, it could not, without a desertion from the cause of justice, be declined; and, I am not without hopes, that the effect of it may be to prevent similar provocations in future; for, evident it is, that they directly tend to the introduction of the spirit of party amongst the commanders of our fleets and armies.——The other passage, to which I have alluded, as converting the eulogium, due to Lord Nelson, into a vehicle of an attack upon the character and views of all those who oppose the ministry, is to be found in the COURIER of the 9th instant, and is as follows: "The mind feels a melancholy "pleasure in returning often to the contem- "plation of the characters of those whom it "has loved, honoured, and respected. Lord "Nelson was incontestibly the greatest "blessing that ever was conferred upon this "country; there was no alloy in his cha- "racter; it was not narrowed nor deformed "by *party principles* or prejudices; it was "all pure *sterling loyalty*: he never made "use of his great name TO EMBARRASS "THE OPERATIONS OF THE GO- "VERNMENT;" the hackneyed phrase, this last is, which these writers always make use of to express an opposition to the minister of the day; and, it is not altogether unnecessary to observe, that this same COURIER was most furiously opposed to Mr. Pitt, till it was *converted* about eighteen months ago. But, do these writers pretend, that all opposition to ministers ought to be styled *embarrassing the government?* Ought the opponents of the infamous Cabal, in the reign of Charles II. to be regarded as per-

sons who embarrassed the government? Would it have been just to prefer this charge against those members of parliament, who, with the Speaker at their head, pronounced, *in opposition to the wish and the vote of the minister*, Lord Melville to have been guilty of a gross violation of the law and a high breach of duty; and who, finally, though still persevering in the same opposition, carried the determination to impeach the said Lord of high crimes and misdemeanours? Ought this to have been called *embarrassing the government?* As to the character of Lord Nelson, I perceive, amongst those who are now loudest in his praise, some from whom, at his return from the Mediterranean, in 1801, he met with but a very cold reception. Nay; I do remember, that they did not refrain from pointing out the little spots in his character, and that they proceeded so far as to ridicule his exhibition of the constellation on his breast. Upon that occasion, I remember, that I reproved them for their ingratitude; that I bade them think only of his services; and that I reminded them, that the day might come, when, in the hour of their utmost need, they might have to lament that he was no more. A recurrence to these facts has not been sought by me; but, if the exalted character of this lamented commander be still made use of as the means of throwing out insinuations against the opponents of the Pitts and Dundases, I will, whatever disgrace it bring upon the parties and upon the news-paper press, extract, at full length, the articles to which I have referred.——True; Lord Nelson was a great blessing to his country: his character was not, it is very true, deformed by party principles: it was, we all feel, pure sterling loyalty. All this I most cordially agree to, and I *said* it, at a time when the ministerial writers were, at the very best, silent upon the subject. But, if we *begin* to describe him in negatives, it is injustice not to go on a little further than merely to say, that "he never made use of "his great name *to embarrass the operations* "*of government.*" There are many other things which Lord Nelson never did. He never rose upon professions, which he set at nought the moment he had mounted the ladder. He never was a bawler for reform and economy, and never either a peculator, or a defender of peculators. He never applied to the purposes of corruption, any of the public money committed to his charge. Lord Nelson was ambitious, it is true; but his ambition was of the higher order, its gratification being always inseparable from the good of his country. Lord Nelson loved command; but, it was a command over men bent upon honourable deeds, and following him for the sake of glory; and not over a base and spiritless crew, held in obedience by avarice and fear.——In speaking of the probable *consequences* of these naval victories, we must not, if we would find them of less importance than they, at first glance, would appear, think, on that account, less of the deeds of any of those, by whom they have been obtained; nor must we, on the other hand, estimate the consequences according to the heroism of those deeds. The first thing necessary in such an inquiry, is, to form a correct notion as to what is, or ought to be, *the main object of the war*, in which we are engaged; and, having done that, to endeavour to ascertain the degree, in which the victory is likely to contribute towards the accomplishment of that object. It was said, at the outset of this contest, that *we were at war, because we could not be at peace*; but, it was necessary to go a step further, and say, *why* we could not be at peace; and, doubtless, the reason would have been found in the over-grown power and inordinate ambition of our enemy. The question now, therefore, is, in what degree will the glorious victory of Trafalgar tend to diminish that power, or to repress that ambition? In the preceding sheet, I shortly stated my opinion, that, though the victory was highly valuable as an acquisition *of glory*, it would not, in other respects, be of much importance; that great part of the enemy's loss consisted in Spanish ships and men, the ships and men of our friends; that this loss would, in all probability, tend to bend the Spaniards more submissively, and to bind them more firmly to France; that, as to the final result of the war, the victory would do little; and, I submitted to the reader, whether our defeated allies upon the Continent would not, instead of experiencing much satisfaction at the news, be tempted to exclaim: "this war "may be sport to you, but it is death to "us." The opinion thus given has attracted the attention of one of those wise and candid persons, who conduct the ministerial press. He inserts the statement in the SUN of the 12th instant, prefixing the following title and remarks. "MODERN PATRIOTISM. The "following article appeared in a public print "which gives a *Weekly Register* of whatever "may tend to *depress the hopes* of the pub-"lic, and throw *a gloom* over our national "prospects. We shall content ourselves "with merely inserting it, as we believe "there is hardly a man in the kingdom who "can think that it requires any comment, "or *attempt at refutation.*" But, you are deceived, wise man! for, you may be as-

sured, that every one of your readers, and no one more than your humble admirer, not only requires of you an *attempt* at refutation, but a refutation itself; and we demand that refutation at your hands, upon pain, in case of default, of being pronounced a venomous slanderer. As to "*depressing the hopes*" of the public, this is the old charge preferred by the same print, while I was endeavouring to prevent the delusive hopes of a continuation of peace from lulling the nation into a state of false security. The reader will remember the cuckoo cry of that time, and will not be much surprized to hear it now revived; but, I trust, that, as I do, so he will, most heartily despise it.——In speaking of the Spaniards rather as *our friends* than as the friends of France, I proceeded partly upon the information given in this very news-paper, the SUN, which, as will be seen by referring to the Register of the 28th of September last, p. 491, represents the *discontents* of the Spaniards as being universal, and as arising from their consciousness of having been *forced* into the war merely *to gratify the ambition of Buonaparté*. If this were true, and there is every reason to believe that it was so in part at least, we cannot regard the Spaniards as being, at bottom, our enemies; and, I think, it will not be denied, that the battle of Trafalgar is likely to have the effect of bending them more submissively and of binding them more firmly to France. This was, and this is, my opinion; and, whatever the wise men of the SUN may think of it, it will stand in need of something like reasoning to show that it is destitute of foundation; and it is not, in the slightest degree, to be impaired by his insinuations or assertions.——The main object of the war being to *diminish the power* of France, I ask the reader, whether, upon a calm consideration as to the nature of that power, he can discover *how* it is to be materially, if at all, affected by any naval combat whatever? In the discussions, relative to the peace of Amiens, the ministers and their friends promised us long tranquillity and security, upon the ground, that it would require many, many years, before France would be able to meet us at sea. She has not been able to meet us there yet, with any chance of success. But, have we been, ever since the peace of Amiens, *tranquil* and *secure?* During the last war, we gained naval victories enough; we were satiated with naval glory; the people, Lord Hawkesbury said, were weary even of victory, and Sir Henry Mildmay, in his speech of the 6th or 7th of May, 1802, asserted, that we had "annihilated the whole of the French marine." Did we, however, derive security from this source? Were our naval victories, great and glorious as they were, *decisive* as to the main object of the war? Did they prevent the prostration of the Continent at the feet of our enemy? Did they enable us to make conditions for our allies? Let Portugal, the House of Orange, or the King of Sardinia answer this question. Did our naval victories enable us to hold one inch of the vast extent of dominion, which we had, by the means of our navy, conquered from France? Nay, did they prevent us from tacitly surrendering the honour of our maritime flag; an honour enjoyed from the time that England was first called England down to the year 1801? If such, then, if so inefficacious, as to the main object of the war, our naval victories were during the last contest, at the beginning of which the commerce of France was very extensive, and her colonies uncommonly flourishing, what reason have we to expect, that, in this contest, France having, comparatively, scarcely any colonial prosperity, or commerce to lose, such victories will prove of any material consequence as to the final result? Naval victories, we are told, will give us *security at home*; will lessen the danger of invasion. That they will, for the present, I am happy in being convinced; though it is not very consistent in those to express this opinion, who daily assured us, that the French were actually coming, long before the war with Spain broke out, and at a time when they also assured us (and with truth), that there was not a French man of war that dared to venture from beneath its protecting battery. The invasion of England by the troops of France has always appeared to me as a very difficult and dangerous enterprize, unless the Channel were clear of our men of war. There are, however, two opinions upon the subject; and, at any rate, the menace of invasion, accompanied with great preparations, will, the enemy knows, always keep us in a state of alarm, and compel us to support, not one, but many fleets, together with all the burdens of a war-expenditure. Will naval victories, unless they could reach the boats in all the ports of France, prevent these effects of the menace and preparations of the enemy? Suppose the war upon the Continent to be at an end, and the French army returned to Boulogne; I ask the reader if he believes, that we should think ourselves any more secure, than we were in the month of August last, when we were, from authority, positively assured, that the enemy was hourly expected to embark for our shores? If he answers in the negative, which, I think, he

will, I then ask him, whether he ought not to be cautious in indulging hopes too sanguine as to the effect of our naval victories upon the final result of the war? I ask him, whether to indulge such hopes be not to create a source of disappointment, and, besides, to expose himself and his country to all the dangers that may be expected to arise from *slackened exertions?* Nothing, I repeat it over and over again, is so dangerous to a nation, situated as we now are, as the indulgence of delusive hope, which, though it sometimes proceeds from a good, proceeds not unfrequently from a bad, disposition; and, greatly do I fear, that no small part of the confident and boasting language of the day would, upon strict inquiry, be found to arise from feelings widely different from that, which, if required, leads men to sacrifice property and life for the honour and independence of their country.——With regard to the effect, which our naval victories may have "in reviving the drooping spirit of our "allies," to use the words of the ministerial papers, there may be different opinions, and mine I shall freely express, in defiance of all the abuse that can be heaped upon me. We are told by the COURIER, in particular, that, in this respect, the recent victories will be of wonderful importance; and, the writer exultingly exclaims, "where will the "USURPER now look for his *ships, commerce,* and *colonies*;" alluding to a declaration of Buonaparté to the captive Austrian generals. So, then, the victories, which are to revive the spirit of our allies upon the Continent, and to give us weight there, are to prevent Buonaparté from having ships, commerce, and colonies; which opinion, I leave to be reconciled with that of the worthy Lord Castlereagh, as expressed, very clearly and fully, in the passage selected as a motto to the present sheet. His lordship was (though inconsistent with himself) perfectly right in his opinion. Buonaparté was laughing in his sleeve at the Germans. If he wanted commerce and colonies, he knows, that, strange as it may seem to the editor of the COURIER, he can gain them by battles won upon the dry land of Germany and Italy; but, as if we wished to aid him in the deception, we are boasting that we have frustrated his purpose; we are telling the Germans precisely what he could wish us to tell them, namely, that we are, upon the side of the sea, preventing him from pursuing that, which, if he were not obstructed in the pursuit, would withdraw him from conquests on the side of the land; and this is to comfort them, to raise their spirits, and to induce them to make further exertions and sacrifices in a common cause with us! ——But, we are told, that the powers of the Continent will *now*, and in consequence of these naval victories, be convinced, that it is *for them*, and not at all for ourselves, that we are aiding them in the present war. Upon this part of the subject we must quote a passage or two; for, it will be found very useful to contrast what is now said, by these writers, with what they have before said, and with what they will say again 'ere thirty Suns have passed over their heads. "If it be *permitted*" [says the Courier of the 7th instant] "to seek for alleviation of the general sor-"row" [yet they blame every one whose *joy* is not even clamorous] "we should find "it not only in the greatness of the victory, "superior even to the victory of the Nile, "but in the *seasonableness* of it. We trust "it will produce the same effect as that "victory, that it will animate and inspirit "the Continent. Whilst in another part of "Europe, within a few hours distance, a "General was *sealing his condemnation,* "in the surrender of his army without a "battle, a British Admiral was yielding his "life in the arms of victory, after having "*annihilated* with an inferior force the "fleet of the enemy. Whilst in another "part of Europe Buonaparté was demanding "Austria to assist him in procuring ships, "colonies, and commerce; whilst he was "telling his soldiers that they were fighting "against the allies of England, England "was fighting him and his allies, and beat-"ing them both." [These *allies* are the Spaniards, observe, whom these writers assured us, only a few weeks ago, were universally discontented at having been *forced* into the war against us by Buonaparté.] "Whilst the French were entering "Ulm after an inglorious conquest, the "shattered remnant of their ships were en-"tering Cadiz, after an irreparable defeat. "This victory will *animate the Continental* "*Powers*, because it will prove to them, (a "proof *we did not want)* that we *do not* "*entertain any apprehension for ourselves;* "that we are *secure of victory*, whenever "the French dare to quit their own shore; "and that our exertions against France are "less to ensure *our safety* than to *enable* "*the Continent to achieve theirs.*"—Good! But let us hear the sequel from the same paper of the 9th instant. I beg the reader to mark it well; for, it will not be long before he will have to compare it with what will be said by the same writer.—"Buona-"parté had deluded some of the conti-"nental powers into an idea, that his arma-

" its were solely a[gainst] England, [and] " he had the means of coping with her by " sea, and that therefore he had the power " of invading her. This victory will *put* " *an end* to that delusion at once. His " constant cry has been ships, colonies, and " commerce. He may cry out, but where " can he get them. The Continent must " now be convinced, beyond the possibility " of a doubt, that *all his attempts to obtain* " *them must be fruitless.* This victory too, " proving that he has not the means to meet " us by sea, will increase the confidence of " the Continental Powers in our resources. " They will see that *we have no fear for* " *ourselves;* that we *do not wage war to* " *achieve our security,* but that we carry it " on upon the great principle, and for the " great purpose of *enabling the Continent* " *to achieve theirs*, and to resist that ambi- " tion which threatens to leave *them* no- " thing but the name and shadow of in- " dependence. The Continent can no longer " be deluded with the idea, so industriously " inculcated by Buonaparté, that we wish to " rouse it to war, merely to employ Buona- " parte's arms *elsewhere than against this* " *country.* Of all the delusions he had " practised, this was the one upon which " he relied the most. We shall hear no " more neither of the Opposition *menace,* " that Bonaparte will come against us 'with " ten-fold fury and with ten-fold means.' " It is rather *unfortunate for them,* that at " the very time they were *boasting* of his " ten-fold means, *we* had made such a re- " duction in his means, as to cut off, at " one blow, twenty sail of the line."—— The first subject of remark here, is, the indecent, the malignant insinuation, that "THE OPPOSITION" will *lament,* that the enemy has been defeated; that the victories of Lord Nelson and Sir Richard Strachan are a *misfortune* to them; that their wishes and interests are in unison with those of Buonaparté; and, that, of course, they are traitors to their Sovereign and their country. But, this has always been the tone of the writers of the Pitt and Melville faction. If any one were to throw out such insinuations against the ministry, you should soon see his ears cropped close to his head. " The " Opposition *menace.*" What was it? A fear expressed by the editor of the Morning Chronicle, that Buonaparté, having defeated the coalition upon the Continent, would come against England with ten-fold fury and with ten-fold means. Did no one else entertain a fear of this sort? Was it not very general? And did not this slanderous COURIER himself express similar apprehensions? " Under such circumstances," said he, after having described the first consequences of the defeat of the Austrians, " Austria will be compelled to accept such " terms of peace as the conqueror shall be " pleased to grant. Austria gone, her ar- " mies annihilated, Russia can do nothing " against France, and Prussia may be de- " terred from stirring; the war on the Con- " tinent will be at an end, *and the hordes* " *of French soldiery, inflamed by their suc-* " *cesses, will return to the coasts opposite* " *England, from whence invasion will be* " *attempted, if there ever was a serious de-* " *sign of attempting it.*" This is a passage to recur to, when we come to speak of our waging the present war, *not for ourselves!* Now, what difference is there in the apprehensions here expressed and those expressed by the Morning Chronicle? Are they not exactly the same in substance, though not in form? And, when it is recollected, that both writers expressed their apprehensions under the same political circumstances, and even on the same day, the reader will be at no loss to form a judgment of the character and views of the faction, to which the Courier has attached itself. How, with what face, can the editor of this paper, or the persons under whose controul he is, now call it an Opposition *boast,* that Buonaparté would return to Boulogne with ten-fold means, when he himself had, at the same time, expressed his fear that such would be the case? And, *who* are " the " Opposition," that Opposition, to which he dares thus to attribute friendship towards the enemies of their country? This opposition, to whom he audaciously ascribes a wish to see the country invaded, comprizes two-thirds of the *English* members of the House of Commons; all the ancient nobility of the kingdom; and, in short, almost every man in the country distinguished for talent united with integrity; an Opposition who are the *owners of the land that would be invaded!* Amongst the people, commonly so called, the Opposition consists of all those who disapprove of the conduct of Lord Melville, Mr. Trotter, and Mr. Pitt, relative to matters brought to light by the Tenth Report; all those who have sense enough to perceive the consequences of the taxing and funding system; and especially all those who do not think that their liberties are to be preserved by the minister's lending the public money without interest to members of parliament. Such is " the Opposition," to whom this impudent understrapper ascribes the wish of seeing their country invaded by an implacable enemy! Talk of " *dispiriting* lan-

"guage"! This is really dispiriting language: for, what must the enemy and the world think of us, if they believe the representations of this ministerial writer, and, of course, conclude, that one half, at least, of the nation rejoice at the successes of Buonaparte? What effect, too, must accusations of this sort have upon the people? What *must* be the consequence, if the support of the minister, be his character and conduct what it may, be identified with the support of the country? Mr. Pitt, indeed, may oppose a ministry, without exposing himself to the charge of entertaining treasonable wishes, and *his* writers may censure a ministry, that he wants to displace, without incurring the risk of a prosecution for seditions and dispiriting language! I will, in my next sheet, lay before the public a few of the passages, in which the character and conduct of Mr. Addington and his colleagues (almost the whole of whom are now in office), and the deplorable state of the country, were described by the Pitt writers, at the time that Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville were endeavouring to get into power. This is a subject that might have been buried in oblivion; but, since an opposition to ministry is represented as factious, seditious, and, by implication, even treasonable, it is proper to remind the public of the opposition language and conduct of Mr. Pitt and his adherents.——In returning to the consequences of the naval victory, the first thing that strikes us, in the remarks of the COURIER, is, that "the Continent must now "be convinced, beyond the possiblity of a "doubt, that all Buonaparté's attempts to "obtain ships, colonies, and commerce, will "be fruitless;" and, according to the opinion of Lord Castlereagh, this conviction is the very means, of all others, to render the Continent jealous of us! At the peace of Amiens, the commerce and colonies were given up to him; and the justification of the ministry was, that by so doing we should be likely to recover our due weight upon the Continent. Buonaparté is endeavouring, apparently, to make the Germans believe, that the great object of his ambition now is, to acquire ships, colonies, and commerce; and, the wise-men who write in defence of Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville's system, are kindly *aiding* those endeavours with all their might. They, too, say, that the Emperor of France really wants ships, colonies, and commerce; but, that he shall not have them; that *England will keep them all to herself*; and, the conclusion naturally is, that, checked in this pursuit, the ambitious Napoleon will push forward on the side of the land.——If this consequence of the naval victories should not inspire any very great degree of joy amongst our German allies, the contrast, with which they will find the intelligence of those victories seasoned, will not, one would imagine, tend to render it more palatable. For what, in the name of decency, in the name of that moderation and modesty for which Englishmen were formerly distinguished; for what were the misfortunes of the Austrians introduced here? Before the naval victories were heard of, the ministerial writers had abused the Austrian generals; had loudly censured the Austrian cabinet; and the Courier had, in a very intelligible way, represented our illustrious though unfortionate ally, the Emperor of Austria, to be what I shall now forbear to name. Was not that enough? Had there not been time to reflect on the impropriety, the injustice, the impolicy, of such reproaches, and at such a time too? Or, do these writers really imagine, that the Austrians are to be cheered and revived by a contrast of their misfortunes with our successes; and, a contrast, too, interlarded with such cutting reflections upon their conduct? If to exhibit a contrast was at all necessary, could no *other capitulating general* be found? No *other prince that had fled* before a superior French force? The Austrians will be able to point out such, I'll warrant them; and, let me ask, who need be surprized, if they should be disposed to retaliate, in some way or other?——But, the Continent is, it seems, to be animated, by "the proof *now* given "them (a proof that *we* did not want)" that we do not entertain any apprehension *for ourselves*; that *we* "are *secure of victory*, whenever the French dare attack us "at home; that we *do not wage war to* "*achieve our own security*, but for the "purpose of *enabling them to achieve* "*theirs*." Is this wise man sure, that the powers upon the Continent will see the thing in this light? Is he sure, that they will be convinced, that we shall never again feel any of those apprehensions, of which we gave such audible and visible signs, long before the French could send a man of war to sea? And, supposing them to imbibe this wonderful conviction, is the wise man quite sure, that it would animate them, and make them rely more firmly on the continuance of our co-operation? Has he received any certain information, that our continental allies regard us as more likely to be zealous in the war when we are in no danger from the power of the enemy, than when we are in great danger from his power? ——In this statement of the ministerial wri-

ters there are two things ever to be kept in mind. The one is, that *we* were perfectly secure, *without the naval victory*: the other, that we were, and still are, aiding in a war upon the Continent, *not for our own interest or security, but purely for the sake of the powers of the Continent.* It follows, then, that we derive no additional security from the naval victory; and that, the millions raised upon us for subsidies this year, are given away, and not expended for any purpose beneficial to us. Observe, that this is no opinion of mine; it is a fair and inevitable conclusion, drawn from the assertions of the writers, who are devoted to the ministry. ——But, the fact is, that these writers, true to the character of their sect, are hypocrites; hypocrites of the lowest cast. They believe not a word of what they say here; or they have, upon former occasions, most grossly belied their consciences. For, can the public have forgotten, with what exultation they hailed the continental war; and how anxious they were to convince their readers, that *that war*, caused by Mr. Pitt, had *put an end, at least for a while, to the dangers of invasion?* "Like the vast prepa- "rations of Caligula" (said they, after having spoken of Buonaparté's being called off by the Austrians and Russians), "the "mighty threats of Buonaparté are now "turned to his scorn. The design of in- "vasion, which, not long since, ministers "*knew* to be *seriously entertained*, appears "*now* to be, at least for a time, *completely* "*abandoned.*" [And this, observe, without any naval victory, and merely by the means of the sound of war upon the Continent] "Having no longer 200,000 dis- "ciplined soldiers placed in a position, "from which they might pour in upon us, "in a few hours of favourable coincidence; "having the advantage of acting with allies, "*capable of engaging the vast armies that* "*were to be poured down upon us*, horde "after horde, 'till we should be consumed "even by continued victories, if we should "be fortunate enough to gain them; we "have *now* to congratulate ourselves, that "the time is arrived, when we can, with "effect, act on the offensive, and alarm the "threatener with invasion in our turn." And, yet, they have now the assurance to tell the readers, to whom this was addressed, that England stood in no need of a continental diversion; that we entertained no apprehension for ourselves; that we do not wage war to achieve *our* security, but to enable the powers of the Continent to achieve theirs! Nor, must we here forget to recur to the picture of our situation, as exhibited by these writers, after the defeat and capture of the Austrians, and, upon the supposition that the continental war might soon be at an end. "Austria gone, her "armies annihilated, Russia can do nothing "against France, and Prussia may be de- "terred from stirring; the war on *the Con-* "*tinent will be at an end*, and the hordes "of French soldery, inflamed by their suc- "cesses, will return to the coasts opposite "*England, from whence invasion will be* "*attempted*; &c. &c." Yet have these same writers now the profligate assurance to pretend, that *we* never entertained *any apprehensions for ourselves*; and never stood in need of a diversion upon the Continent!—— For the reasons which will naturally suggest themselves to the readers of these comments, I am decidedly of opinion, that the powers, friendly to us upon the Continent, will receive but little animation from these naval victories. They will perceive, that our success, and especially our acquisition of additional naval glory, will vex the ambitious Napoleon, and will retard his operations against us; but, they will also perceive, that we shall by our naval exertions, produce very little, if any, effect in *their* favour. They have recently witnessed the inefficacy of maritime victories in deciding the fate of powers upon the Continent. The peace of Amiens, the Stadtholder, and the King of Sardinia, are constantly before their eyes; they well know, that the victory of Trafalgar, though purchased by the death of Nelson, will not prevent a single battalion of Frenchmen from crossing the Rhine or the Alps; and they are equally confident, that, if defeated in the field by Napoleon, they will not, in treating for peace, be suffered even to pronounce the name of England.—— Is there, besides, nothing, after all, of drawback, in the loss of Lord Nelson? That he was not, to England, of an importance equal to that of Napoleon to France, may be, perhaps, allowed; but, that his value was very great indeed, there will be nobody found to deny. Where shall we find a man to replace him? There may be men as able; many as brave; a few as much above all private considerations, as much devoted to glory, and who as much identify their glory with the real service of their country. But, where is there a man, who will have so much authority in the service, who can venture so much to act for himself, whose name will inspire so much confidence in those under him, and so much terror in his enemies? Am I asked; for what would you reserve him? What, after all, could he do but obtain victories over the enemy's fleets?

My answer is, that, according to all human probability, contests are in store for us, of far more importance than any that can happen at this moment; in which contests success, or failure, may decide the fate of the country, and where success or failure may themselves be decided by the difference of such a man as Lord Nelson compared with any one likely to be substituted in his room, particularly if we are to judge from what we have lately seen. The loss incurred in the death of Lord Nelson, certainly ought not to be cited as an article of charge against the ministers. They could do no otherwise than employ Lord Nelson; and, for that very reason, as they incur no blame for his death, they can claim no praise for his victory.——In concluding this article (the length of which will prevent me from offering some remarks that it was my wish to offer upon the recent intelligence from the Continent) I cannot refrain from returning, for a moment, to the malicious charge, referred against me by the SUN, of endeavouring to "*depress the* "*hopes* of the public, and to throw *a gloom* "over our national prospects." If those hopes are well founded; if those prospects be, in the eye of reason, bright; it is impossible for me, or any one else, really to depress the former or to throw a gloom over the latter. But, as was before observed, this is the hackneyed charge against all those who express their fears of the consequences of events, be they what they may, that happen during the administration of Mr. Pitt. It is for him, and not for the country, that the charge is made. If you apprehend evil, you are regarded as his accuser, rather than which you may be guilty of all the crimes that ever were heard of.—There is a pretty, cant phrase, in great vogue in the purlieus of Whitehall and St. James's Street, about "hoping for the best." Agreed: but, this phrase used to mean, hoping for the best that *reason teaches* us to hope for; and, not for the best that our imaginations happen to furnish us with, which deserves no name better than that of a *wish*; between which and *hope* there is a great difference.——The following paragraph, from the ministerial papers of the 1st instant, may be cited as a happy specimen of their mode of "*hoping for the* "*best*," and "*keeping up the spirits* of the "nation." I quote my favourite print, the COURIER.—"In the *mean time*" [having just been speculating upon the means of retrieving affairs in Germany, and completely oversetting the French Emperor:] "In the *mean time*, the attention of every "man is anxiously directed to the move-"ments of the Prussian Cabinet. Captain "Johnson, of the ship Venus, arrived at "Grimsby, from Tonningen, reported on "his arrival, that previous to his departure "from Tonningen it was stated, that the "Prussian army had been united to that of "Russia, which had marched and joined "the Austrians; that the three armies com-"bined had *completely surrounded those of* "*France*, over whom they obtained a vic-"tory, and *after retaking Ulm*, pursued "the enemy with every prospect of further "success. Captain Johnson was called up-"on to appear before the Mayor of Hull, "and *swear* to the report, as it prevailed "at Tonningen. He immediately *did so*, "and his affidavit was yesterday morning "received in town, from the *Collector of* "*the Customs* at Hull, by a Gentleman of "the *Custom-house* in London."—A most proper channel, through which to receive such an oath! Verily, the nation, to keep up whose spirits such means are resorted to, must be in a desperate way. Yet, if any one had, upon the spot, scouted this story, he would have been accused of depressing the hopes of the public.—I now take my leave of this subject, with just asking the reader, whether he can conceive any thing more dangerous, than to proclaim, at a moment like this, that *our* danger is now all over; that we are not fighting for *our own* security, but for that of the states upon the Continent; and, that, of course, the subsidies raised, and to be raised, upon us, are *to be expended for no purpose, beneficial to us?*

Botley, Thursday,
14th Nov. 1805.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.——*Correspondence of Mr. King, with Lord Hawkesbury.* *(Concluded from p. 730)*

Downing-street, April 11, 1801.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th of last month, and to inform you that, in consequence of the representation contained in it, a letter has been written, by his Majesty's command, by his Grace the Duke of Portland, to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty: a copy of which letter I herewith enclose to you, for the information of the govt. of the U. States. HAWKESBURY.

Whitehall, 30th March, 1801.

MY LORD,—I transmit to your lordships herewith a copy of the decree of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Nassau, condemning the cargo of an American vessel going from the United States to a port in the Spanish colonies: and the said decree having been referred to the consideration of the King's advocate-general, your lordships will per-

ceive, from this report, an extract from which I enclose, that it is his opinion, that the sentence of the Vice-Admiralty Court is erroneous, and founded in a misapprehension or misapplication of the principles laid down in the decision of the High Court of Admiralty referred to, without attending to the limitation therein contained.—In order, therefore, to put a stop to the inconvenience arising from these erroneous sentences of the Vice Admiralty Courts, I have the honour to signify to your lordships the King's pleasure, that a communication of the doctrine laid down in the said report, should be immediately made by your lordships to the several judges presiding in them, setting forth what is held to be the law upon the subject by the superior tribunals, for their future guidance and direction. PORTLAND.

Extract of the Advocate General's Report, dated March 16, 1801.

I have the honour to report, that the sentence of the Vice Admiralty Court appears to me erroneous, and to be founded in a misapprehension or misapplication of the principles laid down in the decision of the Court of Admiralty referred to, without attending to the limitations therein contained. —The general principle respecting the colonial trade has, in the course of the present war, been to a certain degree relaxed in consideration of the present state of commerce. It is now distinctly understood, and it has been repeatedly so decided by the High Court of Appeal, that the produce of the colonies of the enemy may be imported by a neutral into his own country, and may be re-exported from thence even to the mother country of such colony; and, in like manner, the produce and manufactures of the mother-country may, in this circuitous mode, legally find their way to the colonies. The direct trade, however, between the mother country and her colonies, has not, I apprehend, been recognized as legal, either by his Majesty's government, or by his tribunals.—What is a direct trade, or what amounts to an intermediate importation into the neutral country, may sometimes be a question of some difficulty. A general definition of either, applicable to all cases, cannot well be laid down. The question must depend upon the particular circumstances of each case. Perhaps the mere touching in the neutral country to take fresh clearances may properly be considered as a fraudulent evasion, and is, in effect, the direct trade; but the High Court of Admiralty has expressly decided (and I see no reason to expect that the Court of Appeal will vary the rules) that landing the goods and paying the duties in the neutral country, breaks the continuity of the voyage, and is such an importation as legalizes the trade, although the goods be re-shipped in the same vessel, and on account of the same neutral proprietors, and be forwarded for sale to the mother-country or the colony.

AUSTRIA AND BAVARIA.—*A true Statement of the Conduct of the Serene Elector Palatine of Bavaria, in answer to the "Historical Representation of the Events which have directed the Conduct of his Electoral Highness." (See p. 609.) From the Vienna Court Gazette of the 16th Oct.* 1805.

The Serene Elector Palatine has published an Historical Representation, in which he owns himself an ally of France, and declares war against Austria and Russia, excusing, by false allegations, the breach of promise he had made to the Roman Emperor, of ceding his troops to him. Not content with the indemnifications the Serene Elector had received by the conclusum of the empire of 27th April, 1803, he suffered himself, from ambition, to be drawn into secret engagements with France, which proved, on every occasion, to tend systematically to counteract Austria.—As his ambitious hopes rested principally upon the prospects of a fresh attack with which the Court of Vienna was menaced by France on every occasion, those gradual armaments which his Majesty was compelled to make from the preparations made by the Emperor Napoleon, became an object of the Serene Elector's attention. His first design was to raise a numerous army in Bavaria, and to hold it in readiness for the French Emperor. The quickness of the Austrian armament prevented the execution of that intention, and the Elector chose rather to hasten to go and join the French with all his troops, leaving his Bavarian and Suabian estates to their own fate, than to disappoint the expectation of the enemy of public tranquillity; consequently the whole of the Bavarian artillery was sent to Wurtzburgh, the Bavarian and Suabian troops were assembled, and a French general was present, to prepare every thing agreeably to the desire of the Emperor Napoleon. His Serene Highness the Elector had also prepared for his departure, when Prince Schwazenberg arrived at Munich, on the 6th of September.—The danger that the Elector Palatine would join the French was indubitable; consequently a serious demand for the cession of troops became a just measure of self-defence.—The Elector agreed to the demand verbally, and in writing. He wrote to the Prince, on the 7th of September, with his own hand: 'I am resolved; 'confer with the Minister Montgolas, on

'the conditions.' The minister confirmed his Sovereign's resolution, and proposed the conditions; that the Elector's own regiment, and that of the Electoral Prince, should remain at the disposal of his Serene Highness; and that Munich and Nymphenburgh should be exempted from the passage of Austrian troops. The agreement was to be concluded at Haag, on the following day. —On the 8th of September, Count Nogarola was sent off to the Emperor with a letter from the Elector, beginning in the following words:—'I have this morning ordered my minister to conclude an agreement with Prince Schwarzenberg, in pursuance of which I shall unite my forces to those of your Imperial and Royal Majesty, to give you a proof of my inviolable devotion.' No sooner had Count Nogarola set off with this letter, and even before Prince Schwarzenberg could go from Munich to Haag, than the Serene Elector left Bavaria in the night of the 9th, and withdrew all his troops by forced marches, having emptied all the public chests, and taken with him even the deposited bonds, and widows' and orphans' estates; whence it became necessary to put a stop to the further drawing of annuities, &c. to prevent a total stagnation of the whole administration of the country.——When Prince Schwarzenberg and General Mack arrived at Haag, the Elector's intention of flying from his engagement was no longer secret. After they had waited a long while, there appeared a Palatine lieutenant-colonel, shewing, by his tone and proposals, quite different from those of Munich, that a pretence was sought for breaking off a negatory negotiation. It was refused to leave the Electoral troops in Bavaria; their cession was to be deferred till the war had actually commenced, and they were always to remain together as a separate body.—After what had happened, the Austrian generals could not consent to leave an independent and numerous corps in the rear and flank of the Austrian army, which was hastening forward.—The Bavarian troops were not to be embodied by men or companies with the Austrians, as has been falsely asserted in the Palatinate part, but to remain together, in whole regiments or brigades. The entry of the Austrian and Russian troops in Germany had been notified to the Serene Elector, who had only made the exception of the districts of Munich and Nymphenburgh.—As to the requisitions made for the maintenance of the Austrian troops, they are become indispensible, from the general practice of the French army, as no other power could otherwise cope with it. However, since the entry of the French, the vast difference between their mode of raising requisitions, and that of the Austrian, has been experienced.—Nevertheless, to remove every pretence, his Majesty declared by his envoy, Count Buol, that he accepted the condition of leaving the Palatine troops together in a separate corps. The objection stated in the Serene Elector's letter of September 8th, namely, that the Electoral Prince was in France, was already removed, by the wise precaution of the Prince. Count Buol was even empowered to be finally satisfied with the dismissal (instead of the cession) of the troops, by the way of furlough, or even of the Bavarian troops alone.—All was refused. The French troops were received by the Elector with open arms, and all the Palatine troops joined them. They take the field against his Majesty, and against the Emperor of Russia, and war has been declared.—In a word, the Elector became false to his word, which he had given as a Prince, and as a man; false to his people, and to his Emperor; to the proved friendship of the Emperor Alexander; to the security and welfare of Germany, and of Europe, which depend on the event of this war compelled by France. This is the true statement of a conduct, which the loyal subjects of that Prince loudly deprecate, at which the honourable and patriotic feelings of his brave troops revolt, who are now shedding their blood, not for the deliverance of Germany, but for its enemies, and who are compelled to stain their hands with German blood.

Proclamation of the Elector of Bavaria to the Bavarians, dated Wurtzburgh, Oct. 10, 1805.

BAVARIANS,—At the moment when I was solely intent upon your prosperity, when I foresaw no danger, I have been forcibly separated from you. Austria, for the preservation of which the generous blood of Bavarians has so often flowed, had conceived perfidious plans against you, and against me. She demanded, with threats, that your sons, my brave soldiers, should be distributed among the Austrian army, and combat against a power, which has at all times, protected the independence of Bavaria.—Thus the Bavarians were not to fight for their country, but for foreign interests; thus the very name of the Bavarian army was to be destroyed.—My duty, as a Prince, and as the father of an independent and faithful people, has induced me to reject propositions so dishonourable to the nation, and to maintain, with firmness, the neutrality of my states.—I still flattered myself that I should see my ardent wishes accomplished, in the repose of the country. The negociations upon

this subject were not yet broken off, when Austria, faithful to the system of annihilating the independence of Bavaria, violated the most sacred treaties, passed the Inn with her army, and treated you as the inhabitants of a conquered country. The most burthensome requisitions were made. You were deprived of the instruments the most necessary to your industry, even those of your agriculture. Your fields were laid waste; your cattle were carried forcibly away; you were inundated with a depreciated paper money; even a great number of your sons were forced to serve under the colours of Austria. After an invasion so perfidious, after outrages so unheard of, it became my dignity, as a Prince and protector of the nation, to take up arms, and to deliver the country from its oppressors.—The Emperor of the French, the natural ally of Bavaria, flies to your succour with his intrepid warriors. He comes to avenge us. Already your brothers and your sons fight in the ranks of these heroes, habituated to victory; and, already, we see the dawn of our safety.—— Bavarians! You, who patiently bear the evils which the enemies of the country heap upon you, remember your Prince, who knows your sufferings, who shares them; and who cannot support the idea of being separated from you, but in the persuasion, that, by preserving his personal liberty, he has secured to himself the means of acting with an absolute independence for his dear and faithful subjects.—Our good cause is under the protection of a just God, and of a courageous army, commanded by an invincible hero! Let the rallying word of every Bavarian be, "for his Prince and his country!"

(Signed) Max. Joseph, Elector.

Prussia and France.—*Note transmitted by the Prussian Minister, Baron de Hardenberg, to M. Duroc and M. Laforest. Dated Berlin, Oct.* 14, 1805.

The King has commanded me to communicate what follows to his Excellency Marshal Duroc, and to M. Laforest, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of the French:—His Majesty is uncertain, whether he should be more surprised at the outrages which the French armies have taken the liberty of committing in his provinces, or at the extraordinary arguments by which it is attempted, at this day, to justify them. Prussia had declared her neutrality; but, adhering to the last to her prior engagements, all the advantages of which henceforth would be in favour of France, she made sacrifices to them which might have endangered her dearest interests. This invariable integrity, this connexion, which, without being in the least degree expensive to France, produced to her an invaluable degree of security on many essential points; how has it been repaid? Justly jealous of that consideration, which is no less due to his power than to his quality, the King has read, with sensations which he has in vain endeavoured to suppress, the justificatory dispatch communicated by the French ambassador to his cabinet.—A justification is attempted upon the authority of the practice of the last wars, and the similarity of circumstances; as if the exceptions which were then admitted had not been founded upon positive acts, which have been since annulled by the peace; as if the Emperor ever took those acts into his consideration, when he took possession of the country of Hanover, of a country that had been so long placed under the protection of Prussia! But ignorance of our intentions is pleaded, as if the intention did not exist in the nature of the transaction, so long as the contrary is not stipulated? As if the solemn protestations of the authorities of the province, and of the minister of his Majesty to his Highness the Elector of Bavaria, had not sufficiently made known what was by no means necessary, and that I myself, with the map in my hand, in the conferences which I had with their Excellencies M. Duroc and M. De Laforest, had not declared that no troops whatever should pass through the Margraviates, pointing out to them, at the same time, the route of communication, that Bavaria had stipulated for herself, as the only one in which the march of the troops was not likely to meet with any obstruction! It has been said, that in matters of such importance, a positive explanation should take place, as if that were a duty incumbent on the power which reposed in confidence on the faith of a principle, and not upon that which intended to subvert it. In short, a pretext is made of facts, which have never had any other foundation than in false reports: and in imputing outrages to the Austrians, which they have never committed; the observations of his Majesty are only directed to the contrast which their conduct offers to that of the French armies.—The King could have even drawn from this contrast, conclusions more unfavourable respecting the intentions of the Emperor. He will confine himself to the reflection, that his Imperial Majesty had, at least, his reasons for considering the positive engagements which existed between him and Prussia, as of no importance in his eyes, under the present circumstances; and that he himself was consequently on the point of sacrificing every thing to adhere to his engagements. He

considers himself at this day absolved from all obligations antecedent to the present time. Thus restored to that state of things, in which he has no other duty than that of his own safety, and the maxims of common justice, the King will not the less evince, that he is always animated by the same principles.—To see Europe participate in that peace, in which he aspires to maintain his own subjects, is his only wish: to contribute, by all the means in his power, to re-establish it upon a solid basis, and to apply to this great work his active mediation, and his unremitting endeavours, shall be his chief duty.—But, impeded on every side, in these his noble intentions, the King can no longer entrust to other hands than his own the care of providing for the safety of his people. Without obligations for the future, and also without assurances, he finds himself compelled to order his armies to occupy those positions which are indispensably necessary for the protection of the state.—Entreating their Excellencies M. Daroc and M. De Laforest to transmit these observations to his Imperial Majesty, I have to assure them of my high consideration. (Signed) HARDENBERG.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Twelfth Bulletin of the Grand Army, from the French Official Paper the Moniteur, dated Paris, Nov.* 1, 1805.

Munich, Oct 27.—To the fifth bulletin of the army should be annexed the capitulation of Memmingen, which was forgotten. The works at the fortifications of Ingolstadt and Augsburg, are, at this moment, carried on with the greatest activity. Têtes de Pont are constructed at all the bridges over the Lech, and magazines are established on the latter. His Majesty has been highly satisfied with the zeal and activity of his aide-de-camp General Bertrand, whom he has frequently employed in reconnoitring. His Majesty has given directions for the demolition of the fortifications of Ulm and Memmingen.—The Elector of Bavaria is every moment expected here. The Emperor has sent his aide-de-camp, Colonel Lebrun, to receive him, and to afford him, on his rout, escorts of honour. Te Deum has been performed at Augsburg and at Munich. The subjoined proclamation has been posted up in all the towns of Bavaria. The people of that country are well affected; they run to arms, and form voluntary guards for the defence of their country, against the incursions of the Cossacks. Generals Deroi and Wreden manifest the utmost activity; the latter has taken a great number of Austrian prisoners. He served, during the last war, in the Austrian army, in which he distinguished himself.—General Mack, having travelled post through Bavaria, on his return to Vienna, met General Wreden, at the advanced posts, near the Inn. They had a long conversation on the manner in which the Bavarian army is treated by the French. "We fare much better than with you," said General Wreden; "we are subjected neither to mortification nor ill-treatment; and so far from being exposed the most, we are obliged to demand posts of danger, because the French reserve them for themselves, in preference. With you, on the contrary, we were sent to every quarter where there was a bad business to retrieve."—A staff officer has just arrived from the army of Italy. The campaign began on the 18th of October. That army will soon form the right of the grand army.—The Emperor, yesterday, gave a concert to all the ladies of the court. He gave a particularly distinguished reception to Madame de Montgelas, the wife of the Elector's prime minister, a lady of extraordinary beauty. He testified his satisfaction to M. de Wintz, master of music to the Elector, on the excellent composition of his pieces, replete with spirit and talent.—This day, Sunday, October 27, the Emperor attended mass in the Chapel of the Palace. The following are the names of the Austrian generals taken prisoners. The number of officers is between 1,500 and 2,000. Every officer has signed his parole of honour not to serve; it is hoped, that they will punctually keep it; if not, the laws of war will be enforced with the utmost rigour.

List of Austrian general officers taken prisoners in the actions of Elchingen, Wertingen, Memmingen, Ulm, &c.: Baron Mack, Field-Marshal-Lieut, Quarter-Master-General. Prince de Hesse-Hombourg, Field-Marshal-Lieut.; Baron de Hipschis, ditto; Count de Giulay, ditto, Quarter-Master-General of the army of Prince Ferdinand; Baron de Laudon, ditto; Count de Klenau, ditto; Count de Gottescheim, ditto; Count de Riese, ditto; Count Baillier, ditto; Comte de Werneck, ditto; Prince de Hohenzollern, ditto.—Prince de Lichtenstein, General-Major; Baron de Abel, ditto; Baron de Ulm, ditto; Baron de Weidenfeld, ditto; Count de Gelneddy, ditto; Count de Fremel, ditto; Count de Sueker, ditto; Count de Hermann, ditto, prisoner at Elchingen; Count de Hermann, ditto, prisoner at Ulm; Count de Reichter, ditto; Count de Dieuersberg, ditto. — Count de Mitxery, General; Count de Wogel, ditto; Count de Weiber, ditto; Count de Hohenfeld, ditto; Baron d'Aspre, ditto; Count de Spangen, ditto.

Capitulation of the Garrison of Memmingen. October 14, 1805.

The General of Division Saligny, Chief of the staff of the 4th Corps of the Grand Army, in the name of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and acting under the orders of his Excellency, Mareschal Soult, and the Count de Spangen, Major-General, and commanding at Memmingen, have entered into the following Capitulation: Art. 1. The Austrian garrison of Memmingen surrender themselves Prisoners of War to the 4th Corps of the Grand Army, commanded by his Excellency Mareschal Soult. 2. The Garrison shall march out with the honours of war. 3. The Officers shall be at liberty to return to their homes, on giving their parole of honour not to serve till they have been exchanged, rank for rank, or to share the same fate as their troops. 4. The Officers shall keep their arms, their horses, and their equipages; the subalterns and soldiers all their accoutrements. 5. The non-combatants, such as the surgeons, physicians, chaplains, smiths, and musicians, shall be set at liberty. 6. All the papers relative to the place, or to the Austrian army, shall be delivered to the Chief of the Staff of the French army. 7. All the artillery, ammunition, and provisions, all the horses of every kind, shall be given up to the French army, according to the situation of the place. 8. His Excellency the Marshal promises, with pleasure, to cause the same attention to be paid to the sick, as to the sick of the French army. 9. Carriages shall be provided for the removal of the effects of the Officers. Done in presence of General Sebastiani, Colonel Fitteau, and the principal Officers of the place. (Signed) The General of Division, Saligny, General Horace Sebastiani, M. Fitteau, Col. of the 3d reg. of dragoons, Count de Spangen, Major-General, Wouvermans, Colonel, Baron de Lauer, Major and Engineer.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NAVAL VICTORY.—*From the London Gazette Extraordinary; dated Admiralty Office, November* 11, 1805.

The letter (and its enclosures), of which the following are copies, were received at this office last night, from Captain (now Rear-Admiral) Sir Richard John Strachan, Bart. commander of his Majesty's ship Cæsar, addressed to W. Marsden, Esq.

Cæsar, November 7, 1805.

SIR,—The accompanying copy of a letter, addressed to the Hon. Admiral Cornwallis, I request you will be pleased to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, with my apology for the hasty manner in which it is written. I have the honour, &c.

R. J. STRACHAN.

Cæsar, West of Rochfort 264 miles, Nov. 4, 1805, wind S. E.

SIR,—Being off Ferrol, working to the westward, with the wind westerly, on the evening of the 2d, we observed a frigate in the N. W. making signals; made all sail to join her before night, and followed by the ships named in the margin *, we came up with her at 11 at night; and at the moment she joined us, we saw 6 large ships near us. Capt. Baker informed me he had been chaced by the Rochefort squadron, then close to leeward of us. We were delighted. I desired him to tell the captains of the ships of the line astern to follow me, as I meant to engage them directly; and immediately bore away in the Cæsar for the purpose, making all the signals I could, to indicate our movements to our ships; the moon enabled us to see the enemy bear away in a line abreast, closely formed; but we lost sight of them when it set, and I was obliged to reduce our sails, the Hero, Courageux, and Æolus being the only ships we could see. We continued steering to the E.N.E. all night, and in the morning observed the Santa Margaritta near us; at nine we discovered the enemy of 4 sail of the line in the N. E. under all sail. We had also every thing set, and came up with them fast; in the evening we observed 3 sail astern; and the Phœnix spoke me at night. I found that active officer, Capt. Baker, had delivered my orders, and I sent him on to assist the Santa Margirita in leading us up to the enemy. At day-light we were near them, and the Santa Margarita had begun in a very gallant manner to fire upon their rear, and was soon joined by the Phœnix.—A little before noon, the French finding an action unavoidable, began to take in their small sails, and form in a line, bearing on the starboard tack; we did the same; and I communicated my intentions by hailing to the captains, "that I should attack the centre and rear," and at noon began the battle; in a short time the van ship of the enemy tacked, which almost directly made the action close and general; the Namur joined soon after we tacked, which we did as soon as we could get the ships round, and I directed her, by signal, to engage the van; at half-past three the action ceased, the enemy having fought to admiration, and not surrendering

* Cæsar, Hero, Courageux, and Namur. Bellona, Æolus, Santa Margarita, far to leeward in the South-East.

till their ships were unmanageable. I have returned thanks to the captains of the ships of the line and the frigates, and they speak in high terms of approbation of their respective officers and ships' companies. If any thing could add to the good opinion I had already formed of the officers and crew of the Cæsar, it is their gallant conduct in this day's battle. The enemy have suffered much, but our ships not more than is to be expected on these occasions. You may judge of my surprise, Sir, when I found the ships we had taken, were not the Rochfort squadron, but from Cadiz. I have the honour to be, &c. R. J. Strachan. To the Hon. William Cornwallis, Admiral of the White, and Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c.

First Line.—Starboard Tack. British Line—Cæsar, of 80 guns; Hero, of 74 guns; Courageux, of 74 guns.

French Line.—Duguay Trouin, of 74 guns, Capt. Toufflet; Formidable, of 80 guns, Rear Admiral Dumanoir; Mont Blanc, of 74 guns, Capt. Villegrey; Scipion, of 74 guns, Capt. Barouger.

Second Line (when the Namur joined.)—Larboard Tack. British Line—Hero, of 74 guns, Hon. Capt. Gardner; Namur, of 74 guns, Capt. Halsted; Cæsar, of 80 guns, Sir R. J. Strachan; Courageux, of 74 guns, Capt. Lee.

French Line—Duguay Trouin, Formidable, Mont Blanc, and Scipion.—N.B. The Duguay Trouin and Scipion totally dismasted; the Formidable and Mont Blanc have their foremasts standing.—Car frigates—Santa Margarita, Æolus, Phœnix, and Revolutionaire.—The Revolutionaire joined at the time the Namur did, but, with the rest of our frigates, in consequence of the French tacking, were to leeward of the enemy. I do not know what is become of the Bellona, or the other two sail we saw on the night of the 2d inst. The reports of damage, killed, and wounded, have not been all received. The enemy have suffered much.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 11, 1805.—The names of the captains who commanded his Majesty's frigates in the late gallant action under Sir Richard Strachan, being omitted in the Gazette Extraordinary, it becomes necessary to state, that the Revolutionaire was commanded by Capt. H. Hotham, the Phœnix by Capt. Baker, the Æolus by Capt. Lord William Fitzroy, and the Santa Margarita by Capt. Wilson Rathborne.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 12.—Copy of a letter from Rear Admiral Sir Richard John Strachan, Bart. to William Marsden, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's ship the Cæsar, off Falmouth, the 8th inst.

Sir,—Not having the returns when the Æolus left us, and now having occasion to send in the Santa Margarita to procure pilots to take the French ships into harbour, I transmit you the returns of killed and wounded in the action of the 4th; and also a copy of the thanks alluded to in my letter, which I request you will communicate to their lordships I dare say their lordships will be surprised, that we have lost so few men. I can only account for it from the enemy firing high, and we closing suddenly. I have the honour to be, &c. R. J. Strachan.

I have as yet no very correct account of the loss of the enemy, or of their number of men. The Mont Blanc had 700; 63 killed, and 96 wounded, mostly dangerous. The Scipion, 111 killed and wounded. The French Admiral Mons. Dumanoir le Pelley, wounded; the Capt. of the Duguay Trouin, killed; and second captain wounded.

A list of killed and wounded in his Majesty's ships under-mentioned, in action with a French squadron on the 4th of November, 1805.

Cæsar—4 killed, and 25 wounded. Hero—10 killed, and 51 wounded. Courageux—1 killed, and 13 wounded. Namur—4 killed, and 8 wounded. Santa Margarita—1 killed, and 1 wounded. Revolutionaire—2 killed, and 6 wounded. Phœnix—2 killed, and 4 wounded. Æolus—3 wounded. Total—24 killed, and 111 wounded—135.

Officers killed—Hero—Mr. Morrison, second lieut. of marines. Santa Margarita—Mr. T. Edwards, boatswain.

Officers wounded—Hero—Lieut. Shekel; Mr. Titterton, and Mr. Stephenson, second lieutenants of marines. Courageux—Mr. R. Clephane, first lieut.; Mr. Dows, master's mate; Mr. Bird, midshipman; and Mr. Austin gunner. Namur—William Clements, capt. of marines; Thomas Osborne, second lieut.; and Frederick Beasley, midshipman. (Signed) R. J. Strachan.

General Memorandum.—Cæsar, at Sea, November 6, 1805. Having returned thanks to Almighty God for the victory obtained over the French squadron, the senior captain begs to make his grateful acknowledgments for the support he has received from the ships of the line and the frigates; and requests the captains will do him the honour to accept his thanks, and communicate to their respective officers and ship's companies, how much he admires their zealous and gallant conduct. R. J. Strachan. To the respective captains and commanders.

Admirals of the Red Flag.—*From the*

London Gazette, dated Admiralty Office, Nov. 9, 1805.

His Majesty having been pleased to order the rank of Admirals of the Red to be restored in his Majesty's navy, the following flag-officers were this day promoted in pursuance of the King's pleasure, viz.—

Admirals of the White, to be Admirals of the Red.

Robert Roddam, Esq. Nicholas Vincent, Esq. R. Digby, Esq. Right Hon. Alexander Viscount Bridport, K. B. Sir C. Ogle, Knt. Right Hon. Samuel Viscount Hood, Sir R. Hughes, Bart. J. Elliot, Esq. Right Hon. William Lord Hotham, Right Hon. Charles Lord Barham, Sir R. King, Bart. Right Hon. John Earl St. Vincent, K. B. Phillips Corby, Esq. S. Cornish, Esq. J. Brisbane, Esq. C. Wolsely, Esq. H. R. H. William Henry Duke of Clarence, Sir R. Onslow, Bart. Sir R. Kingsmill, Bart. Sir H. Parker, Knt. B. Caldwell, Esq. Hon. W. Cornwallis.

Admirals of the Blue, to be Admirals of the White.

C. Buckner, Esq. John Gell, Esq. Right Hon. Alan Lord Gardner, W. P. Williams, Esq. Sir T. Pasley, Bart J. Cumming, Esq. Sir J. Colpoys, K. B. S. Lutwidge, Esq. G. Montagu, Esq. Right Hon. George Lord Keith, K. B. J. Pigott, Esq. Right Hon. W. Lord Radstock, T. Mackenzie, Esq. Sir R. Curtis, K. B. Sir H. Harvey, K. B.

Vice Admirals of the Red, to be Admirals of the Blue.

Isaac Prescott, Esq. J. Bazely, Esq. T. Spry, Esq. Sir J. Orde, K. B. W. Young, Esq. J. Gambier, Esq. Sir A. Mitchell, K.B. C. Chamberlayne, Esq. P. Rainier, Esq. P. Patton, Esq. Sir C. Morice Pole, Bart.

Vice Admirals of the White, to be Vice Admirals of the Red.

John Brown, Esq. J. L. Douglas, Esq. W. Swiney, Esq. C. E. Nugent, Esq. C. P. Hamilton, Esq. E. Dod, Esq. Sir C. Cotton, Bart. J. Thomas Esq. J. Brine, Esq. J. Pakenham, Esq. Sir E. Gower, Knt. J. Holloway, Esq.

Vice Admirals of the Blue, to be Vice Admirals of the Red.

G. Wilson, Esq. Sir C. H. Knowles, Bart. Hon. T. Pakenham, R. Deans, Esq. C. Collingwood, Esq.

Vice Admirals of the Blue, to be Vice-Admirals of the White.

J. H. Whitshed, Esq. A. Kempe, Esq. Smith Child, Esq. Right Hon. Charles Lord Lecale, T. Taylor, Esq. Sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B. Sir R. Calder, Bart.

Rear Admirals of the Red, to be Vice-Admirals of the White.

J. R. Dacres, Esq. Hon. G. Berkeley, T. West, Esq. J. Douglas, Esq. P Aplin, Esq. H Savage, Esq. B. S. Rowley, Esq. Sir R. Bickerton, K. B.

Rear Admirals of the Red, to be Vice Admirals of the Blue.

G. Bowen, Esq. R. Montagu, Esq. J. Ferguson, Esq. F. Edwards, Esq. Sir J. B. Warren, Bart. and K. B. E. T. Smith, Esq. Sir T. Graves, K. B. T. M. Russell, Esq. S. Moriarty, Esq. Sir H. Trollope, Knt. H. E. Stanhope, Esq. R. M'Donall, Esq.

Rear Admirals of the White, to be Vice Admirals of the Blue.

Billy Douglas, Esq. J. Wickey, Esq. J. Inglis, Esq. J. Fish, Esq. J. Knight, Esq. E. Thornbrough, Esq.

Rear Admirals of the White, to be Rear Admirals of the Red.

J. Kempthorne, Esq. S. Edwards, Esq. G. Campbell, Esq. H. Cromwell, Esq. A. Philip, Esq. Sir W. G. Fairfax, Knt. Sir J. Saumarez, Bart. and K. B. T. Drury, Esq. A. Bertie, Esq. Right Hon. William Earl of Northesk, J. Vashon, Esq. Sir W. H. Douglas, Bart. T. Wells, Esq. Sir E. Pellew, Bart. Sir I. Coffin, Bart.

Rear Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear Admirals of the Red.

J. Aylmer, Esq. S. Osborn, Esq. R. Roger, Esq.

Rear Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear Admirals of the White.

J. Faulknor, Esq. J. C. Purvis, Esq. T. Jones, Esq. W. Domett, Esq. W Wolseley, Esq. J. Manley, Esq. G. Murray, Esq. J. Sutton, Esq. R. Murray, Esq. Hon. A. Cochrane, Sir T. Troubridge, Bart. J. Markham, Esq. C. Stirling, Esq. H. D'Esterre Darby, Esq. E. Bowater, Esq. G. Palmer, Esq. W. O'Brien Drury, Esq. W. Essington, Esq. T. Louis, Esq.

The under-mentioned Captains were also appointed Flag Officers of his Majesty's Fleet, viz. to be Rear Admirals of the Blue.

J. M'Dougall, Esq. J. Alms, Esq. E. Harvey, Esq. J. Peyton, Esq. Sir E. Nagle, Knt. J. Wells, Esq. R. Grindall, Esq. G. Martin, Esq. Sir A. J. Ball, Bart. Sir R. J. Strachan, Bart. Sir W. S. Smith, Knt. T. Sotheby, Esq. E. O'Bryen, Esq. N. Brunton, Esq. W. H. Kelly, Esq. J. Schank, Esq. Hon. M. De Courcy, W. Bentinck, Esq. P. Minchin, Esq. P. D'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 21.] LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1805. [PRICE 10D.

" Independent of the territories of the French, the map of Europe is but small, and only two great powers " are now left standing. Russia is powerful, but, at a great distance from them. Austria remains strong, " and, perhaps, not impaired in territories; but, so bereft of all external aid, so stripped of support, that, " in any new storm, the first heave of the sea will be very likely to bring her by the board."——MR. WINDHAM'S SPEECH, May 13th, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

AUSTRIA AND BAVARIA.—*Copies of the Documents referred to in the "True Statement of the Conduct of the Serene Elector Palatine of Bavaria."* (See p. 756.) *From the Vienna Court Gazette of the 16th Oct.* 1805.

No. I.—*Letter from his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria to his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine; dated Vienna, Sept.* 3, 1805.

The communications which I transmit to your Serene Electoral Highness, by Lieutenant-General the Prince of Schwartzenburgh, Vice-President of my Council of War, will inform you, in detail, of the motives which induce the Emperor of Russia and myself to support the pacific negotiation which we wish to open with the Court of France, by eventual armaments.—I have every reason to apprehend, that notwithstanding the purity and moderation of our sentiments, the Emperor of the French may determine upon an immediate attack on my states; and I am further informed, that this prince has conceived the design of securing to himself, before-hand, the assistance of the troops of those states that are situated between his frontier and mine, either immediately, or by granting to them at first a neutrality, which will not be allowed to continue longer than he will find it advantageous to him.—Your Serene Electoral Highness, besides, is too enlightened not to feel how much the execution of such a design, if extended also to your troops, would be prejudicial to the Emperor of Russia and myself; and of how much importance it is to us that your Serene Highness should unite them with mine.—It is of such consequence to oppose some bar to the measures which the French government will probably resort to without delay, in order to oblige your Serene Highness to consent to the meditated project, or to carry it into execution against your will, if that should be necessary, that I cannot allow myself to lose a moment in my endeavours to prevent them. I am perfectly sensible of the delicacy of your situation, Sir, my brother, as well as of the motives which may incline you to wish to be dispensed from the determination which I require of you Serene Electoral Highness. But I am pressed by motives still more imperious; and seeing the total impossibility which results from the situation of Bavaria, of maintaining the neutrality of a country into which the armies of both the belligerent powers could not avoid penetrating in case of a war, your Serene Electoral Highness will also be convinced, that I cannot recede from my demand, and that I find myself compelled, against my will, to employ all the means in my power to carry it into effect, if I were not willing to expose myself to the most disagreeable consequences, without even obtaining thereby for your Serene Electoral Highness the object of a real neutrality.—In referring to the overtures of the Prince of Schwartzenburgh, respecting the determinations which this state of things obliges me involuntarily to adopt, I hasten to remove every doubt with regard to the sincerity and perfect friendship of my intentions, by protesting here, in the most solemn manner, that if your Serene Electoral Highness shall accede to the proposition which I have made known to you, I shall be ready to defend and to guarantee the security and integrity of your states from any attempt whatsoever; and whatever may be the issue of the war, if it should take place, that I shall never extend my views of indemnity to the acquisition or dismemberment of the smallest portion of your Highness's territory; proposing to myself, on the contrary, to embrace all opportunities that shall offer of proving to you the perfect esteem, and the sentiments as sincere as they are unalterable, with which I am, &c.

No. II.—*Note addressed by his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine to the Lieutenant-General the Prince of Schwartzenburgh, Vice-President of the Council of War of his Majesty the Emperor and King; dated Sept.* 7, 1805.

I have made my determination, my

dear Prince. Attend a conference to-morrow morning with the minister, Baron Montgelas; he will inform you of my demands. Oppose them not. I reckon upon your former friendship.

No. III.—*Letter from his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine to his Majesty the Emperor and King; dated Nymphenburg, Sept. 8, 1805.*

I have directed my minister to sign, this morning, a treaty with the Prince of Schwartzenburgh; pursuant to which I shall join my troops to those of your Imperial and Royal Majesty. In doing this, Sire, I have been desirous of giving you a proof of my inviolable attachment.—Allow me now to appeal from it to your paternal heart. The Electoral Prince, my son, is at present in France. Relying constantly on the peace, I sent him to travel in Italy, and then in the southern provinces of France, where he is actually at this moment. If I should be obliged to march my troops against the French, my son is lost; should I, on the contrary, remain quiet in my states, I shall have time to procure his return. On my knees I supplicate your Imperial and Royal Majesty to grant me neutrality. I dare pledge my most sacred word to your Majesty, that my troops shall not, in the smallest degree, interfere with the operations of your army; and should it be obliged to retreat, an event which is by no means probable, I promise and swear to remain quiet without striking a blow. It is a father, a prey to the most frightful despair, that applies for mercy in favour of his son; may your Imperial and Royal Majesty not withhold it, and I dare flatter myself there will be no obstacle on the part of the Emperor of Russia.

No. IV.—*Letter from his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria to his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine; dated Hetzendorff, Sept. 14, 1805.*

I cannot conceal from your Serene Highness my surprise at so sudden an alteration in your determinations. Without adverting to the assurances given by my lieut. general, the Prince of Schwartzenburgh, both by yourself, Sir, my brother and cousin, and by your minister, or to the note which your Highness thought proper to address to him, the letter delivered to me by Gen. Nogarolla contained the most formal engagement to join your troops to mine; you positively declare in this letter to me, 'I have directed my minister to sign this morning a treaty with the Prince of Schwartzenburgh, pursuant to which I shall join my troops to those of your Imperial and Royal Majesty. In doing this, Sire, I have been desirous of giving you a proof of my inviolable attachment.'—And yet, at the moment this letter has been delivered to me, I have to announce to the bearer of it, that your Highness had changed your mind, quitted your capital, and drawn off the whole of your troops.—I should have consented without difficulty, and am still ready to consent, to the demands of your Serene Electoral Highness, respecting the city of Munich, and the circuit, including, amongst other places, your castle of Nymphenbourg, which territory should be shut against my troops, and confined solely to the protection of those which your Highness signified a desire to maintain there, though, in my opinion, it would have been more advantageous for your troops to be incorporated with mine, in order to avoid any possible complaint of their being more exposed than mine to the enemy, or of their being treated worse with respect to their supplies of provisions: it would rest nevertheless with your Serene Electoral Highness to let them serve in a body, provided they should be under the command of the General of the Army; but to suspend their march, when the French have already announced their approaching irruption into Germany, and are assembling on the Rhine, would be too prejudicial to the common cause for me to lend a hand to it, at the same time that the recent conduct of Napoleon towards the courts of Carlsruhe, Cassel, and Stutgard, will enable your Serene Highness to judge whether the neutrality of Bavaria be possible, and whether you would yourself, Sir, my brother and cousin, have it in your power to fulfil your promise not to employ your troops against me.—I would have been deeply afflicted to endanger the Electoral Prince, to whom I feel a personal attachment; but a courier, if one had been dispatched to him directly, even at the time when the Prince of Schwartzenburgh received the assurances from your Serene Electoral Highness, would have placed him in a condition to effect his departure from France before any fatal measure could have been taken with respect to him.—Faithful to the fulfilment of what I have once promised, I am authorised to insist on the same fidelity being observed towards me. I claim then, formally, from your Serene Electoral Highness, the promise you gave me to unite your troops with mine, at the same time that I declare to you, that I am ready to consent to the conditions above stated. I have directed the Count Buol to wait on your Highness, and to deliver you this letter, and have given him authority to

accede to such arrangements as may be called for on this head; it would be painful to myself, and to my close and intimate ally, the Emperor of Russia, to experience on your part, Sir, my brother and cousin, any disposition which might prevent us from retaining those sentiments of which we have it greatly at heart to give you effectual proofs. Accept the assurances of my perfect esteem, &c. &c.

No. V.—*Letter from his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine to his Majesty the Emperor of the Romans and of Austria; dated Wurtzburgh, Sept. 21, 1805.*

The Count of Buol Schaunstein has acquitted himself of the commission with which your Imperial Majesty has deigned to honour him on his mission to me. I have experienced, on this occasion, a very lively sense of consolation from the assurances, in every instance so highly to be prized, of your Imperial and Royal Majesty's friendship, which he has repeated to me in express terms. It is to this sentiment, Sire, and to that of your magnanimity, that I can appeal with full confidence. I retain the hope that your Imperial and Royal Majesty will spare unfortunate provinces the horrors of a war, from which they have already too severely suffered, at a moment when the wounds of former hostilities are still bleeding. I owe it to my unfortunate subjects, I owe it to myself, not to lavish their blood for discussions that are foreign to them, and against a government that has done them no injury. This was the primary motive of that absolute and complete neutrality which I claimed of your Imperial Majesty by the letter which I took the liberty of addressing to your Majesty on the 8th instant. Every thing persuades me to adhere to this system. I beseech you, Sire, to believe that I shall never depart from it, and that the menaces of France will also be wholly ineffectual to make me abandon this invariable resolution. —I shall not fatigue your Majesty with a detail of the conferences that have taken place during the residence of the Prince of Schwartzenburgh at my court. Your Majesty will condescend to call to mind, that at that period he had no power to accede to the demands which I had preferred, and that the retreat of my troops had been constrained by the necessity of saving them from the disgrace of being disarmed, with which they were openly menaced. I say nothing of what has since passed. The melancholy picture of these events has pierced my heart; it would be no less afflicting to that of your Imperial Majesty if you were acquainted with them to the full extent.—And now your Imperial and Royal Majesty will do me that justice to which I am well entitled, if you will but persuade yourself that, whatever may be the course of events, nothing shall ever alter the respectful devotion with which I am, &c. &c.

ENGLISH MINISTER AT HESSE CASSEL.—*Abstract of the Diplomatic Correspondence which took place last Summer, relative to the English Minister at the Court of Hesse Cassel.*

I.—*Substance of a Verbal Representation of this Date by the French Charge d'Affaires to the Electoral Ministry, July 27, 1805.*

The French minister is charged to represent to his Serene Highness the Elector, that his Majesty the Emperor of France has learned, with great displeasure, the re-admission of Mr. Taylor, the English minister, after the said minister had been accused, in all the public journals in France and Germany, of being an accomplice to conspiracies against his Majesty; and that, on the other hand, nothing appeared in any paper in his defence, on the part of the English ministry. His Majesty cannot, therefore, regard the further recognition of the said envoy in any other light than that of an insult, which must dissolve the friendly relations that have hitherto subsisted between the two courts; since his Majesty cannot permit his envoys to reside at this Court with a diplomatic character, who are subject to such an accusation. The French minister has, in consequence, received orders to demand, that in eight or ten days at the farthest, Mr. Taylor shall be ordered to withdraw from the Hessian territory; and to represent, that his court must regard the refusal of this demand as a proof of the sound existence of an understanding with the enemies of France, and, of course, as a declaration of war, which would justify him in attaining the object of this application by force of arms. He has, at the same time, received instructions, in the event of a refusal, to quit the Hessian territory.

II.—*Verbal reply of the Electoral Minister of State.*—His Serene Highness the Elector, now absent at Nuendorf, did not expect, after the steps taken by him to satisfy the French government, that he should be again applied to in so urgent a manner upon this subject; on the contrary, he conceived himself entitled to hope from its candour, that it would, at least, have waited for the result of the representation recently made by him to the King of England himself. For the rest, the Elector will return

in a few days to Cassel, when he will in person do every thing in his power to accommodate the present misunderstanding with the French court, with which his Highness wishes to remain on a footing of a constant and sincere friendship.

III.—*Instruction from his Prussian Majesty to his Ambassador at Paris, relative to the above subject.*—His Majesty can scarcely credit that Mr. Bignon should have been authorised by his government to adopt a measure so imperious, and accompanied by such threats, with respect to his Electoral Highness; and still less, that the Emperor of the French can have any intention of attaching consequences so serious to the present discussion, as those which Mr. Bignon has taken upon himself to announce. His Majesty is the less disposed to give credit to those menaces, as Mr. Bignon has refused to give any explanation in writing upon this subject. His Majesty, therefore, gives it in charge to his minister at the court of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, to represent, in the most energetic and urgent terms, that no Sovereign court can permit itself, at the pleasure of another, to send away a minister accredited to it from a third court, unless satisfactory proofs are submitted to it of the latter having actually violated the law of nations. Such proofs have not yet been produced in the case of Mr. Taylor; and this is the more deserving observation, as the French government has itself, on this occasion, omitted those proceedings which it adopted in regard to the Courts of Munich and Stutgard, to which it hastened to communicate those documents that were to furnish grounds for the removal of Mr. Drake and Mr. Spencer Smith. Let it only be considered what would become of the diplomatic character, and the relations between states, if forms so antient, customary, and consecrated by the observance of centuries, were to be laid aside. His Majesty empowers his ambassador to demand, that Mr. Bignon shall forthwith retract his demand with regard to Mr. Taylor; to acquaint the French ministry, that his Majesty cannot calmly look on and see the slightest measure of hostility exercised with respect to his relative and friend the Elector; and to represent, that such a proceeding would violate all the relations which subsist between Prussia and France, with which his Majesty wishes to maintain a good understanding; a wish which he has anxiously embraced every opportunity of expressing. He will further represent, that the French government would be acting in opposition to its own interests, and wholly in favour of those of its enemy, should it, by such a line of conduct, provoke new hostilities on the Continent.

IV.—*Note from the French Envoy, dated the 29th of July.*—This document repeats the demand, that Mr. Taylor should be no longer recognized at the Electoral Court; and that he should be sent out of the Hessian territory within eight or ten days; adding, that in case of non compliance, Mr. Bignon would immediately quit Cassel.

V.—*Reply of the Electoral Minister, dated the 4th of August.*—His Serene Highness the Elector, on the subject of the demand of the French Emperor, has to reply, that he has renewed his representations to the British ministry, and further, that he has written a letter to the King of England in his own hand. As his Prussian Majesty, however, has now engaged to mediate with the French Court in this affair, the result of his proceedings may be expected in the course of a short time. Besides, Mr. Taylor is now absent from Cassel, and his place of residence is not known.

VI.—*Note from the French Envoy, dated the 6th of August.*—In this note the envoy observes, that Mr. Taylor's petty tour to Geisnar cannot be regarded as a removal from the Electoral Court; and that he, consequently feels himself under the necessity of repeating his former sentiments and menaces; so much the more so; as the Elector had given him a verbal assurance, that the English minister should be no longer recognised.

VII.—*A third Note from the French Envoy, dated the 13th of August.*—Stating, that in consequence of Mr. Taylor's return to Cassel, he was making preparations to quit the Hessian territory.

WIRTEMBURGH AND FRANCE.—*Note from Count Winkingerode, Minister of State and Conferences to his Serene Highness the Elector of Wirtemberg, to his Excellency M. Didelot, the French Minister, dated 30th Sept.* 1805.

The undersigned is under the necessity of giving to M. Didelot official communication of an event the most unexpected, and of an outrage the most unheard of, against the Capital of his Highness the Elector, by Marshal Ney.—Having appeared before the gates of Stutgard, not only with the intention of passing through it, but of taking up his quarters there, Gen. Hirzel, the Commandant, went himself to the gates, and endeavoured, by the strongest representations, shewing at the same time the positive orders to that effect of his Highness the Elector, to prevail on him to follow the conducting offi-

Discounts 4

cers, posted on all the roads, made to preserve the communications round the town and to facilitate the march of the French troops to all quarters, to which they were destined.—But Marshal Ney, rejecting all proposals of the kind, and refusing to accept of any compromise, ordered his guns to be pointed against the gate leading to Louisburgh, compelled it to be opened by those means, entered the capital of his Highness the Elector in an hostile manner, with a force so considerable that the town was not capable of containing it. He ordered the magistracy to assemble for the purpose of communicating to them that two regiments of hussars and five battalions of infantry would arrive there the same night, for which he made an immediate and peremptory demand of 100,000 rations of bread.—The undersigned is at a loss for expressions to convey the deep regret of his Highness the Elector, as well as the just indignation which he must necessarily feel, at the grievous and unheard of insult which has been offered to him in his capital, at the moment that the Emperor Napoleon makes professions of friendship to him, and flatters him with the prospect that he shall soon see him at his palace.—The Elector places too much reliance on the justice and candour of the Emperor of the French, to entertain, for a moment, the least doubt that he will not give to his Highness the Elector satisfaction complete and adequate to the enormity of the insult which has been offered to him.—His Highness the Elector has ordered the undersigned to require of his Excellency M. Didelot by this official note, to make a direct report of these transactions.—At the moment that his Highness the Elector sees his capital in the possession of a foreign army, his chief and greatest anxiety is for the persons of the envoys of the different powers of Europe accredited to his court, and who have only consented to remain there, under the assurance that his Highness would cause them to be respected equally with himself.—His Highness the Elector firmly expects that his Excellency will prevail on the Commandant of Stutgard, to cause the sacred character of public ministers, in which the envoys accredited to his court are clothed, to be secured against all insult, and that they may continue to enjoy all the rights assured to them by the laws of nations. The undersigned seizes, &c. (Signed) WINTZINGERODE.

P. S. At this instant, the undersigned has received official information from Baron De Taubenheim, First Equerry to his Highness the Elector, that some hussars, acting as body guards to General Dupont, have forced open the doors of the principal stables of the Elector, and wounded, with a sabre, one of the servants, who endeavoured to prevent this violence. One of the Elector's coachmen, dressed in his livery, and driving M. Didelot, attached to the French embassy, received also some blows with the flat of a sword. Upon complaint being made, of the breaking of the stable doors, by Baron De Taubenheim, to the aide-de-camp of General Dupont, the only answer he received was —'It is all the same to me.'—It is sufficient, without doubt, that these facts be communicated to his Excellency, to excite in him all the indignation that they are calculated to produce.

Copy of a Circular Note addressed to M. De Schraut, Minister of Austria; M. De Maltiz, Minister of Russia; M. De Madewbuf, Minister of Prussia; M. De Hertling, Minister of Bavaria; M. De Ernsifdel, Minister of Saxony; M. De Spaen, Minister of Holland. Dated Louisburgh, Oct. 1, 1805.

The undersigned minister of state, &c. &c. of his Highness the Elector, feels it to be his duty to communicate to his Excellency M.———, the note, of which the annexed is a copy, transmitted by order of his Highness the Elector, to his Excellency M. Didelot, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, respecting an unexpected event, the details of which are fully mentioned in the said note.—The undersigned seizes this opportunity, &c.

———

RUSSIA AND FRANCE.——*Circular Letter from Prince Czartorisky, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Governors General of all the Provinces of the Empire of Russia, dated September,* 1805.

It is now notorious that the pretensions of the French government, are incompatible with either the repose or security of the major part of Europe. The grasping and eternally increasing ambition of the ruler of France, threatens not only near but distant states; for, unbridled, it would overturn the laws, the usages of society.—It were needless to repeat the manifold and grievous causes of offence given to Russia by the French government; but it is necessary to say, it has violated the treaty of commerce subsisting between Russia and France, not alone by refusing explanations which his Majesty was entitled to demand, but by maliciously endeavouring to wound in the tenderest points the honour of Russia. At Constantinople did it not try by all its intrigues, to rouse suspicion against the Imperial Court, and to break the alliance which binds the two em-

pires, and urging his Sultanic Majesty even to an open rupture with Russia. Into Persia it sent its emissaries, and they succeeded in exciting Baba Khan to fall upon the skirts of the empire, and a war arose which still rages in those countries.—Disregarding all these attempts, sufficiently demonstrating the hatred and envy of the ruler of France, his Imperial Majesty always desirous of peace, took every step consistent with his dignity, to induce Buonaparté to consent to establish a fair political balance of power in Europe, to which end and with the concurrence of his Britannic Majesty, the Emperor sent M. Novosiltzoff, Chamberlain and Assistant Minister of Justice, to Paris, to propose a general pacification.—This new unequivocal proof of moderation and love of peace in his Imperial Majesty, had no effect on the French government, which still persisted in pursuing the same measures which already had roused universal apprehension.—Clearly perceiving that it would be as fruitless, as unbecoming the dignity of an Emperor of Russia, to prolong a negotiation with a power ignorant of the first principles of justice, or of the smallest idea of the respect due to other states, his Imperial Majesty recalled M. Novosiltzoff.—This result, however, in all its circumstances to the universe, must have extinguished the last spark of hope for the preservation of peace in Europe.—Austria, a power from its situation most exposed to the attacks of France, dreading the consequences of the fruitless negotiation for peace, proposed to the Imperial Court its renewal, and the same proposal from the Cabinet of Vienna was made at Berlin, London, and Paris.—His Majesty willing to shew all respect to his faithful ally the Roman Emperor, promised his consent, if the ruler of France would on his side be equally acquiescent; but knowing from experience, that all friendly demonstrations towards France would be fruitless, unless supported by strong power, the Emperor thought proper to march part of his army into Germany, to give effect to the negotiation which might be renewed with France. His Majesty felt himself bound to support his allies against the arrogance of the French government, and at the same time to prevent France from threatening the states of that empire adjoining to it, being convinced that this measure of precaution, could alone promote the desired end.—Although adopting this measure under the present circumstances, is no more than a system of security, yet it is of itself to be understood, that if Buonaparté rejects every proposal for a just equilibrium, and for securing that independence and repose so absolutely necessary, then the armies of his Imperial Majesty will be under the necessity of uniting with the forces of his faithful allies, and by assisting them to save Europe from impending destruction. In that case his Majesty the Emperor, relying on the justice of his cause, the bravery of his armies, and the aid of the allied powers, hopes with the blessing of the Most High, to oppose the general enemy, and for the safety and independence of all, force him to respect the laws acknowledged by all enlightened nations.—From this short exposition, it is evident that his Imperial Majesty's endeavours tend solely to the establishment of general peace in Europe, upon such a foundation as may secure in future, the existence of the powers in alliance with Russia; and, consequently, insure the Russian empire itself from all danger which ultimately might ensue from the insatiable domineering ambition of the present ruler of France.—Sending this to your Excellency by the immediate command of the Emperor, I have the honour to add, that it will be agreeable to his Majesty, if the present unusual motion of the troops, and marching so many over the frontiers, should give cause to observations or inquiries concerning the reasons, that you will in your province, from the contents of this letter, give the proper explanations and directions to the public opinion.

Letter of the Imperial Marshal Massena, General in Chief of the Army of Italy, to the Imperial Marshal Berthier, Minister at War. Dated Head Quarters at Alpo, Oct. 18, 1805, at Midnight.

I have the honour to inform you, Marshal, that the moment the period agreed on with Prince Charles was elapsed, I commenced my operations with vigour. At 4 o'clock this morning I attacked the bridge of the Old Castle of Verona, and passed the Adige. I hasten to give you an account of the result of the day's transactions.—I had assembled the army at Zevis, and its environs, so as to be able to repair to any quarter where the enemy might attempt a passage. This assemblage of force gave rise to serious apprehensions respecting my real designs. I ordered a false attack to be made on my right, and at the same time gave orders that an appearance of hostile movement should be made on my left: my intention was to distract the enemy by those various movements, and the event has amply justified my expectations. The first object to be accomplished was to throw down the walls that

barricaded the middle of the bridge, which was effected by a device of a very daring nature. The two cuts that the Austrians had made were rendered passable by means of planks, and immediately 24 companies of light troops, selected from the divisions of Gardanne and Duhesme, precipitated themselves from the other side of the river, and on the cover of the guns of the old castle, and were soon followed by the whole of the first division, commanded by General Gardanne. The enemy defended the passage in great numbers, and made a very vigorous resistance. They were driven back, however, and pursued to the heights. The reinforcements sent by Prince Charles arrived in all directions, and continued the action with great obstinacy from four in the morning till six in the evening. The Austrians did not leave the field till they found the most vigorous exertions unavailing. We at last succeeded in driving them from all their positions and destroying their entrenchments. 7 pieces of cannon and 18 waggons are the fruit of this day's action; we have made from 14 to 1500 prisoners: they have left 1200 men on the field, and have a great number of wounded. On our side we have lost very few soldiers; we have 300 wounded, but their wounds for the most part are but trifling.—Please present to his Majesty the Emperor and King this first pledge of the valour of his army of Italy; and have the goodness to remind him at the same time, of our respectful devotion and zeal in the execution of his designs. I have the honour to salute you. MASSENA.

Proclamation issued by General Menou before setting out for the Camp of Alexandria. Dated Turin, Oct. 23, 1805.

After a bloody war, which had tired the universe, the peace of Amiens restored tranquillity and hope to nations. France, scarcely recovered from convulsions which had threatened her existence, sought to repair her losses, by making her industry revive, by re-creating her marine, and re-animating her commerce; but England, that indefatigable enemy of the French name, only wished for peace, in order to renew, in silence, her connections with the Continent, and to raise new enemies against a power whom she tires with her perfidies, but who will punish her by its triumphs.—The war recommenced by sea. Napoleon assembled his invincible legions; he formed at Boulogne, by immense labours, a flotilla, on which 150,000 brave fellows were already embarked: the day of vengeance was approaching, when the gold of the East Indies, which, for several years, England has employed only to form conspiracies against the hero of France, or to corrupt the ministers of some powers; when, I say, this gold put arms in the hands of Austria and Russia; and in what circumstances? At the instant in which the cabinets of these two powers believed the French troops already on the coast of England, and that they made themselves sure of easy success.—Is this loyalty? Is this honourable? Is this the example of Napoleon? Our illustrious Emperor would think himself dishonoured if he acted thus, and all Frenchmen would think the same. Generosity and magnanimity always go hand in hand with true courage.—Powers who have conducted yourselves so disloyally, what will you gain by recommencing the loss of your armies, and of your importance? England has opened for you her treasures, or rather she has paid you for the shame with which you are going to cover yourselves, for the disasters which you are going to experience; she alone will find in it her momentary advantage. Already, perhaps, does she insult your credulity. She will cover the sea with her ships, but she will forget her allies; she knows no other calculation; gold is her only thought.—People, and inhabitants of the departments beyond the Alps, his Majesty the Emperor and King has confided to me the command of a flying camp below Alexandria: I am going to put myself at its head: with it I shall be every where, I shall see every thing. I shall travel over the departments; I hope to find faithful subjects, and submissive to his Majesty. But if, contrary to my expectation, I should meet with any restless and turbulent men, seeking disorder, leading the people from their duty, wishing or endeavouring to renew hopes founded on folly and ignorance, I shall then be inexorable; I shall punish with the greatest severity. But I shall likewise make known to the Emperor and King those who, guided by the honour and fidelity which they owe to their Sovereign, merit his good will and that of his country. I am convinced, before hand, that they will be a great majority.—People, remember constantly that the contributions should be paid with the greatest exactness, that the conscripts ought to march with rapidity to join the corps for which they are destined. Let them follow the example of the brave 26th regiment of chasseurs, which, almost wholly composed of Piedmontese, have acquired immortal glory, by beating and putting to flight the regiment and cuirassiers of the Archduke Ferdinand.—People, second my efforts also against robbers and thieves: your interest recommends it.—I shall watch,

in the rapid courses which I am going to make with the flying camp, that no depredation shall be committed. You know French soldiers: they are as well disciplined as they are courageous. Reckon upon their gentleness, when you conduct yourselves well: but also let the evil disposed count on their exactness in executing my orders, when they are to act against perturbators and the ill-intentioned.—You ought to know me, people of the departments beyond the Alps. You know whether I do not work constantly at every thing which can contribute to your welfare: but also know, that when, to fulfil my duties, and to cause our magnanimous Emperor to be respected, is in question, no consideration can stop me.——Ministers of worship, it belongs to you to second powerfully my labours. You are the interpreters of the Living God. It is himself who has said, 'Give unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's.' Preach continually then that maxim to the people; they will believe you, and you will have fulfilled one of the most sacred of your duties.

Proclamation of the Marshal of the Empire to the Inhabitants of the Bank of the Rhine, dated Mentz, Oct. 26, 1805.

The union of your provinces with France marks two celebrated epochs in the history of nations. A great King made of them but one family, which subsequent revolutions tore asunder: a greater hero, after several ages, has re-constituted the same society, and it is thus that certain events are reproduced in the stages of life by the same genius of men, and the convenience of people.—If victory has formed these new ties, they have been also consecrated by a sage policy. The certainty of French commerce was wanting to your industry, and the fertility of your soil. Nature had uselessly placed your territory under the protection of a grand river; it was, from the disorder of natural limits, but the theatre of the wars of all Europe, and constantly abandoned to devastation: your warlike virtues were humbled by the isolated state of your small principalities, and a too feeble union of your means; you wished to conquer, and you could not! France herself was jealous of appropriating your sentiments of honour, and your courage, to her military: this grand agreement was pronounced by the treaty of Luneville; and, since the princes who governed you, now make their interests depend upon the success of your arms, who could believe that you yourselves, pressed by more powerful interests, should cease to be Frenchmen?—No one could better make that eulogy on you than the general who commands you. I am not a stranger to your manners, to your language, nor to your character; and I judge of your zeal in seconding my operations, by that which I experience in defending your homes. The Emperor was the first to render justice to the sentiments of the inhabitants of the Banks of the Rhine; he has considered them as an invincible rampart on the borders of France; and he has assimilated their national guards to the bravest French troops, whom he does not cease to conduct to victory.—You will justify this flattering opinion, inhabitants of the Banks of the Rhine, if circumstances, which the most brilliant successes do not permit us to fear, should require it. I shall then be among you; I shall guide your courage; but till then you shall not be taken away from your domestic interests; you shall not be taken away from your families until it becomes necessary to defend them; and reckon that the civil and military authorities always placed at your head, will not direct your zeal but towards what may be useful to your safety, establish your reputation, and prove your devotion to the Emperor.

Austria and France.——*Proclamation of the Emperor of Austria, Francis II. Elective Emperor of the Romans, Hereditary Emperor of Austria, &c. Dated Vienna, Oct. 28, 1805.*

The Emperor of France has compelled me to take up arms. To his ardent desire of military achievements, his passion to be recorded in history under the title of a Conqueror, the limits of France, already so much enlarged, and defined by sacred treaties, still appear too narrow. He wishes to unite in his own hands all the ties upon which depends the balance of Europe. The fairest fruits of exalted civilization, every species of happiness which a nation can enjoy, and which results from peace and concord; every thing which, even by himself, as the Sovereign of a great civilized people, must be held dear and estimable, is to be destroyed by a war of conquests: and thus the greater part of Europe is to be compelled to submit to the laws and mandates of France.—This project announces all that the Emperor of France has performed, threatened, or promised. He respects no proposition which reminds him of the regard prescribed by the law of nations to the sacredness of treaties, and of the first obligations which are due towards foreign independent states. At the very time that he knew of the mediation of Russia, and of every step which directed

equally by a regard to my own dignity, and to the feelings of my heart, I adopted, for the re-establishment of tranquillity, the security of my states, and the promotion of a general peace, his views were fully disclosed, and no choice was left between war, and unarmed, abject submission!—Under these circumstances, I took hold of that hand which the Emperor of Russia, animated by the noblest feelings in behalf of the cause of justice and independence, stretched forth to support me. Far from attacking the throne of the Emperor of France, and keeping steadily in view the preservation of peace, which we so publicly and sincerely stated to be our only wish, we declared in the presence of all Europe, 'that we would, in no event, interfere in the internal concerns of France, 'nor make any alteration in the new constitution which Germany received after the 'peace of Luneville.' Peace and independence were the only objects which we wished to attain; no ambitious views, no intention, such as that since ascribed to me, of subjugating Bavaria, had any share in our councils.—But the Sovereign of France, totally regardless of the general tranquillity, listened not to these overtures. Wholly absorbed in himself, and occupied only with the display of his own greatness and omnipotence, he collected all his force, compelled Holland and the Elector of Baden to join him; whilst his secret ally, the Elector Palatine, false to his sacred promise, voluntarily delivered himself up to him; violated, in the most insulting manner, the neutrality of the King of Prussia, at the very moment that he had given the most solemn promises to respect it; and by these violent proceedings he succeeded in surrounding and cutting off a part of the troops which I had ordered to take a position on the Danube and the Iller, and finally, in compelling them to surrender, after a brave resistance.—A proclamation no less furious than any to which the dreadful period of the French revolution gave birth, was issued, in order to animate the French army to the highest pitch of courage.—Let the intoxication of success, or the unhallowed and iniquitous spirit of revenge, actuate the foe: calm and firm I stand in the midst of 25 millions of people, who are dear to my heart, and to my family. I have a claim upon their love, for I desire their happiness. I have a claim upon their assistance, for whatever they venture for the throne, they venture for themselves, their own families, their posterity, their own happiness and tranquillity, and for the preservation of all that is sacred and dear to them.—With fortitude the Austrian monarchy arose from every storm which menaced it during the preceding centuries. Its intrinsic vigour is still undecayed. There still exists in the breast of those good and loyal men, for whose prosperity and tranquillity I combat, that antient patriotic spirit, which is ready to make every sacrifice, and to dare every thing, to save what must be saved; their throne and their independence, the national honour and the national prosperity.—From this spirit of patriotism on the part of my subjects, I expect, with a proud and tranquil confidence, every thing that is great and good; but above all things, unanimity, and a quick, firm, and courageous co-operation in every measure, that shall be ordered, to keep the rapid strides of the enemy off from our frontier, until those numerous and powerful auxiliaries can act, which my exalted ally, the Emperor of Russia, and other powers, have destined to combat for the liberties of Europe, and the security of thrones and of nations. Success will not forsake a just cause for ever; and the unanimity of the Sovereigns, the proud manly courage, and the conscious strength of their people, will soon obliterate the first disasters. Peace will flourish again; and in my love, my gratitude, and their own prosperity, my faithful subjects will find a full compensation for every sacrifice which I am obliged to require for their own preservation.——In the name, and at the express command of the Emperor and King, Francis Count Saurau.

Continental War.—*Austrian Official Accounts relative to the Operations of the War. From the Vienna Court Gazette, Oct.* 20, 1805.

1, *Action at Wertingen, the 8th October, under the Command of the Field-Marshal Baron* Auffenberg.—On the evening of the 7th Oct. Field-Marshal Lieut. Baron Auffenberg was detached from Guntzburgh to Wertingen, with six battalions of grenadiers, three battalions of fusileers, two squadrons of cuirassiers, of the Duke Albert's regiment, and two squadrons of light-horse of Latour, to frustrate the enemy's intentions, who had passed the Danube near Donauwerb. On the following day, in the forenoon, the enemy made several motions, which seemed to threaten our division at Wertingen, and made us suspect that they were advancing to attack the same with a considerable force. As they developed themselves more and more, and especially by the march of some strong columns towards Zunmershausen, and to the road of Guntzburgh, their intentions became more and more evident: at last the battalions of infantry, which stood

at Wertingen, at a great distance from the army, were attacked with the greatest impetuosity, by a more numerous cavalry of the enemy; and, notwithstanding the gallantry shewn by the repeated exertions of our two divisions of cavalry, to support the infantry, they were too weak to withstand such a force. The loss on our side was one officer and 100 men killed, 12 officers and 220 men wounded, and 52 officers and 1469 men taken prisoners. The battalions of Spork and Archduke Lewis grenadiers have suffered the most; three stand of colours, six pieces of cannon, and several caissons, have also fallen into the hands of the enemy. The Field Marshal Lieut. Auffenberg was missed the next day, and supposed to be taken prisoner.

2. *Action of Guntzburgh, the 9th of Oct. between the Imperial and Royal Army, and the 6th Division of the French Army, under the Command of Marshal* NEY.

On the 8th of Oct. a division of the Imperial and Royal Army advanced from Ulm to Guntzburgh, to assemble in that quarter the regiments which were still absent, and arriving from their cantonments; and afterwards, if circumstances should be favourable, to proceed again to the right bank of the Danube, and march against the enemy, if they should attempt to pass that river. On the 9th the army encamped near Guntzburgh, leaning its right upon the village of Simlach, and the left upon Reisersburgh. The bridges on the Danube were occupied as far as Leipheim; the Austrian General D'Aspres was posted also on the left bank of the Danube, with a corps of light troops, to send out some picquets, and to get intelligence relative to the enemy. No sooner was the camp of Guntzburgh formed, but the corps under General D'Aspres was compelled to retreat to the other side of the Danube, with some loss, and the said General himself became missing on the occasion.—Thereupon the enemy, under the command of Marshal Ney, advanced with a considerable force to the bridges of the Danube, attempted to pass over them, and to drive our troops from the bank. During the whole afternoon their exertions were fruitless: but, towards the evening, a strong column of the enemy succeeded in overpowering the bridge of the highway near Guntzburgh, and entered that town. The division of Blankenstein hussars charged this close column with much bravery, but as the latter had already reached in part the adjoining wood, the division was obliged to retreat. Thus, when night came on, the enemy remained master of the right bank, near Guntzburgh. All further attacks, and the passage of the river, were given up, and our troops retreated to Ulm, during the night from the 9th to the 10th. Our loss in killed cannot yet be stated, as the regiments have not yet had time to send in their lists.—About 500 wounded have remained behind in the hospitals at Guntzburgh, and near 600 men have been taken prisoners by the enemy. They have also taken one piece of of cannon of the regiment of Spork infantry.

3. *Action near Ulm, the 11th October, between the Imperial and Royal Army, and the 6th Division of the French Army under the Command of Marshal* NEY.

On the 11th of October, at noon, the right wing of the Imperial and Royal Army, before Ulm, was attacked with great impetuosity by the French Army of Observation under Marshal Ney. The French intended to take Ulm by a *coup de main*, under cover of that attack. Our right wing repelled all the attacks of the enemy with the greatest perseverance and courage. At the same time the Field-Marshal Lieutenant Mack caused a considerable part of our left wing to advance, and succeeded in turning the right wing of the enemy, of which two regiments of cavalry, and two regiments of infantry, were almost entirely cut to pieces. The enemy retreated in the greatest disorder, and dropt down the Danube, leaving about 1500 killed behind them on the field of battle. We have taken from 8 to 600 prisoners, 11 pieces of cannon, and twenty caissons, with a number of other waggons, and a deal of baggage; amongst the latter was that of General Dupont. The Field-Marshal Lieutenants Prince Schwartzenberg, Count Klenau, and Count Giulay, the cuirassier regiments of the Archduke Albert, and of Mack, and the regiment of light horse of Latour, have particularly distinguished themselves; all the other Generals and officers, as well as all the other troops, have shewn the utmost perseverance and steadiness, with the greatest activity and courage. Our loss hardly amounts to a few hundred. The action, and the pursuit of the enemy, lasted till a late hour in the night.

VIENNA, Oct. 26.—In the evening of the 14th Oct., H. R. H. the Archduke Ferdinand, with a division of the Grand Army, consisting chiefly of cavalry, broke up from the vicinity of Ulm, and accompanied by Field-Marshal Prince Schwartzenburg, directed his march through Franconia.—On the 19th Oct. his head-quarters were at

Guntzenhausen, a little town in the Principality of Anspach, where H. R. H., with the whole of his troops, met with that reception which was to be expected from our very friendly relations with the court of Prussia. A number of the enemy were made prisoners, and many pieces of artillery fell into his hands, during this retreat into the Upper Palatinate. Besides the division of the Grand Army, which at an earlier period was detached from it under Field-Marshal Kienmayer, and which is at present united with the first Imperial Russian Army on the Inn, another division has likewise effected its retreat in safety to the Tyrolese, under the command of Field-Marshal Jellachich.—In the mean time the division which remained at Ulm had to sustain the most furious attacks. On the 14th of Oct., in particular, a hot and bloody engagement took place. The contest was carried on at all the points round Ulm, and particularly on the mountains of Michel, Galgen, and Kuhe, with the utmost fury, with great loss on both sides, and with various success. Superiority of numbers, but particularly the position of the French army, which nothing but the previous violation of the Prussian territory could have rendered fortunate, decided the day in favour of the foe. By this circumstance, and by the greatest sacrifices, they purchased, at a very dear rate, what advantages they obtained.—On the 17th of Oct., as we have just learned, the division of the Imperial and Royal army, which still occupied Ulm, being completely surrounded by a concentered force, and, notwithstanding the most courageous exertions, being incapable of any longer defending themselves in unfinished fortifications, found themselves under the lamentable necessity of assenting to propositions of capitulation. The terms however, of the capitulation are not yet known; and as regular official details could not be forwarded during this unintermitted, and almost unexampled contest, we are as little capable of giving any further information relative to the other proximate and remote circumstances which accompannied this event. The loss is most certainly heavy and afflicting, but it is neither overwhelming nor decisive; for the extensive dominions of the Austrian Monarchy, inhabited by a people so brave and loyal, have still sufficient resources left to retrieve it, and again to conciliate the smiles of fickle fortune.—Tyrol is covered by the troops which formerly occupied it, and which have since been joined by the corps under Field-Marshal Jellachich, by its militia, its levy-in-mass, and the loyalty and courage of its inhabitants, and, by the re-inforcements which have proceeded thither, by forced marches, from the Army in Italy, and which, under Field-Marshals Chasteller and Saint Julien, defend the northern passes.—The united Russian and Austrian army, under the Russian and Imperial Commanders Kutusow and Field-Marshals Meerveld and Kienmayer, covers the Inn. The second very numerous Russian army, under General Buxhoevden, is advancing with rapid strides to form a junction with it. The magnanimous resolutions of the Sovereigns of Russia and Prussia justify the most consoling expectations. All these considerations combined with the powerful assistance of the brave and generous Hungarians, will form a satisfactory whole, and in all other respects nothing will be omitted which can contribute to the common safety.

Vienna, Oct. 30.—His Royal Highness the Archduke Charles, Minister at War, and Commander in Chief in Italy, has communicated advices from his head-quarters at St. Stephano, of the date Oct. 19th, that the enemy, on the 18th, at five in the morning, commenced hostilities, by a brisk fire of artillery and small arms on several points of the Adige. His object was to engage the attention of the army at several places, and attempt a passage; and he, in fact, succeeded in passing the river near Verona, and likewise at Bonavigo. The passage at the former of these places could not be contested with him, on account of his advantageous situation, protected by Castel Vecchio; and at the latter it was favoured by a strongly fortified island in the Adige, and the assistance of several mills and boats. H. R. H., judging that his right wing, resting against Caldiero, would be strong enough to resist the enemy near Verona, and feeling more disquietude for his left wing, proceeded on the 18th, in the evening, with the centre of his army, towards Caddi-Setto, in order to attack the enemy at day-break, in three columns, at Albaredo, Pitastro, and St. Stephano di Minerva, near Bonavigo; he did not, however, wait this attack, but left the bank of the Adige in the night, and destroyed his bridge.—H. R. H., on his return to St. Stephano, learned that the enemy had in like manner abandoned the heights he had occupied near Verona, and retired under the artillery of Castel Vecchio, and that he had left on this side only one post, under the protection of his batteries, which H. R. H. proposed to attack the next day. The enemy has as yet attempted nothing against the Tyrol, nor against the troops posted on the Inn. The battles he

has been obliged to fight in the environs of Ulm, have greatly weakened his army.—His Majesty the Emperor and King, accompanied by Count Lambartie, has set out for the Austro-Russian wing on the Inn, in order to make in person such dispositions as circumstances may require.—It is said the Archduke Charles will leave Italy, and likewise repair to that army, whence he will return to this city with his august brother, to receive the Emperor of Russia. The head-quarters of this army, which has been joined by a strong Russian division, are at Brannon; the principal corps of the Russian army is more in the rear, and General Kutusow has his head quarters at Ems. General Mack has been sent provisionally as a state prisoner to Brunn, where a council of war will be held upon his conduct.—

Russia.—*Letter written by the Austrian Ambassador in London to the Editor of the Morning Post, dated Portland Place, Nov.* 1, 1805.

Sir; I shall be obliged to you to correct a statement in the Morning Post of Friday, November 1, in which, speaking of the causes of the late events on the Continent, is mentioned as a circumstance contributing to them, "*The tardy advance of the Russians, whose arrival is a full month behind the time it was expected.*" Upon this statement I beg to observe, and to request your publicity, that it is completely the reverse of the state of the case, which is, that the Russians were full twelve days earlier at their posts than they had promised, or could have been expected; and that nothing but the most extraordinary and unprecedented exertions could have effected this promptitude.—"You are at liberty to insert this note if you think it the *best* means of answering the desired object of my request to you. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

Louis Count Stahremberg.

Continental War.—*Eleventh Bulletin of the Grand Army; from the French Official Paper, the Moniteur, of the* 1*st of Nov.* 1805.

The Emperor arrived at Munich on the 24th of Oct., at 9 in the evening. The town was illuminated with much taste. The Emperor gave an audience on his arrival to the principal Officers of the Elector, the Foreign Ministers, and the Magistrates, with whom he remained long in conversation. Prince Murat, who has exhibited an astonishing activity in all his operations, had arrived at Munich. He bestows the highest praises on the chasseurs and carabineers of the Imperial Guards. A treasure, amounting to 200,000 guilders, fell into their hands; but they left it untouched, and pushed on in pursuit of the enemy. In the last action Prince Ferdinand escaped on the horse of a Lieutenant of Cavalry. A number of Austrian soldiers which have escaped into Franconia, have occasioned great disorder there. All the enemy's baggage was taken. The army is in full march for the Inn, where Marshal Bernadotte, General Marmont, and Marshal Davoust, were to be on the evening of the 26th. [For the Twelfth Bulletin of the Grand Army, see p. 761.]

Thirteenth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Haag, Oct. 28, 1805.—The army under Marshal Bernadotte advanced from Munich on the 26th, and arrived the next day at Wasserburgh, on the Inn, and proceeded to Altenmarkt, where it halted that night. Six arches of the bridge had been burned down. Count Manucci, Colonel of the Bavarian army, advanced from Roth to Rosenheim. He also found the bridge burned, and the enemy on the other side. After a brisk cannonade, the enemy retired from the right bank; several battalions of French and Bavarians passed the Inn, and, on the 28th, at noon, both the bridges were completely repaired. Colonels Morio and Somis, of the Engineers, were indefatigable in their exertions to re-establish the bridges. The enemy were hotly pursued as soon as the troops could pass over; fifty of their rear-guard were taken prisoners.—Marshal Davoust, with the army under his command, set out from Freysing on the 26th, and reached Muhldorff on the 27th. The enemy defended the right bank of the river, where they had some batteries advantageously placed. The bridge had been so much destroyed, that it was with difficulty repaired. On the 28th, at noon, a considerable part of Marshal Davoust's division had passed over.—Prince Murat ordered a brigade of cavalry to pass over the bridge of Muhldorff, caused the bridges of Oeting and Marekhl to be repaired, and crossed them with a part of his reserve. The Emperor himself went to Haag.—The division of Marshal Soult lay on their arms beyond Haag; the corps under the command of General Marmont is to halt this night at Wilsbiburgh; that of Marshal Ney at Landsberg; Marshal Lannes's on the road from Landshut to Braunau. From all the information which has been received, it appears that the Russian army is retreating.—There has been a great deal of rain during the day. All the country between the Iser and the Inn is nothing but a con-

tinued forest of fir trees; the soil is excessively barren. The army has much reason to be satisfied with the zeal and attention of the inhabitants of Munich, in supplying them with such articles of provision as they required.

Fourteenth Official Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Braunau, Oct. 30.—Marshal Bernadotte arrived at 10 this morning at Saltzbourgh. The Elector had quitted it several days before. A corps of 6,000 men, which was placed there, had precipitately retired on the preceding evening. The Imperial head-quarters were on the 28th ult. at Haag, on the 29th at Muhldorff, and this day at Braunau. Marshal Davoust employed the whole of yesterday in repairing the bridge of Muhldorff. The first regiment of Chasseurs made a fine charge against the enemy, killed 20 men, and took several prisoners, among whom was a Captain of Hussars.—Marshal Lannes arrived yesterday with the cavalry at the bridge of Braunau. He had set out from Landshut. The bridge was cut away. He immediately embarked 60 men in two boats. The enemy, who were pursued by the Reserve under Prince Murat in other directions, abandoned the city. The boldness of the Chasseurs of the 13th contributed to hasten the enemy's retreat.—The misunderstanding between the Russians and Austrians begins to shew itself. The Russians plunder every where. The best informed Officers among them are perfectly aware, that the war which they wage is impolitic, since they have nothing to gain against the French, whom nature has not placed in a situation to be their enemies.—Braunau, as we find may be considered one of the finest and most useful acquisitions of the Army. This place is surrounded with a circumvallation, fortified with bastions, draw-bridges, a half-moon, and ditches full of water. There are numerous magazines of artillery, all in good condition; but what will with difficulty be believed is, that it is completely supplied with provisions. We found there 40,000 rations of bread, ready to be distributed, and more than 1000 sacks of flour. The artillery of the place consists of 45 pieces of cannon, with change of carriages, mortars provided with more than 40,000 cannon shot, and some howitzers. The Russians left behind them about a thousand weight of powder, great quantities of cartridges, lead, a thousand muskets, and all the ammunition necessary to support a long siege. The Emperor has appointed General Lauriston, arrived from Cadiz, Governor of the place, and the head-quarters were established there.

Fifteenth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Braunau, Oct. 31.—Several Russian deserters are already arrived, among them is a serjeant-major, a native of Moscow, a very intelligent man. It may be easily imagined that he was questioned by every one. He tells us, that the Russian army is quite differently disposed now towards the French, than what it was in the last war; that the prisoners who returned from France, had spoken in high praise of it; that there were six in his company who were removed from it at the time they left Poland; that if all the men who returned from France had been suffered to remain in the regiments, there can be no doubt but they would all have deserted; that the Russians were very sorry to fight for the Germans, whom they detest; and that they had a high opinion of the French valour. He was asked if they loved the Emperor Alexander; he replied, that they were too wretched to have any attachment for him; that the soldiers were fonder of the Emperor Paul, but that the Nobility prefered the Emperor Alexander; that the Russians in general were very happy to quit their own country, because they lived better, and were better paid; that none of them wished to go back to Russia; and that they would rather establish themselves in other climates than return under the authority of so harsh a government; that they were aware that the Austrians had lost every battle, and were in a lamentable situation.—Prince Murat set out in pursuit of the enemy. He overtook the rear guard of the Austrians, about 6000 strong, on the road to Merobach. To get sight of them and charge them was only one exertion for the cavalry. This rear guard was dispersed on the heights of Ried. The enemy's cavalry then rallied, to protect the passage of the infantry through a defile; but the first regiment of Chasseurs, and the division of Dragoons, under General Beaumont, overwhelmed them, and rushed into the defile along with the infantry of the enemy. The action was very sharp: but the darkness of the night saved the enemy's corps. Part of them saved themselves in the woods, and there were only 500 prisoners taken. The advanced guard of the division of Prince Murat took a position at Haag. Col. Montbrun, of the 1st regiment of Chasseurs, covered himself with glory. The 8th regiment of Dragoons maintained its ancient character. A quarter-master of this regiment having had his wrist shot off, said, in

the presence of the Prince, as he was passing: "I regret the loss of my hand, because I can no longer serve our brave Emperor." The Emperor, on being made acquainted with this circumstance, said: "There I recognise the spirit of the Eighth. Let a profitable situation, according to his rank, be given to this quarter-master, in the Palace of Versailles."—The inhabitants of Braunau, according to custom, carried to their houses a great part of the magazines. A Proclamation brought all back again. There are at present 1000 sacks of flour, a great quantity of oats, magazines of artillery of every kind, and 60,000 rations of bread, of which we are in great want. A part of it was distributed to the division under Marshal Soult.—Marshal Bernadotte is arrived at Saltzbourg. The enemy retreated by the road of Carinthia and Wels. A regiment of infantry wished to keep possession of the villiage of Hallen. It was obliged to retreat towards the village of Colling, where the Marshal hoped that General Kellerman, would be able to cut off their retreat, and take them prisoners.—We are assured by the inhabitants, that the Emperor of Germany, in his anxiety, came to Wels, where he learnt the disaster of his army. He also became acquainted there with the clamours of his Austrian and Bohemian subjects, against the Russians, who commit such pillage and violence, that they long for the arrival of the French, to deliver them from these extraordinary allies. Marshal Davoust, with his army took a position between Ried and Haag. All the other divisions of the army are advancing, but the weather is horrible. It has snowed six inches deep, and the roads are in consequence detestable. The Secretary of State Maret has joined the Emperor at Braunau. The Elector of Bavaria has returned to Munich. He was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the inhabitants of his capital. Several mails from Vienna had been intercepted. The last letters were dated on the 18th of October. Some intelligence of the action at Wertingen had reached it, and had created the greatest consternation there. Provisions were so dear, that few persons could afford to purchase them. Vienna was threatened with a famine; and yet the harvest had been very productive; but the depreciation of the paper-money, and of the assignments, upon which there was a loss of 40 per cent. had raised every thing to an exorbitant price. Every one was persuaded, that the Austrian paper currency must be completely destroyed.—The husbandman would no longer exchange his produce for a paper currency of no value. There is not a man in all Germany, who does not consider the English as the authors of the war, and the Emperors Francis and Alexander as the victims of their intrigues. The cry in every mouth is, that there will be no peace as long as England is governed by an Oligarchy, and governed it will be in that way as long as George lives. The accession of the Prince of Wales is therefore generally wished for on this account, that it will put an end to the power of the few, who in all countries are selfish and insensible to the misfortunes of the people.********* The Emperor Alexander was expected at Vienna, but he changed his mind. It is reported he is gone to Berlin.

OPERATIONS OF THE FRENCH ARMY OF ITALY.

Second Official Bulletin of the Army of Italy, from the Moniteur, dated Oct. 20, 1805.

The general in chief attacked the enemy this morning at five. Whilst, on their left wing, the division of General Sessa passed the Adige at Polo, that of General Verdier manœuvred from Ronco to Albaro; at the same time the divisions of the Generals Gardanne and Duhesme, extending themselves before the bridge of the Old Castle of Verona, attacked the heights of Val Pantena, and drew round the Castle of St. Felice; when the general in chief, availing himself of their position, obliged the enemy to evacuate Veronette.—The pallisadoes of the new bridge were immediately cut down, and the division of horse chasseurs, under General Espagne; that of grenadiers, under General Partonneaux; the cavalry of reserve, commanded by General Monnet; and the division of General Molitor, marched through Veronette, and proceeded to the great road of St. Michel, where the Austrians opposed us with their infantry and cavalry, protected by several pieces of cannon. The cavalry was ordered to make repeated charges, which were executed with activity, and supported by the grenadiers of the division of Molitor. In one of those charges the squadron of guides forced 500 men, infantry, to lay down their arms. The enemy were routed, driven from the village of St. Michel, and pursued as far as beyond St. Martin, whilst we occupied Vago: 1600 prisoners, and two pieces of cannon, have been the result of this day's engagement. The Austrians have left many killed on the field of battle. Our loss is trifling: we have near 100 wounded. The army is pursuing its success.—The divisions of the different corps manœuvred with precision; the general in chief commends the courage and zeal shewn by the troops during the attack. He can testify to his Majesty the Emperor, that they

burn with desire to follow the example of the grand army, and to deserve a participation in the noble rewards which his Majesty presents to courage.

Third Official Bulletin of the Army of Italy, dated Head Quarters at Lago, Oct. 30.

After the action of the 29th, the army took a position two miles on this side of Caldiero. On the 30th it attacked the enemy the whole length of their line. The division of Molitor, forming the left, began the action; that of General Gardanne attacked the centre, and that of General Duhesme the right. These different attacks were well executed and happily conducted. The village of Caldiero was carried amidst cries of 'Long live the Emperor,' and the enemy was pursued to the very heights.—At half-past 4 Prince Charles ordered his reserve, consisting of 24 battalions of grenadiers, and several regiments, to advance. The battle then became more general. The troops of his Majesty displayed their usual bravery. The cavalry made several successful charges; some battalions of grenadiers engaged at the same time, and the bayonet decided the fate of the day. The enemy kept up a fire from 30 pieces of cannon planted in their entrenchments. Notwithstanding the obstinacy of their resistance, they were beaten and pursued to the very redoubts at the other side of Caldiero.——We have taken 3,500 prisoners; the field of battle was strewed with Austrians; their loss in killed and wounded was at least equal to the number that were taken prisoners. Prince Charles requested a truce to bury the dead. Our loss is very insignificant, compared with that of the enemy. The marshal-general in chief speaks in the highest terms of the bravery and attachment of the army. He will make particular mention of the brilliant exploits which have distinguished this day, and will make a special report to the Emperor of the names of the brave men to whom the honour of it is due. The army of General St. Cyr is arrived.

Fourth Official Bulletin of the Army of Italy.

Head-quarters at Montebello, Nov. 2.—In consequence of the battle of the 31st, the position of the army before Caldiero, and the orders given on the preceding day to the division of Seras, a column of the enemy, amounting to 5000 men, was separated from the corps of General Rosemberg, and cut off in such a manner that it could neither retreat through the vallies nor rejoin the main army. The Commander in Chief, on being informed that, on the 1st instant, this column was marching to the heights of St. Leonards, sent one of his aides-de-camp to summon it to surrender. The General Officer, Hillinger, who commanded it, not seeing any troops, declared his intention to defend himself. The 22d regiment of light infantry, under Colonel Goquet, then received orders to advance from Veronetta: the enemy made a movement to approach him, and forced him to take a position under the walls of the Castle of San Felice. The Commander in Chief repaired immediately to the spot, and ordered four battalions of grenadiers to surround the enemy. Gen. Charpentier, the Chief of the Staff, was charged with these dispositions, which he executed with precision in concert with Gen. Solignac. A new summons was then sent to the enemy, who found himself under the necessity of laying down his arms. A capitulation, signed by the Commander of the enemy's columns, and by General Solignac, put into our hands 5000 prisoners, with their arms and baggage, 70 officers, one Brigadier, one Major, one Colonel, 80 horses, &c, &c.—Prince Charles, on his side, finding that a column of his army had been cut off, apprehensive of being turned in his position, proceeded to effect his retreat. We were informed, that he had made some movements in the night. At the break of day, reconnoitering parties were sent out to all parts of his line. The division of chasseurs on horseback, under General Espagne, and the light division of General Gardanne, set forward in pursuit of the Austrians, who were harrassed through the day, and of whom we made 600 prisoners. We this day are at Montebello. To-morrow the army will proceed on its march.

——

Capitulation between General SOLIGNAC, *commanding a Corps of Grenadiers belonging to the Royal and Imperial Army of his Majesty the* EMPEROR *of the* FRENCH *on the one Part, and Brigadier General* HILLINGER, *commanding a Corps of the Troops of his Royal and Imperial Majesty the* EMPEROR *of* GERMANY.

ART. I. The Austrian troops, commanded by General Hillinger, are made prisoners of war, under the following conditions:—II. General Hillinger, as well as all the officers under his command, shall retain their swords, horses, and baggage. They shall be permitted to return to Vienna on their parole of honour not to serve against France, or her allies, until exchanged.—III. The soldiers shall lay down their arms before they enter Verona. They shall retain their booty,

(*Butin*). IV. All the wounded Austrians in the neighbourhood of Payano and Grazzano, shall be immediately removed to the French army, in order that they may be there properly treated. V. The troops of his Majesty the Emperor of Germany, having fought with the greatest intrepidity, and not having capitulated until they were completely surrounded, the French army will do for them every thing that is due to military courage. Done in duplicate at Cara Albartini, Nov. 2, 1805. (Signed) HILLINGER, &c. [Here follow the other signatures].

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

HUNGARY.——*Address of the Archduke Palatine after making the Royal Propositions to the Hungarian Diet. Dated Oct.* 30, 1805.

Every one must perceive in what difficult times the administration of my office, the first in the kingdom, conferred upon me by the free voice of the magnats and the state, and confirmed by his Apostolic Majesty, has fallen.—The execution of the first and greatest duty imposed on me of watching over the preservation of the constitution of the country, could cost me little pains, while the sceptre of Hungary is held by a Prince so generous, so just, and so devoted to the interests of his subjects, that from the tenderness of his conscience, and from love to his people, he never, in circumstances of the greatest pressure, adopts any measure of his own royal authority, which would deviate in the least from the constitution of his empire. He always expects with confidence from the wisdom and generosity of the Hungarian nation, represented by its magnats and deputies, that they never will leave one of his wishes unaccomplished, which has for its object to cover the necessities of the state, and to ward off every danger which would threaten their native country, their old constitution, and the existence of the monarchy. —At the present moment the constitution of Hungary, and the very existence of the state, are exposed to the most imminent dangers by the destructive plans of the enemy.—Hostile plans, in times past, have been counteracted by the wisdom, providence and generosity of the states, and by the valour of the Hungarian nation. Now, however, the enemy having increased his territory and his power, is become much stronger, and wishes haughtily to subject us to his pleasure. He no longer considers the Hungarian nation, which, before, he knew how to respect.—Whence this insolence! Does he believe that we (I have the right to speak, for Hungarian blood also flows in my veins.) Does he indeed believe, I say, that we, unnerved or dispirited by fear, have given up all hope of saving our native land; all care for the fate of our posterity? Does he believe that we are become traitors to our dearest interests, to our worthy Monarch, to the crown and the kingdom, to our posterity and to our honour? I would rather die than undergo this national dishonour!—So will every Hungarian think and feel; this I know, not barely from history, but from experience. From my own observation I know the valiant deeds of the Hungarians. I will not here mention them in detail; for it is a trait of our national character; never to boast of our exploits; but when they are in danger of being forgotten, always to renew the recollection of them by something greater than has been before achieved. This too is not the time to relate what we have done, but seriously to reflect on what remains for us to do. As to what concerns myself, I am firmly resolved never to desert my King, my native country, and the honour of Hungary. I will march with those who will follow me; and should it be the termination of my days, it will, in my last moments be matter of sweet consolation to me, that I have discharged a sacred duty to the King, the country, and my fellow citizens.—I fear not that the number of those who follow me will be small. I am conscious that the welfare of the kingdom has ever been my first object. I hope I do not flatter myself in vain that I am not indifferent to the Hungarians. Therefore I hope with confidence that their numbers will be greater than even the situation of the country can require. Those who are absent, and much more those who are present, and who know me better, will be fired by this holy zeal. Let us therefore consider what the circumstances of the times, what our love to our King and country, and what our welfare demand. Let us go to work without loss of time, and complete by our perseverance what we have begun.

VIENNA.—*Notice issued by Count Saura, Court Commissary of the Emperor, dated Vienna, Oct.* 30, 1805.

The voice of his Majesty, our most gracious Emperor and King, has spoken to his people with openness and confidence.—The measures which his Majesty has been pleased to order, for the undisturbed maintenance of the security, order and prosperity of his faithful Austrian subjects, are contained in the public notice of the Chief Chancellor Count Ugarte. Undoubtedly

his Majesty thereby acquires a fresh claim to the love and the gratitude of every one of his subjects, and he may expect with confidence, fresh proofs of devotion, obedience, and zealous co-operation on the part of a people, who have already given his Majesty so many affecting proofs of their unshaken attachment, and whose prosperity is the sole object of his exertions.—The Commissary of the Court, therefore, calls upon the young men, both Nobility and Citizens, to incorporate themselves with the City Militia, and to do garrison duty during the present circumstances. He likewise calls upon all other classes of the inhabitants to appear at the call of the Magistracy for filling the divisions of reserve of the Austrian regiments, whereby they will claim the gratitude of their country.—Furthermore, all foreigners are hereby charged to quit the city of Vienna in six, and all Lower Austria in ten days, on pain of imprisonment. Only the subjects of the Emperor of Russia, and of the Kings of Prussia, Great Britain, Sweden, and Denmark, and of the Electors of Saxony and Hessia, are excluded from this mandate, by the express order of our Sovereign.—All horses and light waggons are also placed in requisition, to be employed for the public service, &c.—(Signed) Francis, Count Saurau, Court-Commissary of the Sovereign.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Naval Victory.—*From the London Gazette, Nov. 16, 1805, Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Collingwood, Vice-Admiral of the Red, &c. to W. Marsden, Esq. dated on board the Eurydalus, off Cadiz, Oct. 28, 1805.*

Sir, Since my letter to you of the 24th, stating the proceedings of his Majesty's squadron, our situation has been the most critical, and our employment the most arduous that ever a fleet was engaged in. On the 24th and 25th it blew a most violent gale of wind, which completely dispersed the ships, and drove the captured hulls in all directions. I have since been employed in collecting and destroying them, where they are at anchor upon the coast, between Cadiz and six leagues westward of San Lucar, without the prospect of saving one to bring into port. I mentioned in my former letter the joining of the Donegal and Melpomene, after the action; I cannot sufficiently praise the activity of their Commanders, in giving assistance to the squadron in destroying the enemy's ships. The Defiance, after having stuck to the Aigle, as long as it was possible, in hope of saving her from wreck, which separated her for some time from the squadron, was obliged to abandon her to her fate, and she went on shore. Captain Durham's exertions have been very great. I hope I shall get them all destroyed by to-morrow, if the weather keeps moderate.—In the gale the Royal Sovereign and Mars lost their foremasts, and are now rigging anew, where the body of the squadron is at anchor to the N. W. of San Lucar.—I find that on the return of Gravina to Cadiz he was immediately ordered to sea again, and came out, which made it necessary for me to form a line, to cover the disabled hulls: that night it blew hard, and his ship, the Prince of Asturias, was dismasted, and returned into port; the Rago was also dismasted and fell into our hands; Don Enrigue M. Douel had his broad pendant in the Rago, and from him I find the Santa Ana was driven near Cadiz, and towed in by a frigate. I am, Sir, &c. C. Collingwood.—P. S. I enclose a list of the killed and wounded, as far as I have been able to collect it.

Abstract of the Names and Qualities of the Officers and Petty-officers killed and wounded on board the British Ships, in the Action with the combined Fleets of France and Spain, Oct. 21, 1805.

Killed.—Royal Sovereign. B. Gilliland, lieut.; W. Chalmers, master; R. Green, second lieut. of royal marines; J. Ackenhead and T. Braund, midshipmen.—Dreadnought. None.—Mars. G. Duff, captain; A. Duff, master's mate; E. Corbyn and H. Morgan, midshipmen.—Minotaur. None.—Revenge. Mr. Grier and Mr. Brooks, midshipmen.—Leviathan, Ajax and Defence. None.—Defiance. T. Simens, lieut.; W. Forster, boatswain; J. Williamson, midshipman.

Wounded.—Royal Sovereign. J. Clavel and J. Rashford, lieuts.; J. Levisconte, 2d lieut. of royal marines; W. Watson, master's mate; G. Kennicott, G. Thompson, J. Farrat, and J. Campbell, midshipmen; I. Wilkinson, boatswain.—Dreadnought. J. L. Lloyd, lieut.; A. M'Collock and J. Sabbin, midshipmen.—Mars. E. W. Garrett and J. Black, lieuts.; T. Cook, master; T. Norman, 2d captain of royal marines; J. Yonge, G. Guiren, W. J. Cooke, J. Jenkins and A. Luckcraft, midshipmen.—Minotaur. J.

Robinson, boatswain; J. S. Smith, midshipman.—Revenge. R. Moorsom, captain (slightly); J. Berry, lieut.; L. Brokenshaw, master; P. Lily, captain royal marines.—Leviathan. T. W. Watson, midshipman (slightly).—Ajax and Defence. None.—Defiance. P. C. Durham, captain (slightly); J. Spratt and R. Brown, master's mates; J. Hodge and E. A. Chapman, midshipmen.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

A Return of the killed and wounded on board the respective Ships composing the British Squadron under the Command of the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Nelson, K. B. Vice-Admiral of the White, &c. &c. in the Action with the combined Fleets of France and Spain, Oct. 21, 1805.

Victory. Not received.—Royal Sovereign. 3 officers, 2 petty officers, and 42 seamen and marines, killed; 3 officers 5 petty officers, and 56 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 141.—Britannia, Téméraire, Prince, and Neptune. Return not received.—Dreadnought. 7 seamen and marines, killed; 1 officer, 2 petty officers, and 23 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 33.—Mars. 1 officer, 3 petty officers, and 25 seamen and marines, killed; 4 officers, 5 petty officers, and 60 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 98.—Bellerophon. 2 officers, 1 petty officer, and 24 seamen and marines killed; 2 officers 4 petty officers, and 117 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 150.—Minotaur. 3 seamen and marines killed; 1 officer, 1 petty officer, and 20 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 25.—Revenge. 2 petty officers, and 26 seamen and marines, killed; 4 officers and 47 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 79.—Leviathan. 4 seamen and marines, killed; 1 petty officer, and 21 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 26.—Ajax. 2 seamen and marines, killed; 9 seamen and marines wounded. Total 11.—Agamemnon, Spartiate, Africa, Belleisle, Colossus, Achille, Polyphemus, and Swiftsure. Return not received.—Defence. 7 seamen and marines killed; 29 seamen and marines wounded. Total 36.—Defiance. 2 officers, 1 petty officer, and 14 seamen and marines, killed; 1 officer, 4 petty officers, and 48 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 70.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

LETTER IV.

SIR,—It was never my intention to offer my reflections on the proceedings of parliament, concerning the Catholic Question, till the debates on that important subject, should appear in a regular form before the public. I have too much respect for the constitutional rights of the legislature, to arraign the proceedings of either house, or to concur in any transaction, which may be construed into a breach of privilege. But, Sir, when speeches delivered in parliament, are printed and published, with the approbation, and, even with the immediate concurrence of its members, it becomes the privilege, and, in many instances, the duty of a Briton, to write, print, and publish his comments. Unless this doctrine be admitted to the fullest extent, I must and shall consider the liberty of the press, which is deemed the peculiar glory of Britain, to be but a dangerous snare, and an empty boast. On this incontestable and evident principle, I proceed to give you my thoughts concerning those proceedings, which occupy a distinguished portion of your Fourth Volume of PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.—The promised discussion of the Catholic Claims, unquestionably excited the highest expectations, both in parliament and in the country. It was doubtless supposed, that grand and enlarged views would be taken of the subject; that the best information would be produced, and principles established, worthy of British politicians, and British statesmen.—How these expectations have been realised, a superficial view of your parliamentary report on the subject, will easily demonstrate. Mr. Fox treated the question with his usual ability, candour and liberality; and all who pursued the same train of argument in either house, have acquired much credit, by rising superior to the narrow and illiberal prejudices of the age in which they live. Lord Grenville appeared worthy of himself, and of a family, which, besides the ordinary advantages of rank and opulence, is peculiarly distinguished by dignity of sentiment, extent of information, and versatility of talent. Had the opposers of the Catholic Claims, acted on any enlightened and comprehensive system of legislation; had they even invariably preserved, in the discussion, that temper and decorum, of which some affected an ostentatious display, I should not have withheld the tribute of my applause. Of the reverend and venerable bench of Bishops, I am delighted that I have it in my power to say, that, whatever be the merit of their politics, they delivered their sentiments with the dignity of prelates, and the politeness of gentlemen. But far the greatest part of those, who voted against the motion for a committee, pursued a very different course. Among them, with few exceptions, I look in vain for any traces of political wisdom, or even

of candid investigation. When I hear it asserted, Sir, that the privileges asked for by the Catholics, are to them, but a trifling consideration, which will extend only to *a small proportion of their body*; and at the same time, that a compliance with this petition, will make them, not *a part of the state, but the state itself*; when I am told, that the King and his official advisers, should be of the same religion, though I find persons, who, by education and habit, are decidedly hostile to the church of England, admitted not only to parliament, but to places of trust; when I am informed that the nobility and gentry of Ireland, have lost all influence over the lower classes of people, and yet, if the petition be granted, that we shall have a catholic legislature, and a protestant King; when I hear the most solemn professions of encouraging toleration to its fullest extent, and yet observe a determination to exclude four millions of my fellow-subjects, not only from places of trust, but from the right of representation, and this not on political, but religious grounds; when I consider these positions, and many others, which your parliamentary report supplies, I am amaze-, lost, and confounded, amidst such a series of inconsistencies, absurdities, and contradictions. From this temper of mind, I cannot easily recover, by farther observing, that in your reported speeches of these politicians, facts are often misrepresented and distorted; sophism supplies the place of argument, and declamation that of sound sense. The boldest and most extravagant assertions are there made, apparently with no other view; than to raise a prejudice in the public mind, against the claim of the petitioners; the most animated appeals are addressed to the passions for the same interested view, garbled and mutilated extracts are given, from old councils and musty records; even idle stories, which a man of sense would be ashamed to relate in a polite circle, are told with an air of serious concern. Such, Sir, is the general view, exhibited in your report, of the sentiments and speeches of most of those, who opposed the Catholic Claims. In all this, where are we to find, any vestige of that political wisdom, which we expect in statesmen of eminence? where is to be discovered even that share of moderation, which these distinguished personages affected to display? I must own, that I read your report of these proceedings, with a feeling of shame, for the injured honour of my country; and if the event of the debate, is to be considered as the final decision of this momentous concern; if a question, involving in its consequences the safety and independence of the empire, be ultimately settled on such frivolous grounds, I cannot help exclaiming, farewell to the justice and liberality of Britain!—But, Sir, I do not despair, of seeing the delusion, which clouds the understandings of many of my countrymen, completely removed: I have too good an opinion of the English character, to imagine, that it will be ever disgraced by gross and obstinate error. To correct mistakes, to check misrepresentation, to tear off the disguise thrown over the plainest facts, and hold up to the inspection of my country, the fair form of truth, are the only objects of my humble endeavours; and as my views are fair and honourable, it may be presumed, that my remarks will be received with the same condour, with which they are written.—It is, Sir, a matter of curious observation to review the leading arguments which were employed by the opposers of the Catholic Claims, to disappoint the hopes of the petitioners. The conduct of those, who bore an active part in the revolution of 1688, the principles on which that event was accomplished, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, the conditions on which the present family holds the throne; all these topics are introduced into the debate in the most solemn and affecting manner; as if a modest and respectful petition to parliament, were directed against its authority, and tended to subvert the constitution of Britain. It is to me, a matter of the greatest astonishment, how men liberal, and, in many respects, well informed, can give such a distorted representation of a plain fact. If the principles of the revolution, and the conduct of its leaders had been hostile to the *civil* claims of the Catholics, what induced King William, after he had been seated on the throne of England, and taken the present coronation oath, to offer the Irish Catholics, before the battle of Aghrim, *the free exercise of their religion; half the churches of the kingdom; half the employments civil and military too if they pleased, and even a moiety of their ancient properties.* (See a letter of Sir Charles Wogan to Dean Swift, quoted in the Hon. H. A. Dillon's excellent Strictures, p. 27.) This offer was rejected with scorn; but the Irish were afterwards reduced to sign the capitulation of Limerick; and, by the articles of that memorable treaty, were suffered to enjoy more than they at present demand. (See Smollett, Vol. IV. Edit. 4. B. 8. c. 3.) They were placed in the situation, in which they had stood before the commencement of penal laws. The violation of those articles, occasioned by the spirit of the

times, is a foul blot on the honour of England. To the credit however of King William, and his able minister Lord Somers, it should not be forgotten, that they made every effort, which the spirit of the times would admit, to enforce the execution of the articles of Limerick.—As to the Bill of Rights, there is not in that celebrated declaration, a single word, from which the smallest objection can be raised against the prayer of the petition. It is on the contrary incontestably true, that the spirit and even the letter, are friendly to the cause of the Catholics. The object of the bill of rights is, to prevent the encroachments of the prerogative. to secure the power of the legislature, and to protect the liberty of the subject. In the conclusion of this memorable instrument it is said, that all the liberties asserted in this declaration, are the ancient and indubitable rights of the people of this kingdom. If, Sir, these words have any meaning, and I presume that they are intended to convey the ideas which they express, on what principle of justice, honour, or policy, can four millions of our fellow subjects, be debarred from the enjoyment of those advantages, which are declared to be the ancient and indubitable rights of the people of this kingdom. I must therefore be allowed to maintain, that the violators of the bill of rights, are not those, who ask for an equal participation of civil advantages with their fellow subjects; but those, who pertinaciously exclude one fourth of the united kingdom, from even virtual representation in that parliament, of which the rights are secured by the celebrated act under consideration.—But it is asserted, that by the act of settlement the King must necessarily be of the Protestant religion, and that it is a direct consequence of this limitation that his immediate advisers should be of the same persuasion. "What," says a noble lord "could be more preposterous in a government of law, where the law is above the crown, than to compel the King under the pain of forfeiture to be of the established church, and to allow the ministers, the chancellor, the judges of the land to be of any religion the most hostile to the establishment." (Lord Hawkesbury's speech on the Catholic petition Vol 4th Parl. Debates p. 676).—However preposterous such a circumstance may appear to the noble lord, it happens unfortunately for his lordship's argument, that this wonderful phenomenon frequently appears. What, let me ask, Sir, can be more hostile to the episcopalian church of England, than the presbitery of Scotland. The ideas concerning church government, the habitual sentiments, the practices, the modes of education, peculiar to the adherents of these two churches, are so different, that light and darkness are scarcely more opposite. Yet amidst this diversity of religious belief, not only is our parliament filled with the Scottish presbyterians, but the first offices of the state are open to that class of men. The noble lord may, without any painful effort of memory, bring to his recollection a very considerable number of this description of persons, who, in the present reign, have been the immediate advisers and official servants of the crown. If his lordship alleges, that these persons qualified themselves for their situations, by complying with the provisions of the test act; my answer is, that he must easily know the contrary to be the fact. For why does he, as a member of the legislature, annually concur to grant a bill of indemnity to all, who have not obeyed the law in this particular, if its provisions were adhered to? Why does he contribute to the annual suspension of this celebrated act, if those in power are willing to conform to its injunctions, and if it be so necessary, as some would imagine, to the existence of the church establishment. The fact is undoubted, that the King and his advisers are frequently *not of the same religion*; and consequently the elaborate reasoning of his lordship falls to the ground.—Still the noble lord asks, if a Protestant King should be surrounded by Catholic counsellors; and what security there would then be, that the church would not be endangered? In real truth, Sir, this question is too trifling to meet with a serious reply. For it presupposes, that the Catholics ask for every official situation under government, to the exclusion of his Majesty's Protestant subjects, in order to introduce every species of innovation in church and state. But let the noble lord reflect, that if the prayer of the petition, should be complied with, his Majesty's choice of his servants would be perfectly unfettered; and whatever number of Catholics might be introduced into the cabinet, they would want both the inclination and the power, to entertain designs hostile to church or state. For under the circumstances of a Protestant King, and a Protestant parliament, an adviser of his Majesty, professing the Catholic religion, must certainly unite in his character, the extreme of folly and insanity, if he were to embark in any plan inimical to the established order of things. He must be sensible that, by such a proceeding, he would not only occasion his own immediate removal and disgrace, but that his conduct

would lead to the perpetual exclusion, from any share of political power, of all with whom he acted. A Protestant parliament, a Protestant King, and the immediate interest of the Catholics themselves, form the best and most permanent security against the supposed danger.—After what has been said, it becomes almost unnecessary to notice a singular observation in a speech ascribed to a noble lord. "It is well worthy of remark," says his lordship, "that the whole (meaning the petition) bears a strong resemblance to the memorable declaration of James the Second, in 1687 for the liberty of conscience" (Lord Auckland's speech ibidem p. 823.) His lordship is ingenious, in finding out an accurate resemblance between the two instruments; but a great and essential point of distinction seems to have escaped his penetration. James published this declaration without the authority of parliament, and admitted his Catholic subjects to the principal offices of the state in defiance of the existing laws. The present modest and respectful petition is made to parliament, for the purpose of obtaining civil advantages. In one instance the authority of the great council of the nation is superceded; in the other it is formally recognised. In common candour, this difference should have been observed; but the manner, in which the comparison is introduced, evidently shews that the remark was made to render the petition unpopular. It is not unworthy of remark, Sir, that those, who talk most of the glorious revolution, understand least of its nature and spirit. Persecution of the Catholics, even in the more gentle form of withholding from them civil rights, was certaialy not in the contemplation of King William, and his leading advisers; such a notion may be very innocently entertained by the vulgar and illiterate part of mankind; by an honest alderman, or a talking pastry cook; but I am sorry to see that it ever entered the mind of a distinguished member of the British legislature. The main spring of that great event, was evidently a determination to preserve inviolate the constitution of this country, and particularly to secure the parliament from the invasion of the prerogative. Of this fact, the Bill of Rights is an unexceptionable voucher.—But, Sir, it appears from the speeches of the opposers of the motion for a committee, that the Catholic is not entitled to any farther concession, because he refuses to admit the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical concerns, and obeys a foreign jurisdiction. The manner, in which this objection is stated, clearly demonstrates a want of candour. If the Catholic rejects the King's supremacy, he acts, in this respect, in common with a large mass of his Majesty's subjects, who enjoy the full benefit of the constitution. Not even the Protestant of the church of England is called upon to qualify himself for places of trust and emolument, by admitting the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, but merely by abjuring all foreign authority. The obligation is of a negative, not of a positive, nature. The only question therefore to be decided is, whether this foreign jurisdiction admitted by the Catholic be of such a description, as to interfere with the rights of the Sovereign in civil concerns; or to affect the liberties and independence of the country. On this important point the most ample satisfaction has been already given by the Catholics of the united kingdom. Previously to former grants, they, by a solemn oath, declared that their obedience to the Pope relates to spiritual concerns only, without any relation to temporal power, right, or jurisdiction, which can, in any manner, interfere with the claims of the Sovereign and the country. This their solemn declaration is perfectly conformable to the sentiments and belief of every Catholic in the universe; it has been confirmed by the unanimous answer of six foreign universities, who condescended to solve difficulties, which were raised by the present Minister. After this what more ample satisfaction can even bigotry demand? Is it not a notorious fact that the Pope's spiritual power is admitted by two-thirds of Europe, by whole Kingdoms and Empires as jealous of their independance as Great Britain can possibly be? has it not been formally recognized, in the face of the whole world, by a man, who not only wishes to unite in his own person the supreme power of his empire, but to subject all Europe to his ambitious sway? Is not this spiritual supremacy acknowledged by Catholics residing in other Protestant states of Europe, without affording the smallest uneasiness to the civil power? But, say these sagacious politicians, the power of the Pope, though professedly spiritual, cannot in many instances be separated from civil concerns. Marriage, they observe, is contracted in different circumstances from those prescribed by the laws of the country. When any doubt exists on the subject, an appeal is made to a foreign power. This mode of reasoning is truly admirable, and deserves to be held up to the wonder of surrounding nations, as a specimen of what may sometimes be expected from a British Senator. After a line of demarcation has been drawn by Government between the spiritual power of

the Pope, and the temporal rights of the Sovereign; after an oath has been proposed to the Catholics of the United Kingdom, in which this distinction is formally recognized; after the sentiments of Catholic Europe have been obtained on the subject; after the Catholic has been permitted to admit the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, as not affecting the independance of the civil power, I did not, I could not, expect British Statesmen to assert, that the spiritual authority of his Holiness, is inseparable from the civil transactions. When once the distinction has been admitted, and acted upon, to revive old difficulties, for the purpose of obstructing civil claims, appears to me to proceed not so much from the want of knowledge, as of good faith. As to the difficulty started concerning marriage, presuming that it arises from profound ignorance, I beg leave to state, well knowing the subject on which I write, that marriage is considered by the Catholics in a two-fold light; either *as a contract raised to the dignity of a sacrament*; or merely *as a civil contract vested with civil effects*. In Catholic countries, where the Pope's power is embodied with the civil polity of the state, few difficulties can arise on the subject. But in Protestant countries, where the supremacy of his Holiness is formally exploded, his power, in this particular, is understood even by Catholics themselves to extend to marriage, considered only in the first point of view; but by no means, as it is a legal and civil contract. Let us suppose, for instance, that the Pope should, for very substantial reasons, dissolve a marriage contracted between two Catholics in this country under the sanction of the laws; what would be the effect of such a sentence? Why it would barely extend to the *spiritual*, and by no means to the *civil effects* of such an union between the parties. It would, in the sentiments of the Catholics, pronounce such a marriage *invalid in the sight of the church*, without introducing any civil consequences, which are directed by the operation of our laws. I trust, Sir, when the leading arguments of the opposers of the Catholic claims, are thus clearly proved to be but empty sounds, that the subject will be coolly reconsidered, and its merits impartially investigated. Even bigotry must soon be observed to relent, when it is discovered, that it has been directed against spectres which dance before the imagination, or phantoms which have no existence. I would give his Majesty's Government an important advice, not to wait for the importunate solicitation of the Catholics; but to anticipate their most ardent wishes; calmly to examine the state of things, and boldly to face the difficulties which are started; finally to make such an arrangement as will have the effect of preserving the constitution of the country, and of securing the unalterable attachment of a large portion of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom.

THE BRITISH OBSERVER.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

ANTIGUA FLEET.——Amongst the dangers of a contest, like that in which we are now engaged, the capture and destruction of a fleet of merchantmen naturally attracts but little attention; and, it must be confessed, that, compared to the great objects of the war, such an event is of trifling importance. Nevertheless, it is of quite sufficient importance for the public to be made fully acquainted with the circumstances attending it; and, this will, one would think, not be denied by those, who have now again returned from continental wars to ships, commerce, and colonies.——The reader will have perceived, that, in this work, some attention has, of late, been paid to the subject of *convoys*. That attention has induced a gentleman connected with the West Indies, to transmit me a copy of a letter from Antigua. Previous to his sending this letter to me, he had, it seems, sent it to a *daily print*, which (for reasons which, if my correspondent knew them, he would, doubtless, regard as *quite sufficient*) did not choose to admit it, though, as will be seen, it accounts for the French burning the Antigua Fleet; though it describes the hardship which the planters sustained, and the loss of property for the want of the packets arriving regularly; and though, in short, it very clearly and fully narrates the circumstances of a part of the warlike operations of the enemy, of which no correct account had before been given, at least in any of the daily prints.—— The letter bears date, July 31, 1805, and is as follows: "Since this island has been under the British government, it never has "witnessed a scene of greater disaster, confusion, and unpleasant circumstances, than "have been exhibited for the last three "months. Our fleet with 6000 hogsheads "of sugar, besides coffee, indigo, &c. have "been taken and burned; to the injury "of the planter, the loss of many fine "ships, and the revenue the cargoes would "have produced to the mother country, and "the profits they would have produced to "the merchants, and brokers, &c. through "whose hands they would have passed. The "conveyance between this and the mother "country has been interrupted by the non-

"arrival of the packets; and, of course, "insurances have not been effected, and "business nearly at a stand. The dry season has set in; and, if it lasts much longer, "there will be little hopes of a crop next "year. What the Lords of the Admiralty "were about in suffering the fleets of "France and Spain to escape, and remain "so long in the seas, is a question of much "conversation here. The Rochefort squadron were seven weeks in these seas before Admiral Cochrane arrived. Two "days preceding they made their escape "for Europe, but he unfortunately pursuing his chase to Jamaica, lost them. "The admiral left the whole of his squadron to protect that island, except the "Northumberland, in which he returned to "this station; but, instead of finding the "islands in a state of security, found the "combined fleets cruising uncontrouled, "and threatening destruction to the whole "colonies. Antigua was their first object, "and the preparations for invading it were "nearly completed, when intelligence "reached Martinico of the arrival of Lord "Nelson at Barbadoes. No sooner was the "Hero of the Nile announced with ten sail "of the line and three frigates, than the "combined cowards changed their plan of "invasion for that of flight; but, on their "way to Europe, lay off Antigua, in expectation of cutting out the fleet then lying "at St. John's Roads, but unfortunately "they had sailed the evening before under "convoy of the Netley schooner; if they "had not sailed, they would in all probability, have been saved, but they were "overtaken within 48 hours, and captured. "Four days after the enemy left Antigua, "Lord Nelson arrived at St. John's Roads, "he had scarcely come to anchor before "the Netley schooner hove in sight, and "communicated to him by signals the sad "catastrophe which had happened to the "fleet, and that with difficulty he had made "his escape. This news had no sooner reached the gallant admiral, than up anchors "and full chase after them. The day after "Lord Lavington received dispatches from "the Captain of the King Fisher sloop, "that he and another sloop of war had "fallen in with a fleet of 12 merchantmen "and 4 frigates to the windward of Antigua, steering for Guadaloupe. The "French observing the sloops coming up "close and repeating their signals, conjectured they were the forerunners of a larger "force, and set fire to all the merchantmen "and made their escape. Thus ended the "fate of the fleet."——Now, surely, this letter, authentic and circumstantial as it is, was of importance enough to merit an insertion in a London newspaper! It might, surely, have took its turn in those edifying columns, through which the public are duly and daily informed of the airings of General Fitzroy and Colonel Taylor. But, little do the West-India planters imagine what are the springs, which, generally speaking, set a newspaper editor in motion, or what are the powers by which he is stopped.——That Lord Melville, during whose administration of the navy the combined fleet sailed out, was busily engaged *at home*, must be allowed; but, it will hardly be pretended, that the Antigua planters will be likely to derive much consolation from reflecting on the *cause* of this diversion of his lordship's attention: they will not, I am persuaded, derive much comfort from reflecting that this calamity, the destruction of their fleet, arose, possibly, from the discoveries relative to the manner in which had been expended, in part at least, the money before raised upon their heavily burdened produce. Yes, I think, it cannot be very reasonably supposed, that their complaints would be entirely hushed by the "SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN," who told them, that, *in consequence* of the parliamentary inquiries into the expenditure of the public money, "the French fleets *might* "*go out and in as they pleased!*"——There is always one remark to make upon the subject of the French fleets being at sea; and that is, that they never got to sea, while Lord St. Vincent was at the head of the Admiralty; and, that they got to sea, in several directions, almost immediately after Lord Melville came into Lord St. Vincent's place. It was once before said, that the ministers might or might not be blameable for this escape of the enemy's fleets; but, as far as the fact does speak for or against ministers, it certainly speaks in behalf of the ministry, whom Mr. Pitt described as a mass of "*incapacity* and *imbecillity*."——Then, again, had it not been for the *war with Spain*, there would not have been a combined fleet; and, it behoves the lovers of dollars to reflect, that the injury done to England, by the enemy's fleets, in the West Indies, very far surpassed in magnitude any good to be derived from the seizure of the plate ships of Spain. The dollars, we were, about a month ago, told by the ministerial paper, the COURIER, had set the Austrian armies in motion; and, it added, in a tone of exultation, that the people would *now* perceive the *use* of those treasures for the seizure of which Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville had been so reproached by the Opposition.

It is, indeed, very likely that the people of England, as well as the court of Vienna may now begin even to feel the *use* of those treasures. It may be true, that the subsidies are coming, and to come, out of them; but whether the planters of Antigua, whose produce has been destroyed in consequence of the war with Spain, will be much consolation upon being informed of that war's having contributed towards the causing of the Austrians to march into Suabia, I must leave the reader to determine.

LORD MAYOR AND MR. PITT.——Any thing that could take place at a city-feast would, if calculated to have no effect beyond the scene itself, be unworthy of the attention of my readers; but, when a contrivance like that, now about to be noticed, is played off, no matter what is the spot whence it proceeds.——On the 12th instant there appeared in *all* the ministerial newspapers the following account of the toast of the new Mayor of London, MR. SHAW (late Sheriff of Middlesex, and one of the two who returned Mainwaring junior, instead of returning Sir Francis Burdett), and the answer of Mr. Pitt. The toast was this given: "I "give you the health of that man, to whom "the eyes of *Europe* are directed, as to the "barrier between them and slavery: WIL-"LIAM PITT!" Whereupon, we are told, that long and loud applause ensued; and, that having, at last, subsided, MR. PITT arose, and expressed himself as follows: "My Lord Mayor, I beg to return your "lordship my sincere thanks for the great, "but unmerited, honour you have done "me. The security of Europe will be "owing to very different causes. England "has *saved itself* by its firmness: I trust *it* "*will save Europe by its example.*"——At Mr. Shaw's toast one is not so much surprized, for in him, who, I dare say, really thinks Mr. Pitt to be something even beyond a wizard, it is perfectly natural to suppose, that all the world looks upon him in the same light. But, that Mr. Pitt should, in a set speech, and in the most public manner, represent England as being *saved;* and, should, at such a moment as the present, talk of her *example* saving *Europe*, is something scarcely to be believed. *What* example has she given to Europe? Is it to be looked for in the peace of Amiens! Is it to be looked for in the Parish army? Is it to be looked for in her debt and her paper-money? In her more than a million of paupers? In her endless tribe of tax-gatherers? Where, in short, are we to look for the example, by which England is to save Europe? This scene, at Guildhall, wanted only the presence of Boyd and Benfield to render it complete. The man who "*saved*" England by lending them (two members of parliament) forty thousand pounds of the public money without interest, would have been a toast most appropriate to the occasion.—I marvel that nothing was said about *the statue*; and I cannot help thinking, that, were it not for certain misgivings of what might happen before it was finished, that the project would now be revived. If it be not, it is another proof, that, at bottom, much reliance is not placed on the permanence of the effect produced in the public mind by the late naval victories. Be assured, that the jobbers and contractors are afraid that it would not exist long enough for the purpose; or you would soon hear of meetings and committees at the London Tavern and at Lloyd's.——There appears to be, between the Lord Mayor and Mr. Pitt, something more than that mutual feeling common to every fund-dealer and every Chancellor of the Exchequer. They are very much alike, not only in the *kind* of their attachment to the country and the throne; but, in their persons, their manners, their dispositions and tempers, in the size and turn of their minds, and even in their talents. The Lord Mayor is a very *plausible, talking* . . . . . gentleman; and so is Mr. Pitt. The Mayor does not talk quite so glibly as the Minister; but, he does it very decently; and, only about half a year's practice at the bar would completely wear off the brogue, and would, even as a speech-maker, put him nearly, if not quite, upon a level with his friend; for, as to the *matter* of their speeches, there exists a perfect equality already. I have heard the speeches of both of them; their sentiments I have duly attended to; and, I do most sincerely believe, that, so nearly are they upon a footing in point of political and judicial wisdom and integrity, that, it would be a matter of indifference, as to the interests of the nation, if the Minister were to become Mayor, and the Mayor were to become Minister, to-morrow.——After all, however, I cannot refrain from expressing my decided disapprobation of the toast of Mr. Shaw, who will, I think, have leisure to learn, that the affairs of Europe will be settled without any of the participation of Mr. Pitt. I think, he will find, one of these days, that the name of Pitt will not be able to prevent the enemy from doing almost what he pleases; and, I shall be rather surprized, if the continent of Europe should not be disposed to *accuse* Mr. Pitt of having been the cause of the present war.——Mr. Pitt! he! the barrier between Europe

and slavery! And, this, observe, trumpeted forth through all the London newspapers, at the very moment that the armies of France were chasing the Austrians and Russians before them upon the road to Vienna, in a war, into which these allies had been precipitated by this very Mr. Pitt!——The Pitt news-papers tell us, that their hero was *drawn* by the populace in Cheapside. So was Lauriston, down St. James's Street, to the Admiralty, and, in spite of the King's guards, along the royal road in the Mall; and, what is worthy of remark, the biped cattle of Lauriston were *not hired* for the purpose.——There is one more occurrence at the Lord Mayor's feast, which must be noticed, as an excellent specimen of the disgusting manner, in which the citizens pay their court to the person that has the expending of the public money. The account is taken from the COURIER of the 12th instant.——"After dinner on Saturday at "Guildhall, whilst the Citizens led their "wives round to view the Nobility, &c. as "usual, a Lady in the *family way*, earnestly expressed a wish to shake hands with "Mr. Pitt. Her husband *hinting his wife's desire* to the minister, Mr. Pitt very good "humouredly held out his hand, which the "Lady *shook with much seeming pleasure.* "She even appeared anxious *to salute* him, "when the Judges could not forbear laughing very heartily, and quizzed the Mi"nister some time upon his supposed want "of gallantry."——It would be curious to know, and we shall be able to ascertain it with tolerable precision, what, while this scene was exhibiting at Guildhall, *Napoleon was about!* Not, I will engage for him, holding out his hand to be squeezed by a citizen's wife, "in the family way."——It would puzzle one to know what could be the object of this paragraph, which has been inserted in all the ministerial papers, at an expense of, probably, not less than ten guineas. As to the woman, though the longing took her "*after dinner*," be assured, that she was neither drunk nor a fool. She was, I would stake my life upon it, either the wife, the sister, the mother, or the daughter, of some contractor, or government jobber, of some kind or other. Kind husband! tender soul! to *hint* his wife's *desire* to the minister; to join their hands as it were! He was no fool neither. He knew what he was about. *Salute* him! Aye, that she might, if the minister would let her, till she were tired.——This is certainly the grossest instance of flattery that was ever heard of. The wise men, who conduct the ministerial papers represent this woman's desire as proceeding from an enthusiastic admiration of the minister, and from an opinion, that, "by touching him, "during her state of pregnancy, she should "probably cause her child to resemble him, "either in point of *talents* or of *good fortune*;" and, this desire being entertained, they say, "by *our fair countrywomen*, is a "striking proof of the high estimation, in "which the minister is held." Base flatterers! Talk no more of the "sycophants "of Napoleon and of the Empress Josephine," Mr. Peltier! Talk no more of *them*; but employ your pen upon these gross, these fulsome, these filthy parasites of a man, in whom they see nothing but the power of bestowing on them, in some shape or other, a share of the public money. These are the reptiles for you to lash, Mr. Peltier; or, at least, if these pass uncensured, pray let the flatterers of Napoleon escape.——

CONTINENTAL WAR.——To have detained the reader, for one moment, upon a subject like the preceding one, while another, so awfully important as the present, was waiting for discussion, does certainly appear to demand an apology; but, upon consideration, it will be found, that the exultations of the citizens of London, and their praises of Mr. Pitt as the saviour of Europe, form no unsuitable introduction to the observations which present themselves upon the subject of the continental war.——One of the greatest evils that this kingdom experiences at present, is, the delusion that is propagated by the press, with a view of carrying the people along, from calamity to calamity, in a state of mind that prevents them from perceiving the full extent of their dangers; that prevents them from inquiring into the cause of those dangers, and, of course, from endeavouring to remove that cause. Before we enter, therefore, upon a further consideration of the events and circumstances of the continental war, and of what is likely to be the nature of its termination, it will be useful to employ a minute or two in exposing the fresh instances of political turpitude in the conduct of the ministerial journalists.——The reader will not have forgotten (if he has, I beg him to refer to it, as quoted in p. 701) the article, in which the COURIER asserted, that General MACK had been, in the House of Commons, extolled by Colonel Craufurd. "He had," says that paper, "gained the confidence of Colonel "Craufurd, who, in our House of Com"mons, was *perpetually* quoting and ex"tolling him, founding all his lessons on "tactics on the great authority of Ge"neral Mack. Amongst other things, he

"*courier*" with Mack in maintaining, that 60,000 men were sufficient to beat any army, however numerous; that, beyond 60,000 men, additional numbers were weakness, not strength."——At the time when I commented upon the article, of which this passage made a part, I had not had time to examine all the debates, in which Colonel Cranfurd took part. Since that, I have had time, not only for such examination, but for other inquiries; and, I am now enabled to state, in the most positive manner, and upon the best possible authority; that, with respect to the military doctrine ascribed to Colonel Cranfurd by the Courier, it is, to say the least of it, a most gross misrepresentation; and, so far from its being true, as asserted by the Courier, that he quoted General Mack as an authority for such an absurdity, or for any other opinion; so far from its being true, that he was perpetually quoting and extolling General Mack, the fact is, *that Colonel Cranfurd, never in his life, mentioned, or, in the most distant manner alluded to General Mack, either in the House of Commons, or in any other public situation.*—— In the same print of the 20th instant, after a long and most outrageous attack upon the opinions expressed in the last number of the Register, there follows the passage now about to be quoted:—"Surely, Lord Grenville will not send to *foreign courts*, as he formerly has done, the last perfidious numbers of that work: Surely Lord Spencer will not, as he formerly has done, *circulate them amongst the navy.*"——It is truly observed, that persons given to a certain vice should have "*good memories*;" an observation amply verified in this case; for, from the date of the Register, it will appear, that the work *was not in existence, till nearly a year after* Lord Grenville had quitted the office connected with our foreign relations, and Lord Spencer that connected with the navy.——It certainly is not quite conclusive, that, when men have recourse to such means of supporting their cause, the cause itself must be infamous; but, there really appears to be only this alternative: that, either the cause must be infamous, or that quality must belong to the disposition of the persons, who, by such means, endeavour to support it. This has, however, been their constant practice. Always, when close hemmed up by their adversaries; when detected, caught, and exhibited to public shame, they have endeavoured to *lie their way out*. And, this is the description of persons, with whom COUNT STAHREMBERG, the Austrian Minister at our court, has thought it worth his while to correspond, in order to correct some of their hair-brained statements relative to the causes, which led to the late unfortunate events in Suabia! See his note to the Editor of the Morning Post, in another part of this sheet, and, when you have read it, cease to wonder at any thing you shall ever hereafter hear of with respect to Austrian condescension. Since that note was written, the Editor of the Morning Post (particularly on the 15th instant) has been more abusive than ever towards the Austrians. He has, upon one occasion, gone so far as to call General Mack an "*infamous wretch*;" and has spared no one of the Austrian Generals. Was this a proper person for Count Stahremberg to correspond with? Was it, or is it, just to call General Mack an infamous wretch, merely because we knew that he had been defeated, and had made a convention, whereby he made a great surrender to the enemy? Was his Royal Highness the Duke of York reproached, in this way, on account of his convention at the Helder? The Editor of the Morning Post *knew better* than to deal in any such reproaches upon that occasion. He was then much *too just* to use appellations such as he now uses with regard to General Mack. Nay, if I do remember me well, the news-papers and the speakers in parliament, though they all deeply lamented that the convention at the Helder had taken place, were most cordially unanimous in declaring, that no blame whatever attached to the gallant Prince who had been unfortunately reduced to the necessity of acceding to it. Accordingly, we are now told, in this very Morning Post, with every symptom of pleasure, that the English army, now going out, is to be commanded by the same Royal Personage; and, indeed, do we hear a single man in the country remonstrate against this appointment, though, as we all well know, and as the Morning Post has just said, (on the 19th instant), "this is a country, where, "*thank God!* we still dare to think, and "*to write what we think*." Notwithstanding this blessed state of freedom, we do not, I repeat it, hear a single man in the country remonstrate against putting our army under the command, putting our military reputation under the guardianship, of the General who made, on our part, the convention of the Helder. Do I find fault with this appointment? Do I remonstrate against it? I were an ass, indeed, to do any such thing, though at such perfect liberty to *think, and to write what*

I think. The point aimed at, then, is this, that, while we, who are free to say what we please about the appointment of the Duke of York, say nothing, no not a word, against it, it is a mark of great injustice and baseness in us to condemn unheard, to slander, to revile, to abuse so foully, a general whose only crime, as far as we can possibly know, is, that of having surrendered to a greatly superior force. The truth is, that the writers who have called General Mack an "infamous wretch," have never regarded General Mack, or his army, in any other light than that of people employed to fight for the safety of England; or, rather, for the safety of the places, the pensions, and the emoluments of almost infinite variety, which these writers, and the persons connected with them, enjoy. Viewing the Austrian armies in this light, they have naturally contracted the notion, that they have a right to criticise their conduct, and, whenever they think proper, to abuse them as they would hirelings of any kind. But, this is not the light, in which the nation and in which the government must view the Austrian armies; and, it were to be wished, if not expected, that the ministry would lose no time, in remonstrating with these their literary friends, and in putting a stop to that abuse of every one who experiences any defeat when engaged against the French; for, is it not impossible, that this abuse, in whatever extent it may circulate, should not tend to alienate from us our friends upon the Continent? Can any one imagine, that, if it ever reached his eye, the Emperor of Austria could have been much pleased with the following remark, in the COURIER of the 30th ultimo? "He" [General Mack] "is, "no doubt, a plausible, *talking fellow without brains*, and has imposed upon those "*who know no more than himself.* General "Mack is the wretched instrument, which "some unskilful hands have used. There "is an old story, which he brings to mind. "King James of England shewing Waller, "the poet, some pictures, among others that "of Queen Elizabeth, Waller observed that "she was a wise princess." Aye," said King James, "she had wise councillors." "Please your Majesty, replied Waller, did "you ever know a fool have wise councillors." They will, should this COURIER have reached Vienna, have scarcely been so dull as not to make the application intended; and, we may be assured, that they will not overlook the circumstance, that the COURIER is what is called a ministerial paper. The effect of such publications is too evident to be pointed out; and, I do think, that some means or other will be taken to prevent the consequences naturally to be apprehended from this source.——In viewing the circumstances of the war, the most interesting object certainly is, the *conduct of Prussia.* Will she join the allies in the war against France; or, will she remain neutral? This question, if we believe the ministerial newspapers, is already settled; or, rather, it *was* settled, some weeks ago: Great! oh, how great, are the mischiefs that arise from public delusion! And, in the whole world, was there ever a people so deluded as the English! This is the ground of the dislike which I have always entertained to the art of printing. It is called the *enlightener* of the world. So it would be, if nothing but *truth* came from the press; or even, if truth had as much interest with the press as falsehood has. But, the contrary being the case, the press tends to make a people ignorant instead of wise. Men, if left to themselves, would judge from what they *saw* and *felt*; but now, they judge from nothing but hearsay: they purchase an opinion at the first newspaper shop; and, he who has the means of influencing the greatest number of newspapers, will, as long as those means do not fail him, have the greatest number of people to think as he wishes them to think. A people, once *abandoned* to the press, exists in a state of perpetual delusion, especially when high means are resorted to for influencing the press. The writers, thus influenced, never consider whether what they say be true or false; but, whether it will answer the purpose they have in view. As to the *future*; as to the consequences with respect to their character, their literary fame, or their reputation as politicians, all these they set at nought; they know, besides, that they are, as to the world in general, completely hidden; and, that, as to any evil effect which their falsehoods may produce, with regard to their future statements, they know, that one falsehood may be supported by another for a length of time that sets detection at defiance. In the meanwhile, their readers become their *partizans*, and prefer a defence of their falsehood to an acknowledgment of their own errors; and, thus, by the means of the press, influenced by selfish motives and great pecuniary resources, a nation is made to live along, from lie to lie, for years together. But, a maxim indispensably necessary to be observed in this system of deception, is, always to fall in with the wishes of the people; to humour all the feelings from which those wishes proceed; and never, on any account, to anticipate unpleasant events. A system of action more

destructive in its natural tendency cannot be imagined: it is an infallible nostrum for the undoing of a nation; and, as to the manner of administering it, we have a most striking specimen in the progress of the delusion, relative to *the auto like intentions of Prussia*. I shall exhibit this specimen somewhat at large, in the hope, that the exposure may tend to induce some few, at least, of the deluded people to think for themselves hereafter, and not build their hopes upon the statements of those, whose object, whose *trade*, it is to deceive them.——It was towards the latter end of October, when fears began to be entertained for the Austrian army in Suabia, that Prussian hostility to France was first played off upon the public. I beg leave to refer the reader to p. 672 for a statement of the opinions then first broached upon the subject, as also for the reasons, which I submitted to my readers, as the foundation of my belief, that much reliance ought not to be placed upon any immediate co-operation of Prussia. The intelligence from Suabia being of a nature to require great efforts in order to "*keep up* the *spirits* of the people;" and Prussia being the only quarter, to which the ministerial writers could look for the means of keeping them up, their assertions respecting the warlike disposition of that power daily increased in boldness; still, as we shall presently see, they actually made her cabinet sign a treaty offensive and defensive, and even brought her armies into the field, driving them on towards Suabia by *forced* marches! But, it is the *progress* of the delusion, to which I am particularly desirous of directing the attention of the reader; and, if he yields to my desire; if he does but bestow a trifling portion of attention upon this progress, I think, I may promise myself, that he will never hereafter be in danger of being deluded by the prints of the Treasury.——The Morning Post, the Oracle, the Sun, and several other prints joined in the deception; but, I shall quote only from my friend, the COURIER; for there it certainly is that we find the pre-eminence in falsehood as well as absurdity.——On the 30th of October, thus it began its new series of efforts for keeping up the spirits of the people. "It is well known" [When they begin thus, be sure that a falsehood is coming], "that Prussia has gone too far in giving "countenance to the allies not to have incurred the hatred of Buonaparté, who at "his convenience will take vengeance. The "order of the Prussian minister in London "for Prussian ships to avoid the ports of the "enemy is *conclusive* as to the hostile intention of Prussia."——On the 2d instant, the tone grew still more positive. "The "expedition" [of the English, Russians, and Swedes] "is undertaken with the *entire concurrence* and *approbation* of the cabinet "of Berlin, which, *we trust*, will further "augment, with a strong division of the "Prussian army, the Russians, Swedes, and "the force sent from this country. Whilst "the allies are endeavouring to make an impression upon Holland, the *remainder* of "the Prussian army will, *we should hope*, be "*dispatched to the south of Germany*." This was a pretty bold effort to keep up the spirits. Here is a *positive assertion*, that the hostile movements of the enemies of France had been made with the entire *concurrence* and *approbation* of the cabinet of Berlin. That this was a falsehood we *now know*; but, observe, the delusion answered its purpose; it blinded the people for a day or two, till another falsehood could be hatched; it "kept "up their spirits," or, which is rather better, *checked their inclination to complain*, for the space of 48 hours. Then, on the 4th instant, something still stronger was served up. "The Prussian army is on its march, "and, it is reported at Hamburgh, that the "Prussians and Russians are to effect a junction in Hanover. The Electors of Saxony and Hesse are to join Prussia with all "their forces. *Government* we understand, "are *confident of the co-operation of Prussia*, but every thing almost depends upon "that co-operation being *immediate*." We shall have occasion to recur to the *opinion*, here expressed, by-and-by; at present we must proceed with a rapidity equal to that of the progress of Prussian hostility.——On the 8th instant: "Cautiously as this Note" [the Note of Count Hardenberg, of the 14th of October] "is, in some respects, worded, it shews that all hopes of an amicable "adjustment of the differences between "Prussia and France *are at an end*. Indeed "the former has placed that point beyond "the *possibility of a doubt*, by having *entered* into a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with Austria and Sweden, "to which it is supposed Denmark will "accede. *Government* is understood to "have *received a copy of that treaty yesterday*. The Prussian armies are already "*on their march*."——Having thus got the Prussian armies actually upon their route, the next thing, in due course, was to point out their destination, which was thus done, on the 12th instant. "The Prussian armies are assembling in Lower Saxony and "*Franconia*. Some regiments in the latter "country have abandoned the territory of

" Anspach, and taken a concentred position from Bareuth to Egra, on the confines of Bohemia.—The Prussian army, " assembling in Westphalia, is daily approaching *nearer to the borders of Holland.*" The head-quarters are expected " to be *immediately* established in the city " of Munster, within three days march of " the Province of Guelderland."—On the 14th instant, the intelligence relative to the offensive and defensive treaty was thus *confirmed*:—" An English, Russian, and Prussian Messenger arrived late " last night, together with four Hamburgh " Mails. They have brought intelligence " of *great importance*.—Prussia and Russia " have concluded a Treaty of Offensive " and Defensive Alliance, and it was signed " at Berlin by the respective Monarchs " immediately after the arrival of the Emperor Alexander. Upon this *grateful intelligence* we most *heartily congratulate* " our readers." On the 15th instant, the falsehood having been carried on pretty nearly as far as it would go, it appears to have received the finishing touch, heightened by a new and most impudent falsehood relative to the expressions of the Emperor of Austria: " The movements of the Austrian, " Russian, and French armies, are subordinate in importance to the movements " of the Prussian Cabinet. It is to Berlin " that our attention is directed with more " anxiety than to Vienna. The Vienna " Court Gazette derives consolatory hopes " from the magnanimous resolutions of the " Sovereigns of Russia *and Prussia*. The " Emperor of Germany's *proclamation alludes* to the measures necessary to be " adopted to keep off the enemy from the " Austrian frontier, " till those numerous " and powerful auxiliaries can act, which " my exalted Ally, the Emperor of Russia, and other Powers, WHO HAVE " FORMERLY AND RECENTLY EXPERIENCED THE INSULTS OF " FRANCE, have desired to combat."—Prussia is here evidently alluded to.—Besides, we *stated yesterday*, that a " Treaty of Offensive and Defensive Alliance had been concluded between Russia " and Prussia." Only observe, they refer to their falsehood of " yesterday," in confirmation of the truth of their statement of to-day! But, what I wish the reader to notice here, is, the words which he will see in CAPITALS, and which words *were not* in the Emperor of Austria's Proclamation, as will be perceived by a reference to the preceding sheet of the Register, where a *correct* translation of that document will be found!

What, I ask the reader, what must be the character and the views of men, who could resort to such means of deceiving the public! And, what, after such an exposure, must be the persons who place confidence in such writers! Truly, a public, that thus suffers itself to be cajoled along from delusion to delusion, deserves no pity.——The delusion having been pushed to the utmost verge of public credulity, and there remaining no further circumstances whence to draw the means of supporting it, the next thing to be considered, was, how to *let the public down again*, with as little shock as possible; and, as the fact of Count HAUGWITZ's pacific mission could not be disguised, there was no time to be lost. The following is the manner, in which the task was performed, in the COURIER of the 18th instant; and, I venture to pit the article against any thing of the kind that ever appeared in this or in any other country.—Observe, before you begin the perusal, that, on the 15th the Prussian armies were *actually* " *on their march*," in consequence of an alliance offensive and defensive, between Russia and Prussia.——" Foreign intelligence of the *highest* and *most favourable* importance, from Berlin and Vienna, " has been received. It was *easy to see*, by " Buonaparte's last bulletins, that he began to feel himself *in an awkward predicament*." [Who would not expect to hear, in the sequel, that he had been *checked* at least? But, this is their way]. " He has advanced so far without " having produced the effect which he had " expected; he has forced the Austrians to " capitulate at Ulm, without having disheartened the Austrian Cabinet; he has " passed the Inn and the Iser, and so far " from having struck terror into the Austrian Government, has given *additional spirit* and determination to its Councils " and its measures. Twice before, he had " compelled the Austrian Government under the impression of alarm to subscribe " to terms of peace; he expected to produce the same effect a third time. He " has *completely failed*. He *sees* that Austria is neither terrified by her disasters, " nor trembles at his approach; he *sees* the " Emperor neither daunted nor dismayed, " though he has advanced so near his capital; he *sees* the subjects of his Imperial " Majesty assuming fresh energy, and pressing round their beloved Sovereign in a " more close and compact phalanx; he *sees* " that the *capture of Vienna will not shake* " *the Imperial Council*, nor force it to subscribe to any base or dishonourable

" terms!" Upon reading this, it is impossible not to call to mind the visions of the distracted TILBURINA; and, there is, alas! but too much reason to fear, that Napoleon, like the old Governor, will be found, in this instance at least, to be " a matter-of-fact man;" that he will have imbibed no portion of this poetical second-sight; and, that, in short, he will, 'ere now, have seen very nearly, if not quite, the contrary, of what is here pourtrayed. But, to proceed: " He *feels*, that he may perhaps get to Vienna, but that his safe *return* from thence " is not so certain? We boldly *assert*, that " Bonaparte is at this moment *in a situation of more peril than the Emperor of* " *Germany.*" That is a bold assertion indeed! Does not the reader admire the *consolation* which this writer draws from the difficulty which Napoleon will experience in getting safe *back* from Vienna? I do; but, I cannot say that I envy any one the mind into which such consolation could enter. My wish is, that Napoleon may not get to Vienna; for, if he should, I see little room for hope of further exertions on the part of Austria; though I am by no means disposed to join the COURIER, in representing the Austrian Cabinet as having " *no* " *more sense than General Mack*;" that is to say, no more sense than " *a talking fellow* " *without brains.*" This is not *my* opinion of the Austrian Cabinet: my opinion of that Cabinet is very different indeed: but, I am fully convinced, that the capture of Vienna would be thought *no joke!* I am fearfully impressed with the consequences of that capture; and I sincerly regret, that it is not in the power even of the COURIER to keep up my spirits under that impression.——" Why " does the Emperor assume this bold and " determined tone? Why does he evince " this determination not to yield, but make " the most vigorous resistance? Why have " his disasters *not dispirited* nor dismayed " him? Why? Because he *sees* that the " Continent will not, as she did in the two " last wars, desert him; that it is determined to stand by him; he *sees* that Prussia " will put forth her whole energies in his " defence. *This* is *the time*, this is the crisis " in which, *we prophesied* some time ago, " Prussia would *interfere*. Had she joined " Austria at first, the decisive advantage of " her assistance would not have been so " clearly ascertained; but *now*, now that Austria has met with *such reverses*, her interference will prove that she *alone has turned* " *the scale against Buonaparté, that she a-* " *lone has saved Austria.*"——Curious argument! But, putting aside, for a moment, the *prophesy* of these writers, *where* does the Emperor of Austria " see" the proof of Prussia's being resolved to " put forth her " whole energies in his defence?" And, *where* are we to look for the fulfilment of the " prophesy," that " *now*, now that " Austria has met with such reverses," Prussia " will prove that she alone has turned the " scale against Buonaparté?" *Where* are we to look for the proof of her disposition to do this? Do we see her armies coming on? Who would not imagine, that there were fast approaching towards the position of Napoleon any of those hundreds of thousands of Prussian soldiers, of whose forced marches the Courier sometime ago informed us? No such thing! it is COUNT HAUGWITZ, with a chaise and four! And, what is he the bearer of? His sovereign's gauntlet? Is he hastening to Napoleon's head quarters with the treaty offensive and defensive? No; but with " propositions for . . . . . a *general peace!*"——Let us, however, proceed with our extract: " The Hamburgh mail " which arrived this morning, has brought " intelligence of Count Haugwitz having " set out for Buonaparté's head quarters with " propositions for a general peace.——In " the mean time" [Now for the consolation] " her armies are *assembling*, and *taking po-* " *sitions* calculated to act with immediate " effect. These proposals cannot but *em-* " *barrass* Buonaparté, and hence those pe- " tulant articles in the Paris papers about " Prussia. If Buonaparté accede to the " proposals, his importance will have re- " ceived *the severest blow*, for it will be seen " that he yields *through fear*. If he does " not accede to them, the Prussian armies " will interpose instantly between him and his " frontier, and he will find it almost impos- " sible to extricate himself from ruin. It " *is not true*, as was reported on Saturday, " that Prussia has actually declared war; " that would at least *have been at present in-* " *judicious*; she first offers terms, and as- " sumes the position of an armed mediator, " and if Count Haugwitz be unsuccessful, " *he* will immediately upon his return " through Anspach, order the Prussian troops " to advance. Of this our readers may be " assured, that Prussia is heartily and " cordially with the allies." Oh, yes, you told us to be *assured* of that long ago, witness the treaty offensive and defensive! What assurance a man must have to expect to be believed, when the very assertion that he offers to you contains a flat contradiction of his former statements! But, such is the whole race to which this writer belongs. But, observe, that it is here asserted, that it

would have been, *at present*, INJUDICIOUS for Prussia to have declared war against France. Now, then, compare this with the opinion expressed in the same print of the 4th instant, only 14 days before. "Government, we understand, are confident of the co-operation of Prussia, but "*every thing almost depends* upon that co-operation *being immediate*. Swift once said to the Treasurer, from whom he was "to receive a sum of money, for which he "had a pressing occasion, "I pray you, "my good Lord Treasurer, *be quick*." "We may make *use of the same words to "Prussia*."——And yet, this very writer, now that he finds Prussia *negociating* instead of fighting, finds a consolation therein; and even declares, that an immediate co-operation would have been *injudicious!* Need I, is it, can it be, necessary for me, any further to expose the political profligacy of these writers?——One more passage, however, we must take. It is quite of a dramatic cast; and, observe, it is to be read very slowly, and in a low, deep-toned, awful voice: "At midnight on the 5th of No- "vember, the anniversary of that day which "lives in the remembrance of every En- "glishman, the Emperor of Russia and the "King of Prussia, swore on the tomb of "the great Frederick, in the church at Pots- "dam, that they would remain faithful to "each other, and to the cause in which "they were engaged. Young and noble- "minded, and high spirited Monarchs, may "the spirit and wisdom of that Monarch, "over whose tomb your vows were ex- "changed, animate your councils and invi- "gorate your arms in so just a cause!"—— A true Pittite; pious to the last! Only think: at midnight; and on the 5th of November too! Over the tomb of the Great Frederick; and *that* tomb in *a church* too! And is it, reader, upon romances like this that we are to build our hopes of the speedy deliverance of Europe? Is this the sort of intelligence, which we are, in the language of the concluding sentence of the COURIER, to "view as in the *highest degree favour- "able*?" From this is it that we are to "derive the most *confident expectations* that "the tide which has run so rapidly in fa- "vour of Buonaparte, will turn as strongly "against him, and that Europe will be "speedily rescued from the greatest peril "in which she was ever involved?" Is it, indeed, possible that any portion of the people; nay, that any single man of us, can be deluded by such despicable, such ideot-like means?——In coming, now, to speak, which we may do very briefly, of what, in fact, is the line of conduct which Prussia will probably follow in the present crisis, I cannot refrain from once more recurring to the COURIER. We have heard him, many days ago, declare that Prussia had entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with Russia against France; we have heard him assert, that the Prussian armies were actually on their march towards Franconia; we have heard him almost swear that the fact of Prussia having joined the allies was placed "beyond the *possibility* of "*a doubt*;" and now, on the 20th instant we hear him reviling me for throwing out certain opinions, likely, as he thinks, to influence the conduct of the continental powers; and, says he, "at *what time* are these wicked "opinions thrown out? At the moment "when it is feared Austria may be forced "to make peace" [though he had before asserted, that *no one could fear* it], "and "when Prussia is, perhaps, *doubting* whe- "ther she shall enter into the war!"—— Here, however, I do agree with him; for, I think, it is very evident, that Prussia is *doubting*; and very strongly doubting too, whether she shall take part in the war, or not. Much will, in all likelihood, depend upon the situation, in which Count Haugwitz shall find the Emperor Napoleon. If the latter should have received a check; or should have met with any material obstacle; then, indeed, the Prussian negociator may venture to propose such terms as would be likely to lead to a war. But, if Count Haugwitz should overtake Napoleon at Vienna; or find him treating with Austria; does the reader believe that Prussia would, whatever might be the conduct of Napoleon, take up arms? The situation of the Austrian monarchy is truly perilous! We hear much *talk* of recruits and reinforcements; but, we hear not of any *effect* that they produce; and, as to the "skill "and prudence" displayed by the allies in *retreating*, I must confess I derive no more consolation from them, than I do from the prospect of seeing Vienna defended, in the last resort, by regiments of shop-keeper volunteers. There is, too, the paper-money! Dreadful symptom! It may, possibly, be less depreciated than it is, in the French bulletins and in the Bavarian narrative, stated to be; but, that it is depreciated in some degree there can be little doubt; and, I leave the reader to imagine the consequences of such a depreciation, at a moment when the enemy has invaded the country, and when even the Austrian troops are paid in paper. That Prussia should join in the war, *after Austria has made peace*, no

one, who does dot desire to see the universal monarchy of France established, can, I should think, be mad enough to wish.—— But, should the pacific overtures of Count Haugwitz succeed; should a peace be the consequence of them; the next question for us to ask, is, will *England be included* in that peace? If the Emperor Napoleon be in danger of losing his crown, when he negociates, she may; but it is unreasonable to suppose, that any thing short of that would induce him to listen, for one moment, to such a proposition. Not so, however, think the Pittites, who, in the MORNING POST of the 20th instant, reason thus upon the subject: "It is doubted by "some, whether a peace with England is "likely to be included in the general plan "of pacification, said to be proposed by "Count Haugwitz. Buonaparté is said to "have declared, that he would make no "peace in which England was included. "But the peace Count Haugwitz had to "propose, was not conformed in any re-"spect to what Bonaparte declared he would "or would not do. Bonaparte wished to "make a separate peace with Austria, and "afterwards to deal singly with the Rus-"sians, about whom he may then shew the "same indifference he formerly did, when "there was no point of contact between "him and them. He certainly did not wish "for the interposition of Prussia, in the "manner that power has now come for-"ward: for there can be no doubt that the "propositions made by Duroc to the Court "of Berlin, were very different from the "terms now insisted upon by Count Haug-"witz, at the head-quarters of the French "army. Thus, if the United Powers chuse, "under the mediation of Prussia, to insist "on a peace, including England, Bonaparte "must accede to that condition, as well as "any other, or have to encounter the force "of Prussia, in addition to the forces of "the united empires, and their allies. We "mention this, *not* that *we court peace as* "*a favour from the United Powers of the* "*Continent, or that we could accept it as a* "*concession from Bonaparte.*"—Oh, dear, no! No! no! We know you too well to suspect any such thing of you! *You* court peace! The Pittites court peace as a favour! The Pittites *afraid*! I would not for a trifle, however, have had such a cold sweat upon me as this writer had, when the idea of being once more left single-handed in the war came across his mind. The Pittites have certainly caught at this shadow of peace; for, in another print, the COURIER of the same date (only coming out in the evening instead of the morning) there appears a sort of side-wind paving-of-the-way for a reconciliation with the Emperor Napoleon. They, with evident design, labour very assidiously to throw the *blame of the war* upon the new Opposition; and they state explicitly, that it was that Opposition which "*alarmed*, "and *plunged* and *drove* the country *into* "*the present war!*" The reader may be assured, that this was not said without intention; and, he need not be at all surprized, if he hear these writers begin again to *compliment* the Emperor Napoleon and his Empress; and to cry out against me as an advocate for eternal ill-will. I beg the public to be prepared for this change. But, I am very far indeed from supposing, that any meanness of this sort will at all tend to procure us a voice in the making of a general peace, unless in the case above-described; or, unless we are willing to make our *maritime and colonial dominion a subject of discussion.* Without one of these, we must either return to the peace of Amiens, or to a single-handed war, of which, as the MORNING POST observed, "no "one would be able to calculate the "duration." And, observe, that, if we should now return to this war, there will exist not even *hope* on the side of the Continent. Our powerful, and now implacable enemy, will sit himself down before our country as before a fortified place. Neither months nor years will weary him. The Continent will not dare to stir for ten years to come. The preparations, that we have hitherto seen, for invasion, are mere childs' play, compared to what we shall see. Then, indeed, will there be *danger*; and, it is for the purpose of preparing men's minds to meet, and to bear up against, that danger, that observations like these are made, and that they will, by every man of sense, be considered as likely to be useful. This is the *true* way of *keeping up* the spirits of the people; for, it is thus that those spirits are to be supported, when the day of trial comes. It is easy to cheer, to drown the fears of, a cowardly crew, as long as you can hide the danger from their sight; but the men, by whom the country must be defended, if defended at all, need no delusion: they ask to know the truth: they ask to be shewn the danger in its full extent, that they may prepare to meet it.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 22.] LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1805. [PRICE 1OD.

" His Majesty never speaks of the departed hero, Nelson, without being visibly affected. When the news " of the untimely death of that truly great man reached the royal ears, His Majesty said: *We have lost more " than we have gained.* For two days His Majesty dwelt constantly upon the melancholy event; and, since " which the King has said little, but expressed much."—SUN Newspaper, 22d November, 1805.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NAVAL VICTORY OFF TRAFALGAR.—*From the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Admiralty-Office, Nov. 27, 1805.—Copy of a Letter received last Night by the Hon. Capt. Blackwood, from Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean, to William Marsden, Esq. dated Queen, off Cape Trafalgar, Nov. 4, 1805.*

SIR,—On the 28th ult. I informed you of the proceedings of the squadron to that time. The weather continuing very bad, the wind blowing from the S. W. the squadron not in a situation of safety, and seeing little prospect of getting the captured ships off the land, and great risk of some of them getting into port, I determined no longer to delay the destroying them, and to get the squadron out of the Deep Bay.—The extraordinary exertion of Capt. Capel, however, saved the French Swiftsure; and his ship the Phœbe, together with the Donegal, Capt. Malcolm, afterwards brought out the Bahama. Indeed, nothing can exceed the perseverance of all the officers employed in this service. Capt. Hope rigged, and succeeded in bringing out the Ildefonso, all of which will, I hope, have arrived safe at Gibraltar. For the rest, Sir, I enclose you a list of all the enemy's fleet which were in the action, and how they are disposed of, which, I believe, is perfectly correct.—I informed you, in my letter of the 28th, that the remnant of the enemy's fleet came out a second time, to endeavour, in the bad weather, to cut off some of the hulks, when the Rayo was dismasted, and fell into our hands: she afterwards parted her cable, went on shore, and was wrecked. The Indomptable, one of the same squadron, was also driven on shore, wrecked, and her crew perished.—The Santa Ana and Algeziras being driven near the shore of Cadiz, got such assistance as has enabled them to get in; but the ruin of their fleet is as complete as could be expected, under the circumstances of fighting them close to their own shore. Had the battle been in the ocean, still fewer would have escaped. Twenty sail of the line are taken or destroyed; and of those which got in, not more than three are in a repairable state for a length of time.—Rear-Admiral Louis, in the Canopus, who had been detached with the Queen, Spencer, and Tigre, to complete the water, &c. of these ships, and to see the convoy in safety a certain distance up the Mediterranean, joined me on the 30th.—In clearing the captured ships of prisoners, I found so many wounded men, that to alleviate human misery as much as was in my power, I sent to the Marquis de Solana, Governor-General of Andalusia, to offer him the wounded to the care of their country, on receipts being given: a proposal which was received with the greatest thankfulness, not only by the governor, but the whole country resounds with expressions of gratitude. Two French frigates were sent out to receive them, with a proper officer to give receipts, bringing with them all the English who had been wrecked in several of the ships, and an offer from the Marquis de Solana of the use of their hospitals for our wounded, pledging the honour of Spain for their being carefully attended.—I have ordered most of the Spanish prisoners to be released; the officers on parole; the men for receipts given, and a condition that they do not serve in war, by sea or land, until exchanged.—By my correspondence with the Marquis, I found that Vice-Admiral D'Alava was not dead, but dangerously wounded, and I wrote to him a letter, claiming him as a prisoner of war: a copy of which I enclose, together with a state of the flag officers of the combined fleet. I am, &c. C. COLLINGWOOD.

A List of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, in the Action of 21st October, 1805, off Cape Trafalgar, shewing how they are disposed of.

1. Spanish ship, San Ildefonso, of 74 guns, Brigadier Don J. de Vargas; sent to Gibraltar. 2. Spanish ship San Juan Nepomuceno, of 74 guns, Brigadier Don C. Churruca; sent to Gibraltar. 3. Spanish ship Bahama, of 74 guns, Brigadier Don A. D. Galiano; sent to Gibraltar. 4. French ship Swiftsure, of 74 guns, M. Ville-

ma r n; sent to Gibraltar. 5. Spanish ship Monarca, of 74 guns, Don J. Argumosa; wrecked off San Lucar. 6. French ship Fougeux, of 74 guns, M. Beaudouin; wrecked off Trafalgar, all perished and 30 of the Temeraire's men. 7. French ship Indomptable, of 84 guns, M. Hubert; wrecked off Rota, all perished. 8. French ship Bucentaur, of 80 guns, Admiral Villeneuve, Commander in Chief; Captains Prigny and Majendie; wrecked on the Forques, some of the crew saved. 9. Spanish ship San Francisco de Asis, of 74 guns, Don L. de Flores; wrecked near Rota. 10. Spanish ship El Rayo, of 100 guns, Brigadier Don H. Macdonel; wrecked near San Lucar. 11. Spanish ship Neptuno, of 84 guns, Brigadier Don C. Valdes; wrecked between Rota and Catolina. 12. French ship Argonaute, of 74 guns, M. Epron; on shore in the port of Cadiz. 13. French ship Berwick, of 74 guns, M. Camus; wrecked to the northward of San Lucar. 14. French ship Aigle, of 74 guns, M. Courrege; wrecked near Rota.—15. French ship Achille, of 74 guns, M. D'Nieuport; burnt during the action. 16. French ship Intrépide, of 74 guns, M. Infornet; burnt by the Britannia. 17. Spanish ship San Augustin, of 74 guns, Brigadier Don F. X. Cagigal; burnt by the Leviathan.—18. Spanish ship Santissima Trinidad, of 140 guns, Rear-Admiral Don Baltazar H. Cisneros; Brigadier Don F. Uriarte; sunk by the Prince, Neptune, &c. 19. French ship Redoubtable, of 74 guns, M. Lucas; sunk astern of the Swiftsure; Temeraire lost 13, and Swiftsure 5 men. 20. Spanish ship Argonauta, of 80 guns, Don A. Parejo, sunk by the Ajax.——21. Spanish ship Santa Ana, of 112 guns, Vice-Admiral Don I. D'Alava; Captain Don J. de Gardoqui, taken, but got into Cadiz, in the gale, dismasted. 22. French ship Algeziras, of 74 guns, Rear-Admiral Magon (killed); Capt. Bruraro; taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted. 23. French ship Pluton, of 74 guns, M. Cosmao; returned to Cadiz, in a sinking state. 24. Spanish ship San Juste, of 74 guns, Don M. Gasten; returned to Cadiz: has a foremast only. 25. Spanish ship San Leandro, of 64 guns, Don J. de Quevedo; returned to Cadiz dismasted. 26. French ship Neptune, of 84 guns, M. Maistral; returned to Cadiz, and perfect. 27. French ship Heros, of 74 guns, M. Poulain; returned to Cadiz, lower masts in, and Admiral Rossilie's flag on board. 28. Spanish ship Principe de Asturias, of 112 guns, Admiral Don F. Gravina; Don Escano, &c.; returned to Cadiz dismasted. 29. Spanish ship Montanez, of 74 guns, Don F. Alcedo; returned to Cadiz. 30. French ship Formidable, of 80 guns, Rear-Admiral Dumanoir; hauled to the southward and escaped. 31. French ship Mont Blanc, of 74 guns, M. Le Villegris, hauled to the southward, and escaped. 32. French ship, Scipion, of 74 guns, M. Lavenger; hauled to the southward, and escaped. 33. French ship Duguay Trouin, of 74 guns, M. Touffet; hauled to the southward, and escaped. N. B. These four ships were captured by Sir R. Strachan on the 4th instant.

ABSTRACT.

At Gibraltar		4
Destroyed		16
In Cadiz, wrecks	6	9
In Cadiz, serviceable	3	
Escaped to the southward		4
Total		33

A List of the Names and Rank of the Flag Officers of the Combined Fleet of France and Spain, in the Action of the 21st Oct.

Admiral Villeneuve, Commander in Chief; Bucentaure; taken. Admiral Don F. Gravina; Principe de Esturias; escaped, in Cadiz, wounded in the arm.—Vice-Admiral Don I. M. D'Alava; Santa Ana; wounded severely in the head, taken, but was driven into Cadiz in the Santa Ana.—Rear-Admiral Don B. H. Cisneros; Santissima Trinidad; taken.—Rear-Admiral Magon; Algeziras; killed.——Rear-Admiral Dumanoir; Formidable; escaped.

Euryalus, off Cadiz, Oct. 27.

My Lord Marquis,——A great number of Spanish subjects having been wounded in the late action, between the British and the combined fleets of Spain and France, on the 21st inst. humanity, and my desire to alleviate the sufferings of these wounded men, dictate to me to offer to your excellency their enlargement, that they may be taken proper care of in the hospitals on shore, provided your excellency will send boats to convey them, with a proper officer, to give receipts for the number, and acknowledge them in your excellency's answer to this letter, to be prisoners of war, to be exchanged before they serve again. I beg to assure your excellency of my high consideration, and that I am, &c. (Signed) C. Collingwood. To his Excellency the Marquis de Salana, Captain-General of Andalusia, Governor, &c. Cadiz.

Conditions on which the Spanish wounded Prisoners were released, and sent on Shore to the Hospital.—I, Guilleme Valverde, having been authorised, and empowered, by the Marquis de Solana, Governor-General of Andalusia and of Cadiz, to receive from the English squadron the wounded prisoners,

and such persons as may be necessary to their care, which release, and enlargement of the wounded, &c. is agreed to, on the part of the commander in chief of the British squadron, on the positive condition, that none of the said prisoners shall be employed again, in any public service of the Crown of Spain, either by sea or land, until they are regularly exchanged. Signed on board his Britannic Majesty's ship the Euryalus, at sea, the 30th Oct. 1805. (Signed) GUILL DE VALVERDE, Edecan de S. E.

Euryalus, off Cadiz, Oct. 30.

SIR,——It is with great pleasure that I have heard the wound you received in the action is in a hopeful way of recovery, and that your country may still have the benefit of your future service.—But, Sir, you surrendered yourself to me, and it was in consideration only of the state of your wound, that you were not removed into my ship. I could not disturb the repose of a man supposed to be in his last moments; but your sword, the emblem of your service, was delivered to me by your captain, and I expect that you consider yourself a prisoner of war, until you shall be regularly exchanged by cartel. I have the honour to be, &c. C. COLLINGWOOD. To Vice-Admiral Don Ignatio Maria D'Alava. Sent under cover to Admiral Gravina.

An Abstract of the Killed and Wounded on board the respective Ships composing the British Squadron, under the Command of the Right Hon. Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, in the Action of the 21st of Oct. 1805, off Cape Trafalgar, with the Combined Fleets of France and Spain.

Victory: 4 officers, 3 petty officers, 32 seamen, and 18 marines, killed; 4 officers, 3 petty officers, 59 seamen, and 9 marines, wounded. Total 132.—Royal Sovereign: 3 officers, 2 petty officers, 29 seamen, and 13 marines, killed; 3 officers, 5 petty officers, 70 seamen, and 16 marines, wounded. Total 141.—Britannia: 1 officer, 8 seamen, and 1 marine, killed; 1 officer, 1 petty officer, 33 seamen, and 7 marines, wounded. Total 52.—Temeraire: 3 officers, 1 petty officer, 35 seamen, and 8 marines, killed; 3 officers, 2 petty officers, 59 seamen, and 12 marines, wounded. Total 123.—Prince: None.—Neptune: 10 seamen, killed; 1 petty officer, 30 seamen, and 3 marines, wounded. Total 44.—Dreadnought: 6 seamen, and 1 marine, killed; 1 officer, 2 petty officers, 19 seamen, and 4 marines, wounded. Total 33.—Tonnant; Not received.—Mars: 1 officer, 3 petty officers, 47 seamen, and 5 marines killed; 4 officers, 5 petty officers, 44 seamen, and 16 marines, wounded. Total 98.—Bellerophon: 2 officers, 1 petty officer, 20 seamen, and 4 marines, killed; 2 officers, 4 petty officers, 97 seamen, and 20 marines, wounded. Total 150.—Minotaur: 3 seamen, killed; 1 officer, 1 petty officer, 17 seamen, and 3 marines, wounded. Total 25.—Revenge: 2 petty officers, 18 seamen, and 8 marines, killed; 4 officers, 38 seamen, and 9 marines, wounded. Total 79.—Conqueror: 2 officers, 1 seaman, killed: 2 officers, 7 seamen, wounded. Total 12.—Leviathan: 2 seamen, and 2 marines, killed; 1 petty officer, 17 seamen, and 4 marines, wounded. Total 26.—Ajax: 2 seamen, killed; 9 seamen, wounded. Total 11.

(To be continued)

NAVAL VICTORY.——*Address of the City of London to his Majesty, on the Victory of the late Lord Nelson over the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar. Presented Nov. 21, 1805.*

To the King's most Excellent Majesty; The humble, loyal, and dutiful address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.——Most Gracious Sovereign,—We, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the City of London, in common council assembled, impressed with the most solemn sense of gratitude to the Almighty Disposer of Events, for his late transcendant goodness to this highly favoured nation, approach the throne, to offer our warmest congratulations to your Majesty, on the recent most glorious and decisive victory obtained over the combined naval force of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, by your Majesty's fleet, under the command of the illustrious and ever-to-be-lamented hero, Lord Viscount Nelson. A victory, which, while it adds to the British archives, in immortal characters, the proudest conflict that ever graced them, mournfully record the fall of the chief, who had, in that moment, attained the summit of splendid achievements.—Far be it, however, from the minds of your Majesty's grateful subjects, to repine at the severe blow which Providence has inflicted; or, while they deplore the loss of distinguished worth, offend the spirit and character of the British name, by forgetting the many obligations they owe to the surviving brave men, whose valour and public spirit will lead them successfully to emulate such heroic deeds, inspired by their loyalty to their beloved King, and their attachment to their native country. Signed, by order of court, HENRY WOODTHORPE.

His Majesty's Answer.

I receive, with peculiar satisfaction, the congratulations of my loyal City of London, on the late glorious and decisive victory, obtained, under the blessing of God, by my fleet, commanded by the late Lord Viscount Nelson, over the combined naval force of France and Spain.—The skill and intrepidity of my officers and seamen were never more conspicuous than on this important occasion.—The loss of the distinguished commander, under whom this great victory has been achieved, I most sincerely and deeply lament. His transcendant and heroic services will, I am persuaded, exist for ever in the recollection of my people, and, whilst they tend to stimulate those who come after him to similar exertions, they will prove a lasting source of strength, security, and glory to my dominions.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Naval Victory.——The *value* of the victory of Trafalgar having become a subject of dispute, and it being, in my opinion, a subject of great importance, I think it right to add here, a few observations to those which I have already submitted to the public; and, I am the more anxious to do this, as, it appears, from the passage quoted in my motto, that my opinion, as shortly stated when the intelligence of the victory first reached my ear, perfectly coincides with the opinion expressed by his Majesty, upon the same subject, and exactly at the same time; or, if there be, as a general opinion, any difference, his Majesty's opinion is still less favourable to the consequences of the victory than mine; for, whatever I may have thought, I never have said, that, by the victory of Trafalgar, "we *lost more than we* "*gained.*"——It was in the Register of the 6th instant, that I had first an occasion to mention this victory. "Upon such a sub-"ject," said I, referring to the official accounts, "every man's heart will teach him "what to think. There need no words; and "no words can express what we all ought "to feel." I then just cautioned the public against giving way to any great degree of hope, as to the effects that this victory would have with regard to the main object of the war. Upon this the Sun newspaper made the malicious remarks which the reader will find quoted in page 742 of the present volume; in which remarks I am accused of endeavouring to "*depress the hopes of the public*, and to throw *a gloom* over our national prospects;" the accuser little imagining, that I should so soon be able to quote from his own columns a passage represent-ing *the King* as entertaining an opinion tending "to depress *still more* the hopes of "the public." In the mean while, however, the accusation of the Sun had circulated; and, as appears from a paper called "the Yorkshire and Lancashire Advertiser," published by one Dowson, at Halifax (for a sight of which paper I have to thank some unknown friend), the hireling in London has found one, at least, worthy imitator in the country, who, as the reader will perceive, has, if any odds, surpassed his preceptor. "At a moment," says he, "when the "news of the late glorious victory made "*every eye glisten with exultation*, and "every heart beat with rapture, I was de-"sirous of knowing how far such feelings "could be subverted by party spirit and po-"litical prejudice; under this impression I "took up the Register of Cobbett; in ge-"neral I avoid it, because I feel a pain in "seeing talent misapplied to the distortion "of truth and the excitement of discontent. "In this instance, however, curiosity got "the better of dislike, and I read over the "remarks of this insidious wrangler upon "so memorable an event. Bless me! "cried I, is it possible that one born on "British ground, breathing British air, and "*enjoying British liberty*, can write as this "man writes? No participation in the ge-"neral joy, *no congratulations* to his *de-"lighted* countrymen; *no stimulating "thanks* to the brave seamen who are fight-"ing our battles; *no tribute of respect to "the departed Hero!* All is full of the cold-"est sophistry, every word marks a malig-"nant desire to throw a gloom over our "brightening prospects." So said Mrs. Primrose. She, when her husband had some doubts that his daughters would not make their fortunes by a trip to London with a couple of sham ladies of fashion, afterwards proved to be bawds, quarrelled with and abused him for "*damping the spirits*" of her girls! But, what will this slave say now? Will he *now* say that "*every* eye glistened "with exultation;" now that he is informed, that the King, so far from exulting, declared, that we had lost more than we had gained by the victory? What will Mr. Dowson of Halifax say now? Why, Mr. Dowson will eat his words, to be sure; though, it would not be very surprising, if he were to say, with the Courier upon a recent occasion, in a case where the minister was concerned, that "the *situation in life* "constituted no small part of the difference, "and that, if the conduct of men in high "situations were to be subjected to the "same rules as men in low situations, *the*

"*government could not be supported!*" Who will bet, that the Halifax slave will not openly adopt this sentiment? He must, or he has only this alternative: censure the the King's opinion, or acknowledge himself to have been guilty of slander with respect to me.——No: "no *congratulations!* no *stimulating thanks!* no *tribute of respect* to "the departed hero!" Very true: there were, in the Register to which he alludes, few words upon the subject: no loud professions: nothing clamorous either of grief or of joy. But, it would, I think, argue a great want of observation to conclude, that, amongst political writers at least, those who are most liberal of their professions are the most sincere in their attachment. The reproaches of these two, and numerous other, shrew-like mercenaries, will naturally recall to the mind of the reader the taunts of GONERIL and REGAN against the poor CORDELIA; and he will, doubtless, wish, with me, that the latter days of JOHN BULL may not resemble those of the ungenerous, the unjust, and stupid old LEAR. Assured, however, he may be, that amongst the men, who will, at last, defend, or lose their lives in endeavouring to defend, England against the arms of France, there will be found none, nay *not one*, of those who are now endeavouring to turn the battle of Trafalgar into a *political* victory, and who would sacrifice a thousand Nelsons, if we had them to sacrifice, rather than lose one of the hundreds of places and pensions that they enjoy.——In a Register, subsequent to the one above referred to, the *reasons* were given for believing, that the recent naval victories would not produce much effect with regard to the main object, and, of course, to the result of the war. Those reasons having remained unopposed by any thing but mere abuse, I need now only refer to them, if, indeed, any one can still entertain a doubt upon the subject; but, I cannot refrain from recurring, for a moment, to the odious, the wicked attempts, that are making by the ministerial writers to render the naval victories subservient to party views; to cause them not to be esteemed at all, except as being, in great part, the work of the ministers, and as being conducive to their retention of their places; and, of course, to lessen, very considerably, to lessen, the satisfaction which every good man must have felt upon hearing of the triumph of the fleets of his country. "The *victories of Lord Nelson and Sir Richard Strachan* have dissipated *the hopes* "*of coming into power*, which the Opposition had founded *on General Mack's disaster*, and have rendered the party despe- "rate." Thus began a long article in the Courier of the 28th instant; and, thus, according to the evident notions of these writers, battles, whether by land or by sea, are fought merely for the purpose of aiding the ministry to keep their places, and, of course, to keep the Opposition out of place. This writer has, sometimes, been very severe upon persons, whom he has chosen to regard as enemies to the constitution of England; but, if the Opposition, comprizing nearly one half of the members of both Houses of Parliament, do really entertain views such as he has here ascribed to them, what can men think of the constitution of England? Be this as it may, however, it is clear that this writer and his fellow-labourers look upon our armies and fleets as being employed for the purpose of keeping the ministry in their places; and, if this notion could be rendered general, I ask the reader what he thinks must be the consequence? If fleets sail, armies march, and subsidies are given, for the perpetuation of the power of the Pitts, the Dundases, the Cannings, and the Old Roses; if this were once the general opinion (and these writers are labouring hard to render it so), how many of the people, and of *what description*, would rejoice at victories either by land or by sea? There is nothing; there cannot possibly be any thing, much more dangerous than an opinion of this sort. It is, in fact, a repetition of the very essence of PAINE's doctrine, the great maxims of which were, that men in power derived strength from war; that they employed fleets and armies to fight, not for the security of their respective countries, but for the preservation of their own places and emoluments; and that, the success of a nation's arms, when under such rulers, only tended to rivet its chains. If the people were to adopt these maxims, there must, very soon, be an end to the monarchy; for, it is grossly absurd to suppose, that a whole people would contribute towards supporting, with their persons as well as their money, that which a whole people *must* hate; and, as to the present, ministerial writers have nothing to do but to render their notion general, in order to prevent any *lowness of spirits* from *defeats* upon the Continent, or any where else.——LORD BARHAM, as the successor of Lord Melville, and for other reasons too evident to mention, is become an object of great and constant praise with these writers. But, good God! What would have been the feelings of the brave Nelson; nay, what ought to be the feelings of every *Englishman*, at hearing the victory of Trafalgar ascribed, in any degree to this Lord.

"The public," says the SUN of the 26th inst. "may rest perfectly assured, that the venerable conductor of our naval affairs has experienced sufficient to *discriminate*, ability abundant to distinguish, and patriotism, independence, impartiality, and honour enough to *select for employment* the brightest ornaments that adorn the British navy. Happily will it mingle, in the history of Lord Barham, with the *many and important services* rendered his country by the greater part of a long life, assiduously spent in its service, that it has fallen to his lot *to preside* at the Board of Admiralty when the greatest victory that ever graced the page of history will be recorded. I could adduce a multitude of instances that have added weight to his lordship's *discrimination*, and marked his impartiality, and that only want opportunity to add glory to his Majesty's arms. At present, Sir, I am, with the most ardent hope that nothing like party-bickerings may tarnish the universal exultation, or lead astray by baser passions the universal sympathy and sorrow that pervades the bosom of every British seaman."—— Of this *Lord's* "many and important services" I never before heard; and, though I had long been a very diligent reader of books and papers relating to public affairs, I had, when this man was made a Lord of and put at the head of the Admiralty, never once heard his name pronounced in my life. The discriminating Lord Melville, however, "found him out," and there he is, first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty. Much good may he do the navy! May *Englishmen* feel what they ought to feel from his filling that office. But, great as may be this man's merits and services in other respects; and well as the English may deserve what they meet with at his hands, I really cannot be so unjust to the memory of Nelson, as to hold my tongue, when I hear his glorious deeds, which were entirely his own, ascribed, in part at least, to Lord Barham, by whom he was *not* even "selected for employment." The COURIER of the 20th instant observes, that "it is highly honourable to Lord Barham, whom the factious partizans of Earl St. Vincent called "*a superannuated old fool*, that he provided so ample and so excellent a force at Cadiz, with great expedition, and without weakening any other service."——Now, as to *calling* Lord Barham "a superannuated old fool," I am certain that no such appellation, as descriptive of this Lord, is to be found in any part of the Register. To the best of my recollection, I never had occasion to speak of him but once before, when, forgetting his name, and not having at hand any Court Kalendar or Office-List wherein to look for it, I called him "the "*Old Gentleman* at the Admiralty;" but, I defy the COURIER to shew, that I ever called him "a superannuated *old fool*." I knew better; and I can hardly think, that he has ever been called so by the editor of any print in England, great as is the liberty of the press. To say the truth, it is suspected, that there is a sort of schism among the partizans of the different departments of the ministry; and that the Courier having taken the side opposite to that of Lord Barham, has chosen this way of satirizing, or rather, of becalling him; for, reading the public prints so diligently as I generally do, I think, I can safely assert, that he has not, since his promotion, been called, in *print*, at least, "a superannuated old fool," by any one, except the editor of the Courier.——To return to the merits of the victory: what had the sending out of ships to Cadiz to do with the gaining of a battle with those ships? Why do not the cannon-founders and powder makers and still more the ship-wrights put in their claim to a share of the merit? And, if there be such great merit in having ordered ships to be sent out under Lord Nelson, what shall we say of the demerit of not having sent out more ships under Sir John Orde? Who was at the head of the Admiralty, when the combined fleet was first formed? Why were there not ships, or something else, to prevent that formation? To prevent that fleet from going to the West Indies? There were no fleets of the enemy that got to sea; there were none of our islands invaded and laid under contribution; there were none of our convoys captured or destroyed; none of these things happened till Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville returned to office; and yet, the moment a victory is gained, though by a commander of Lord St. Vincent's appointing (as Lord Nelson was) they have the modesty to claim the whole, or, at least, more than half, of the merit of that victory.—— It has been stated before; but, it cannot be too often repeated, that Lord Nelson was appointed to the chief command of the station, where he finally won the last victory, by Lord St. Vincent, and during the administration of Mr. Addington. As soon as Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt came back again to the helm of state, SIR JOHN ORDE, the *senior* of Lord Nelson was sent out to take the chief command of this station. Lord Nelson became his inferior; he was, in fact, put *under* him; under Sir John Orde,

the brother of Lord Bolton, which Lord Bolton opposed the petitioners against Lord Melville at Winchester, and particularly that part of the resolutions which expressed an approbation of the conduct of Lord St. Vincent! Yes, Lord Nelson was, by Lord Melville, put under the command of Sir John Orde; and, during the short stay of Sir John Orde upon the station, he must have been extremely active and watchful; for, it is confidently said, that he got nearly, if not quite, *a quarter of a million sterling of prize money*. In fact, 250,000*l.* is the sum mentioned; and, I dare say, if Nelson, poor as he died, were alive now, Sir John Orde would be amongst the last men upon earth who would be an object of his envy. But, however great the merits of Sir John Orde might be in other respects, it was not he that vanquished the combined fleets: it was not the admiral of Lord Melville's, but the admiral of Lord St. Vincent's appointment; and this admiral became possessed of the power to act, and, of course, to win the battle, only because Sir John Orde, thought it, "under all the circumstances of the case," prudent to withdraw from before Cadiz. And yet, the sycophants of the Treasury have the impudence to ascribe to the present ministers the merit of having appointed Lord Nelson!

ADDRESSES TO THE KING.——In consequence of the great naval victory addresses to his Majesty have been agreed upon in several places, and, from the city of London; an address has been presented. It will, together with his Majesty's gracious answer, be found in another part of this sheet. For the purpose of remarking upon these documents this subject has not been introduced; but, for the purpose of pointing out to the public the necessity of some inquiry relative to the fate of the addresses, voted by several counties and cities, relative to the discoveries made in the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry. The freeholders of Middlesex, in their meeting held at Hackney, on the 2d of May last, agreed to an address, which, they voted, should be presented to the King by the Sheriffs of the county. But, the then Sheriffs found, previous to the expiration of their office, *no opportunity of presenting the said address*; and, accordingly, when they went out of office, they published the following letter, addressed to the freeholders of the county. "Gentlemen, having, in compliance with "your request, undertaken to present to "his Majesty the address voted at the "County Meeting, held at Hackney, on "Thursday the 2d of May last, we think "it incumbent upon us, as our year of office is now expired, to inform you that "we have had no opportunity of presenting "the same, and that we have in consequence delivered it over to our successors, "together with a copy of the several resolutions passed at the Meeting. *(Signed)* "G. SCHOLEY, and WM. DOMVILLE."—These Sheriffs have been blamed for neglect, and have been rather more than suspected of coldness in the cause of the country; but, certainly, without foundation, as far as the not presenting of the address can be considered as a proof of their disposition; for, they could not, as Sheriffs of Middlesex demand an audience; they could present the address at a *public levee* only; and, *odd as it may seem*, there was *no public levee* from the time the address was agreed to, till the term of the Sheriff's office expired, in the latter end of September! The Westminster address, agreed to about the same time, is in the same predicament. Mr. Fox and the High Bailiff are charged with the presenting of it; but, *no opportunity* has yet been afforded them of fulfilling the intentions and earnest desires of the people of that populous city. Let us hope, that an opportunity *will be* offered them; for, it would be atrocious in the highest degree to suppose, that an address of that sort would be unwelcome to the royal ear. Mr. Fox and the High Bailiff are charged to bear to his Majesty the congratulations of his people of Westminster upon the recent virtuous decision of the House of Commons; to assure him of their unshaken attachment to his person and family; and to express to him their earnest hope, that, in future, great care will be taken to keep peculators and corrupt men of every description far from his councils. Let us hope, that an opportunity will, 'ere long, be offered for the presenting of this address, and that it will meet with an answer not less gracious than that just given to the address of the city upon the subject of the naval victory; for, I am fully persuaded, that there is no honest and reflecting man who will scruple to say, that the victory of the 8th of April last was as great, nay, much greater, than that of the 21st of October. In their *consequences* both may possibly, though, I trust, not probably, be useless; but, supposing each to be, first or last, productive of all the national benefits, which, in the unobstructed operation of wisdom and justice, it is calculated to produce; then, I say, that glorious as the victory of Trafalgar unquestionably was, and important as, in the opinion of some persons, its effects must be, it was far, very far indeed, less valuable to the nation, than

was the victory, the hard-won victory, of the 8th of April. The French are our enemies. True: and are peculators our *friends?* The French are our enemies, very dangerous enemies, enemies that we ought be constantly endeavouring, by all the means of lawful war, to conquer or to destroy. Still, the French are *open* enemies. In the bay of Trafalgar we made great havoc amongst those enemies, whom we see coming against us armed for our destruction; but, in the House of Commons we struck the first blow into that nest of harpies, who, in secret, have been so long preying upon, gnawing out, the vitals of the country. By the victory of Trafalgar we acquired a great addition of naval glory, and additional relative means of national defence: but, on the 8th of April, we took the first step that has for many years been taken, towards the preservation of that which renders the country *worth defending*. "I thought," some shallow observer will say, "that our *liberties* "were our most precious possession." True: but what, after all, are "our liberties?" *What are they?* and *can* they possibly be enjoyed while acts are, with impunity committed, such as those, which were censured by the House of Commons, on the 8th of April last? Our constitution, that constitution, for which we are called upon to fight, and for which, I trust, we shall fight as valiantly as our countrymen have recently fought at sea; that constitution provides for a full and faithful account to the people, through the members of parliament, of the expenditure of money raised upon them in taxes, not one farthing of which money ought to be expended unless agreeably to the laws by which the expenditure is authorised. This it is that we are about to fight for; and is it not of vast importance, that we should, down to the lowest of us, be convinced that we *have it* to fight for? The victory, in the House of Commons, on the 8th of April last, (including, of course, the natural and necessary *further proceedings*) gave us that conviction. After all the doubts that had been excited, or which designing men had endeavoured, at least, to excite, in our minds, respecting the *efficacy* of our constitution, we rejoiced to find, from this practical application of it, that it was *real*, that it was *efficient*, that it was *unimpaired*. For this reason it is, that I think no man who really loves the country will deny, that the addresses upon the subject of the Tenth Report merited, and still merit, attention as great, and greater, than those upon the subject of the victory of Trafalgar. There has, as yet, been *no dissolution* since these addresses were agreed to; and, whatever may have been, and may yet be, *the cause*, every loyal subject of his Majesty must deeply lament that it should have existed. But, we may now reasonably hope, that it will soon cease; and that the expression of our approbation of the conduct of the House of Commons and of that of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry will find its way to the royal ear as soon, at least, as our congratulations relative to the glorious achievements of the navy.——To these general observations I cannot, upon the subject of the present addresses, refrain from adding a few of a somewhat more particular nature. I have observed, as the reader must, that, from the moment that the naval victory was first announced, there appeared, amongst the partizans of the ministry, an anxious desire, to couple the merits of their patrons with the merits of the commander of the fleet. At the meeting in the Borough of Southwark this desire made its appearance in an attempt of a cast more unequivocal than any that had been before observed. Sir Thomas Turton (a Baronet, I believe, and a lawyer) concluded in the following words (according to a report in the Sun newspaper of the 22d instant) a speech made introductory to the proposing of an address to the King. "The loss of such a man cannot be supplied; yet we may with reason hope that the "splendour of his example will excite that "emulation in the British navy, which cannot fail to secure to this country a naval "pre-eminence so acknowledged as may bid "defiance to all the combined efforts of "our present and future enemies, however "numerous and powerful; nor in this reflection are we doing injustice to his beloved memory; for could the shade of "our departed hero; of that hero whose "patriotism was as conspicuous as his gallantry, and which recognised nothing "mean or selfish in it; look back on the "transient things of this world, it would "applaud the patriotic exultations we now "express, even at the sacrifice of our personal feelings." (Here the Speaker overcome by *his sensibility* made a *pathetic* pause). "Sir Thomas then added, that he "should not trespass longer on their time "than merely to observe, that whilst in the "address he had avoided every thing which "could possibly excite opposition, or prevent an unanimity so particularly desirable "on such an occasion, he could not but express to the meeting *his individual wish*, "that the address should contain some sentiment of *approbation of his Majesty's* "*government* for the able and *judicious* dis-

" *position of the naval force of the country,* " *by which the gallantry of our countrymen* " *had been so successfully called into action.* " Sir Thomas said, that he should be guided " by what appeared to be the sense of the " meeting as to this addition, which he was " the more desirous of making, because, in the " course of the last twelve years, he had so " repeatedly witnessed in that place an uni- " form system of abusing the measures of " government; and he thought it but jus- " tice, therefore, that while they exercised " their undoubted right of complaint, they " should not withhold a tribute of approba- " tion where the claim of government to it " was *equally undoubted.*"——Sir Thomas has all the Whitehall phrases as pat as if he were already lodged in that quarter of the town. " His Majesty's *government,*" meaning the ministry, is never used by any one who has not well conned over the vocabulary of Downing Street. " His *individual wish:*" mark that! So that, whether it was carried or not, *he* was safe: *he* had done his best. Lord WILLIAM RUSSELL, however, who could not for his life discover any sense or reason in working " His Majesty's government" into the address, objected to it most decidedly; whereupon a man by the name of BOTHAM got up, and said..... But, stay: we will take his speech from AN ADVERTISEMENT in the MORNING HERALD newspaper of the 23d instant. Its appearance as an advertisement we will endeavour to account for by-and-by, having first read it with attention. It is a rare and delicate morsel. " SURREY MEETING. The most noticed " speech at this meeting was that of MR. " BOTHAM: after having apologized to the " company, he began by saying, No one " could more admire and concur in the ad- " dress then proposed than himself; but, " Sir, says this gentleman, I am over- " whelmed with the mournful remem- " brance of having lost a hero unrivalled in " glory and victory, and, I fear, will never " be surpassed; but, as this cloud is dis- " persed by the Sun of British valour, my " soul is agitated with joy; and it cannot " fail to raise a monument in the *breasts,*" [a *pair* of them, too, observe] " of every " grateful *mind.* Sir, let the resolutions of " this day testify to the best of kings, that " it is the unanimity of his subjects under " the guidance of the greatest minister that " ever lived, that has saved the country, and " will rescue Europe from the usurpation of " the tyrant of the world, and, I trust, " teach him to retire within those bounda- " ries that ought not to have been exceed- " ed." To comment upon this unparalleled nonsense would be to throw away time and to insult the reader. MR. BOTHAM, of whom I never before heard, is, one would suppose from his style, a tailor, and from the sentiments that he, apparently, would have expressed, had he known how, one would take it that he made cloaths for the army, or served the navy with slops.—This speech was, as was above stated, inserted in the Morning Herald, in the form of *an advertisement.* It was, doubtless, sent as a *paragraph,* was *paid for,* and was, of course, intended to have the appearance of *being written by the editor of the paper;* but, the editor, unwilling, for reasons too evident to mention, to pass for the author of it, claps it, though at the expence of a three shilling tax, into the middle of a column of advertisements! *Such,* reader, are the men who regard Mr. Pitt as " the greatest minister " that ever lived."——To return, for one moment longer to the Borough: Mr. BOTHAM was followed by a Mr. LOWNDES, who appears to be a politician of much about the same size as Mr. BOTHAM. This man having talked, too, about the great share of merit due to the ministers in having so wisely disposed of our naval force, Mr. PERRY (of the Morning Chronicle, I believe) got up, and, by stating the following interesting fact, put the extinguisher upon all the orators of " His Majesty's Govern- " ment." He was glad, he said, that the approbation of the ministers was not to be pressed; " because not only should he have " been obliged to oppose it, but he could " have produced a document, then in his " pocket, and which was *a letter from Lord* " *Nelson, written a few days previous to* " *the engagement,* which would have satis- " fied every man present, that the disposi- " tion of the naval force at that period *de-* " *served censure, not praise.*"—There can be no doubt of the correctness of this statement. No one dared to call upon Mr. PERRY to produce the letter. The fact is very curious, and ought to be borne in mind by all those who happen to be present upon occasions when the ministers, or their partizans, are attempting to raise themselves upon the wings of Lord Nelson.

LLOYD'S FUND.—Upon the origin, and probable evil consequences of the Fund, at Lloyd's Coffee House, for the reward and encouragement of soldiers and sailors, much has been said in several parts of the Register, particularly in the following places: Vol. IV. pp. 111, 281, 353, 415, 448, 474, 476, 697, and in Vol. VI. p. 790. At present we must confine ourselves to the at-

prompt that is now making to stretch the power of these fund-dealers at Lloyd's, and of the fund-dealers in general, even farther than it has hitherto been attempted to be stretched.—The last we heard of the Committee at Lloyd's was, their preparing to give *badges of distinction* to such persons in either the land or sea service as *they* might think worthy of them; and I must beg the reader to refer to the article in p. 790 of Vol. VI. We had before seen them endeavouring to make themselves the *centre of the whole nation*, the collectors of the subscriptions in every part of the kingdom; and, in order to render these subscriptions general, we had seen them (Vol. IV. p. 471, which see by all means) sending, under the franks of Mr. Freeling, Secretary to the General Post Office, a circular letter addressed to the Mayors, or Chief Magistrates, of all the cities, towns, and boroughs of the United Kingdom, calling upon them to open subscriptions, and to use "ALL *their influence*" in promoting the objects of the Committee at Lloyd's, to whom they were to remit, or cause to be remitted, whatever money they could raise! About the same time, a circular letter was (see Vol. IV. p. 470) sent to the parochial clergy in the diocese of the Bishop of Durham, and as the news-papers stated, by order of the Bishop, requesting them to explain to their respective parishioners the nature and to *recommend* the object of the Fund at Lloyd's; as also to become the *receivers of any subscriptions* that might be paid to them, and to transmit the same to certain banks. Upon the singular fitness of making the magistrates and the clergy tax-gatherers to the Committee at Lloyd's, no remarks need, surely, now be offered! Who, as was then observed; who, amidst all the changes and chances and revolutions in society; who ever expected to see a Bishop and his clergy employed in collecting money to be deposited in the hands of a set of brokers and money-dealers, for the purpose of enabling those brokers and money-dealers to dispense rewards and honours amongst the troops and the seamen, amongst the persons serving in the royal army and navy!—But, now, there is a proposition before the public for going, as to the mode of collection, a step, and a very wide step, further. It is now proposed to call upon the clergy, without any permission of their Bishops, to become at once the collectors for the Committee at Lloyd's, and to make the collections *in their churches too!*—I will here insert the article particularly alluded to, as it stands in the [illegible] newspaper of the 20th instant,—"PATRIOTIC FUND. It has been observed, "that if a general subscription were to take "place throughout the British Empire in "aid of this truly benevolent and patriotic "institution, no less a sum than 100,000*l.* "might easily be collected. Such a proposition has been very properly suggested "to Mr. Angerstein, as he is always "prompt, active and liberal upon every "occasion that tends to the honour of his "country and the interests of humanity. "The 5th of next month has been pointed "out as the day most suitable for such a "collection to take place, *under the authority of Government*; a day assigned to an "act of solemn thanksgiving to the Great "Disposer of events, for our recent success "under his gracious protection, may indeed be very properly employed in a "measure intended to lessen the sufferings "of his creatures. The following is the "calculation that has been made of the "probable amount:

"Scotland (containing 900 parishes, at from 5*l.* to 6*l.* each) - -	£.5,000
"England, twelve times the above -	60,000
"Ireland, three times ditto - -	15,000
"Volunteers, Army and Navy - -	10 000
"Private Subscriptions - - -	10,000
	100 000

"From the foregoing statement, which implies a compliment to the patriotism of "the people of Great Britain which they "fully deserve, there can be little doubt "but the produce would fully equal the calculation. Who would refuse his mite "upon so laudable an occasion! The "poorest man who feels as a Briton would "cheerfully contribute; and every thing "should be accepted in support of so noble a "cause. The widows and orphans all over "the Empire would, by their blessings, "consecrate the design, and animate every "breast to support it. We trust that the "Conductors of the Patriotic Fund, whose "zeal, industry, and perseverance have "been so strenuously exerted in this "generous cause, *will attend to this "suggestion*, and give *the sanction of "their name and example to it.* The first "characters in the country, as well as the "most humble, and all the intermediate "classes, may be confidently expected to "give a strenuous aid on so meritorious an "occasion, and then, perhaps, it will appear "that the above calculation is much below "what is the philanthropic character of all "the inhabitants of the British Empire will "readily contribute for so meritorious a pur-"pose.—We learn with great pleasure, that "the inhabitants of one of the most extensive

"parishes in the neighbourhood of London "have made application, and *obtained per-* "*mission from the rector*, for a collection to be "made *after divine service* on the thanksgi- "ving day, to shew their sympathy with the "wounded heroes of Trafalgar, and *to put* "*the same under the management of the com-* "*mittee of the patriotic fund.* Now this is as "it ought to be, and what we strongly recom- "mend."—This proposal, you observe, extends to nothing short of a collection in all the parish churches in the kingdom, to be made by the authority of government, and, when made, the proceeds to be placed at the disposal of the Committee at Lloyd's, a committee of fund-dealers! The proposition is so impudent, that it must, one would hope, meet with general reprobation, Yet, such is the influence of the funding system; so extensive are the means which the persons who depend upon that system have of controling men in all ranks of life, that it really would not much surprize me, if I were to see the ministers and church-wardens of the kingdom all engaged in this proposed hopeful employment.——"What," will exclaim some hypocrite, "would you bestow "no rewards, would you administer no "comforts, to the meritorious or unfortu- "nate men who have served their country "in so glorious a manner?" Yes; Balaam, I would have the meritorious well rewarded, and the unfortunate comforted; but, the rewards and the means of comfort should pass through the hands of His Majesty. If, indeed, any man, or society of men, have a mind to bestow part of their own property upon the soldiers or the sailors, it is well. They have not only a right so to do; but they ought to be applauded for the act; but, no subject, or set of subjects, ought to be permitted to *raise money upon the public*, and especially by the hands of the magistrates, the clergy, or other persons in authority, for any purpose of this kind. To do so, is, in fact, a bold step towards supplanting the authority and office of the King.—— *Who* is the Rector that has given permission to make a collection in his church for the Lloyd's Fund? I would fain know his *name*, and the name of his parish; and then I would enquire whether his principal parishioners, and whether he himself, be not a little addicted to a species of traffic vulgarly called stock-jobbing!——Yes, I would have military (sea as well as land) merit amply rewarded. I would have it highly distinguished. It should have its full share of honours and titles; and, in order to render those titles worth the acceptance of gallant and honourable men, I would, if I could have my wish, never have them bestowed upon any one who had not distinguished himself by some eminent talents and some great services rendered to the state. They should not be, as it has been asserted they were, but too often in France, bestowed upon men of mere money; men who could afford to give the highest price for them, or who could, either by himself or his kin or dependants, do the job the most agreeably to the minister of the day; for, when such is the case, titles are of little value: they may serve to gratify the vanity of an upstart tradesman, but they must cease to be held in esteem by men of sound and high minds. ——I would, too, have the maimed and the worn-out in war comfortably provided for, together with their widows and orphans. I can see no reason why Greenwich Hospital should not be extended, and Chelsea too, seeing that when these establishments were made, our fleet and army were not a *tenth part* so great as they now are. The Duke of York is said to have been chiefly instrumental in recently obtaining an addition to the allowance of the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital; and for that he deserves the applause of the army and the country; but, was it not surprising, that while the civil list and all the salaries in all the offices under government had been rising from time to time to four or five times what they were a hundred and fifty years ago, the allowance to the crippled or worn-out soldier should have continued to be in nominal amount, what it was in the reign of King Charles II.? Great praise is also due to Mr. Windham, conjointly, I believe, with the Duke of York, for the establishment of the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea. These establishments want extending in every direction; but, for the maimed and worn-out sailors there is more pressing need of a comfortable and permanent provision.——But, it is *His Majesty* that ought to be enabled to make this provision. It is *his* army, it is *his* fleet; *he* orders both to act, both to fight, both to venture limb and life; and, to *him* most assuredly should belong the power of bestowing rewards upon them, and of doing all the gracious acts which justice and the good of the service require to be done. I lament, therefore, that any portion of this most agreeable and love-inspiring part of the powers of royalty should, from whatever cause, fall into other hands; and, particularly I lament, that it should fall into the hands of a set of dealers in funds, meeting at a coffee-house, notoriously the grand scene of mere mercenary transactions.——When the Committee at Lloyd's first began their

"*patriotic*" operations, in 1803, I had occasion to remark upon the attacks, made by the advocates for the Lloyd's fund, upon the nobility, the gentry, and the clergy. The first assault of this kind appeared, in the newspapers, in the form of a letter addressed to the Earl of Suffolk. His Lordship had, in his place in parliament, made some very just remarks upon the backwardness of the city of London in raising their quota of men; in revenge for which he was, by this insolent writer, tauntingly invited to add his name to the subscription list, and was, at the same time, reminded, that only three of *his order* had, as yet, shown a disposition to assist in rewarding "our defenders." Accusations of the same sort frequently appeared, about the same time, and continued to appear for several months, against the nobility, gentry, and clergy (see Vol. IV. p. 281), with the evident intention of bullying them into the subscription. Similar means are now again beginning to be employed; and, as a specimen, I quote the following paragraph from the Morning Herald newspaper of the 27th instant. "At this awful "crisis, when every thing valuable to Britons, and *consequently* to Europe, is *at* "*stake*."..... Stop! *At stake*, say you? Let us see: you are a ministerial writer? You are one of those who have been, for some weeks past, representing the victory of Trafalgar as having *secured*, beyond *all doubt*, this country, at least, against all attemps of the enemy? You are one of those who abused every man that did not consider that victory as *decisive;* as of decisive importance with respect to the main object, and, of course, the result, of the war. You are one of those who said: "this victory will "animate the continental powers, because "it will prove to them (a proof *we did not* "*want*), that we *do not entertain any ap-* "*prehensions for ourselves;* that we are *se-* "*cure of victory*, whenever the French dare "to quit their own shore; and that our ex- "ertions against France are less to ensure "*our safety* than to enable the Continent to "achieve theirs." When I quoted this passage, only three weeks ago, I begged the reader to mark it well; for that he would have to *compare* it with what would soon be said by the same writers.——But, as I said then, so I allow now, that they were hypocrites; that their fears told them that the naval victory had made but very little difference in our relative situation; that the danger, the permanent danger, of the country continued to be nearly, if not quite, as great as ever; that, in short, and to take up and adopt their present expression, the crisis is awful, and, every thing valuable to Britons *is at stake.*——To proceed now with the quotation: "To what are we to attribute "the apathy that reigns in those circles, who "vie in the most costly and ruinous compe- "tition of extravagance and waste, whilst "*scarcely a distinguished name appears upon* "*the list of subscribers to the Patriotic Fund*, "so impressively announced under circum- "stances of restraint to fulfil the benevo- "lent purposes of its exertion. To what "are we to impute this astonishing remiss- "ness of humanity, while every eye appears "to glisten with the tear for departed he- "roism in the severe loss of so many of our "brave defenders; and when but the soli- "tary name of *one peer*" (the Duke of QUEENSBURY's is, I see, in the list!) "and *one member of parliament* grace a list "of not less than sixty-three individual sub- "scribers, up to the 16th instant: O! shame, "where is they blush!" This, and the like of it, is, however, very likely to have the desired effect. We shall now, probably, see great "patriotism" displayed. It will really be worth while to observe who are the men that are capable of being thus bullied out of their money!——Since writing the above, I have perceived, that the Committee at Lloyd's have actually adopted the plan of a parochial subscription, *in the churches*, and have, accordingly issued their circular letters to the Chief Magistrate, or resident minister, of every city and town throughout the kingdom. But, let us hear the whole of their proclamation; for it is, the reader may be assured, one of those things, to which the future historian will refer as signs of the approach of those awful scenes which it will be his chief object to describe! The reader may be assured of this; and, therefore, the document is worthy of his attention.——

"PATRIOTIC FUND. Lloyd's, 26th Nov. "1805. The Committee for managing the "Patriotic Fund, in their Address to the "public, on occasion of the late signal suc- "cesses of His Majesty arms, suggested the "idea of *collections being made after divine* "*service*, on the day appointed for a gene- "ral thanksgiving, in religious congregations "of every denomination, for the relief of "the widows and orphans of those who fell, "and for those who were wounded in con- "tributing to these glorious victories. The "Committee are persuaded, that many per- "sons whom it may not suit to give sums, "for which they would choose to set down "their names as individual subscribers, "would gladly avail themselves of such an "opportunity, when every heart will swell "with gratitude for national mercies to unite

" the parties of patriotism with those of de-
" votion, and contribute according to their
" means to these meritorious objects. At
" the present crisis, when one expedition
" has already sailed for the Continent, when
" others are expected to follow, and when
" deeds of daring enterprise on the coast of
" the enemy are on the eve of execution, it
" is highly important to animate the spirits
" of the brave men who fight our battles,
" by shewing them that British liberality
" and patriotism rise with the occasions that
" call them into exercise: that the fund
" subscribed for their encouragement and
" relief at the commencement of the war,
" so far from being exhausted by the de-
" mands made upon it by their gallant exer-
" tions, is swelled by new contributions of
" national gratitude to an amount hitherto
" unprecedented; and that *the pledge given*
" *by this committee*, in the report of their
" proceedings, will assuredly be fulfilled,
" that the seaman, the soldier, and the vo-
" lunteer, may confidently trust that those
" who were dear to him while living, will,
" in the event of his falling in the sacred
" cause, find friends and guardians in a
" grateful and generous country. The com-
" mittee have directed *letters to be sent* to
" the *chief magistrate*, or *resident minister*,
" in every town and city throughout the
" kingdom; but, to supply the inaccuracy
" of the list of their addresses, adopt this
" mode of soliciting the influence of every
" individual, in promoting the views, and
" enlarging the usefulness of this laudable
" and benevolent institution."——Thus, then, all the magistrates, all the ministers, and all the parish officers in the kingdom, are put in motion by a Committee at Lloyd's! And for the purpose of enabling that Committee to become the *patrons* of the army and the navy! Truly, SWIFT and POPE, when they exerted their powers of ridicule against the tenants of Garraway's and the 'Change, little dreamt of times such as these! Things are drawing on fast towards that state so powerfully and so fearfully described by HUME, at the close of his essay upon PUBLIC CREDIT. All endeavours to stop the progress, will, it is to be feared, prove useless. It is in the nature of things, that it should go on; it cannot stop, till it has reached the point where it must end; but, yet, it is our duty to endeavour to arrest it. ——If I am told, that, however reasonable my wishes with regard to the extension of the national provision for the meritorious or unfortunate soldiers and sailors may be, still, as no such extension has yet taken place, I ought, in the mean while, to acquiesce in the utility of the Lloyd's Fund, as a temporary measure, at least: If I am told this, I answer, that the Fund at Lloyd's has existed now for more than two years; that two sessions of parliament have since gone over our heads; and that, if the provision be proper, it might, long ago, have been made by legal and regular means. If it be objected, that the taxes are already heavy enough, the answer is evident, that the money raised by the Lloyd's men must come out of the pockets of the people, and taxes can come from no other source: a guinea is a guinea, whether paid in at Lloyd's or at the Exchequer.——But, at "a crisis so " awful, when every thing valuable to Bri-" tons *is at stake*," could there be found no way of *saving* a hundred thousand pounds, (for that, it seems, is the sum wanted) out of the present revenues of the nation? At such a crisis, suppose Mr. Pitt and the Dundases were to hold their hands for a year in the granting of *pensions* and other emoluments of that description? Last year there was a grant made to the Athol Family, a grant very strongly but very truly described by the Lord Chief Justice, of 3,500*l. a year*, for ever. The worth of this grant is about 100,000*l.* It would, in all probability, sell for so much at Lloyd's. The property and labour of the country are pledged for so much. Now, suppose the law, making this grant, were to be repealed, there would be, at once, 100,000*l.* to be confided to the King for purposes such as those said to be contemplated by the men of Lloyd's.—— Would not this be much better than the setting to work all the magistrates and ministers in the kingdom to collect money to be distributed to the soldiers and sailors by a committee of fund-dealers?——During *the last year only* about 40,000*l. a year* was granted in pensions and in other ways resembling pensions. In some cases the grant was *for life*; in others for *two lives*; and in others for *three lives*, I believe. These grants cannot be estimated as being worth (were they to be sold) less than 700,000*l.* at the lowest. Now, here is seven times as much as is said to be wanted for the rewarding of the soldiers and sailors; and why could not the granting of pensions (except those of military and naval men and their widows and orphans, which are not included in the 40,000*l. a year*, granted last year) have been suspended for one year? Nay, why may it not be suspended during *this present year*? We shall, however, see, about May next, that it has not been suspended.——Still, however, let us rest upon the grants of last year. There was granted

to the wife of Sir William Augustus Pitt 600*l.* a year; to Lady Auckland 500*l.* a year; to Mrs. Sargent and her husband, 616*l.* a year; to Lord Auckland an additional pension of 400*l.* a year; to Mr. Isaac Corry, 1,200*l.* a year; to a family of *Dundases* the father, mother and children, 600*l.* a year. These grants would sell for at least 100,000l. The nation is pledged for so much on account of them. It must *borrow* so much in order to be able to pay them.—Well, then, could they not have been *dispensed* with? Was there any pressing necessity for granting them; and this, too, observe, at a moment when such means are resorted to, when subscriptions are opened, when the charity box is to be carried round the churches for the purpose of obtaining a hundred thousand pounds to reward the merits, or to relieve the distress, of those who have been fighting the battles of their country?——Last year, too, in about ten weeks after Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville came into office, there was granted to Lord Melville, 1,500*l. a year,* in addition to his former 3,000*l.* a year, for his sinecure place of Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland.—Here again is another good 70, or 80 thousand pounds. It would sell for that sum at Lloyd's. And, why could it not have been saved for the purposes now to be provided for by an appeal to the *charity* of the nation? Observe, that it is the *ministerial writers,* who have assumed the necessity of raising the 100,000*l.* for the reward and relief of the soldiers and sailors: it is they, observe, who are reproaching the nobility with apathy and want of patriotism in not making sacrifices, in not coming forward to throw their money into the lap of the Committee at Lloyd's: it is they who have the impudence to talk of an extravagant expenditure, of a ruinous waste of money: it is they who are crying shame upon those who do not contribute towards the recompensing of the valour by which the country is protected: it is they who have thrown down the gauntlet, and toward them let the resentment of their wincing patrons be directed.

Boulogne Expedition.—Sir Sid. Smith's return, without making, as it would appear, any attempt, must, I think, be considered as a matter of great consolation, particularly if we may hence collect, that no attempt is, in the way and with the means *described by the newspapers,* likely to be made in future; for, from such attempts, is it possible for reasonable minds to anticipate any thing but [illegible] and disgrace, a confirmation of the [illegible] of the enemy; additional discouragement to our own people, and, what is of most importance of all, the loss of many valuable lives, in return for the destruction of a few vessels hardly worth the expence of the powder.——Now, pray, gentlemen of the ministerial press, do not misunderstand me. I do not say, as you will swear I do, that I *wish the enemy's flotilla not to be destroyed.* Pray do not swear that, gentlemen! But, I am afraid you will.——I wish the flotilla to be destroyed; but, I have not the least notion that it ever will be destroyed by an attack on the sea board, unassisted by an attack on the land board side. To destroy the flotilla, the land batteries, or some of them, at least, must be first silenced; and how, in the name of sense and reason, are they to be silenced but by land operations. Land batteries *have* been silenced by men of war, and particularly by British men of war; but, those were not such batteries, and so served, as the batteries of Boulogne. Indeed, this seems to be a point, as to which all men agree in opinion. But, some think, that the flotilla may be destroyed, without silencing the batteries, an error, I am afraid, that will yet cost us dear.——Those who think with me, that an attack by land must take place in order to effect the destruction of any considerable part of the hideous flotilla, will, perhaps, regret, that such an attack was not made the moment the French army marched away for the Rhine. Upon this subject a dispute has arisen, in consequence of an article in the Morning Chronicle, complaining that such an attack was not made. The answer of the ministerial paper, the Courier, I will here insert, and, first begging the reader to go over it with attention, will then submit to him such observations as occur to me:—

"When a land expedition is determined
"upon, then they are violent in their com-
"plaints, that a naval one has not been pre-
"ferred; when a naval expedition is to be
"carried into execution, then a land one
"would have been infinitely preferable. In
"fact, every thing must be wrong that Mr.
"Pitt does, because Mr Pitt does it. But
"*why a land one against Boulogne?* Be-
"cause; and here it is that we complain
"most of the Opposition writers. When-
"ever they want to strengthen an argument
"or point an invective, they assume certain
"points as ascertained and proved facts.
"Two months ago, they assert, the French
"had only five thousand troops at Boulogne.
"Where did they learn that fact? How
"did they ascertain it? How could they
"have come at the knowledge of the
"amount of the force at Boulogne? Ge-

" neral Moore, accompanied by Sir Sidney " Smith, went not long ago on a survey to " the French coast, and, they tell us, gave " it as his opinion, ' that the works could " not be attacked with any chance of suc- " cess with less than 30,000 men.' How " has that fact been ascertained? Has Ge- " neral Moore declared publicly that to be " his opinion? If he has, we should sup- " pose that that would afford pretty strong " reason for believing that there were more " than 5000 men at Boulogne two months " ago. But even now they assert, that the " military force at Boulogne does not greatly " exceed 8000 men. What means have " they had of ascertaining this, and of thus " knowing the exact state and strength of " the enemy at Boulogne for the last two " months? But all these points are given " to us as incontrovertible; we are to take " them as ascertained beyond the possibility " of doubt, in order that they may found " upon them an attack upon ministers for " not having 30,000, or even 40, or 50,000 " men ready three months ago, to have " achieved the destruction of Boulogne.— " With regard to the adoption of the plan " of destroying Boulogne, as a means of di- " verting the force and attention of Buona- " parté, we cannot see how it could have " produced that effect; for as it must have " been done by a coup de main, it would " have been done *before Buonaparté could* " *have had time to turn his attention from* " *the operations of the war in Germany and* " *Italy.* But the destruction of Boulogne " is entirely an English object; no attack " could have been made upon the town till " the renewal of war upon the Continent " had forced Buonaparté to remove his troops " from the coast. Now we put it to any " man, whether, professing and meaning to " co-operate with the Continent for restor- " ing the independence of the Continent, it " would have been wise policy, that our " first operation, after the renewal of conti- " nental war, *should have been one in which* " *we alone had any interest or concern?* " Might it not have afforded some counte- " nance to the idea, so industriously propa- " gated by the Opposition for the purpose " of setting the Continent against us, *that* " *we wished to engage the Continent in war* " *for our own selfish and interested purposes?* " Our policy was more liberal and enlarged: " our first measure, after the renewal of " continental war, was to send troops *to* " *co-operate with the Continent.* We shew " the Continental Powers, that though the " destruction of Boulogne be a desirable " object to this country, yet as it is desira- " ble only to this country, we prefer being " engaged in a common cause with them, " doing that which tends to assist and pro- " mote that cause. We should have been " sorry, therefore, if General Don had been " sent against Boulogne; and ministers, we " think, pursue a wise policy in dispatching " our disposable troops to the Continent. " And here, when the Opposition are, first, " inveighing against ministers for their in- " activity, and for carrying on a puny, pid- " dling warfare, and next blaming them for " not sending 40, 50, or 60,000 men against " this or that place, does it ever enter into " their contemplation what this *inactive* " government has done? Besides sending " troops to Gibraltar, to the East Indies and " the West, they have sent an expedition " under General Baird, *against the Cape*, " an expedition, under General Craig, to " the Mediterranean, an expedition to the " Weser, under General Don; a second ex- " pedition is also preparing in the Downs; " and all this has been done, besides fur- " nishing crews for upwards of 100 sail of " the line, without reckoning the frigates " and smaller vessels, and also the crews for " the myriads *of merchant ships*, by which " the commerce of the country is carried on. " The wonder, therefore, is, not that with " *such a population* ministers have done no " more, but that they have done so much. " But it is sufficient that Mr. Pitt adopts " any measure, for the Opposition writers " to cry out against it; and we have already " detected and exposed them in an attempt " to dim the brilliancy of Lord Nelson's " great victory, and to damp the general " transport it has excited, merely because it " has been achieved under Mr. Pitt's ad- " ministration." —— It is very much to be wished, that these writers would leave off this childish monotonous whine about our disapproving of measures, merely because they are Mr. Pitt's. Our disapprobation is founded upon *reasons* clearly stated; and can it be hoped, that any body, capable of judging between us, will be influenced by a crying complaint in behalf of the person of Mr. Pitt? It is a pity they do not leave this off; for it excites a degree of disgust not to be compensated for by that rhetorical buffoonery, which, in this editor of the COURIER, for instance, would otherwise be highly entertaining. —— " But, why a land ex- " pedition against Boulogne?" Because the flotilla is covered by the land batteries; and if you wish for another reason, because Lord Nelson, though he got in amongst the boats from the sea board, was obliged to abandon the enterprize with considerable loss. Here are, I think, reasons why, if *any* expedition at all be sent against Boulogne, it should

part, at least, be a land expedition.——As to the French force at Boulogne, it must, one would think, be easy enough for the ministers to ascertain nearly the amount of it; but, unless they have ascertained, not only that, but also the extent of the power of the enemy to *collect troops* in that quarter, it is certainly prudent in them to forbear to send any troops against Boulogne. But, when we hear the ministerial writers accuse the Opposition of *assuming* that Boulogne was, just after the departure of the French army, destitute of troops, we should, were not an excess of charity checked by reason and experience, conclude that they had completely forgotten the intelligence which they themselves gave us, at the time referred to. They told us, that the whole of the army had marched away; that the flotilla was begun to be *dismantled*; that *considerable progress* had already been made in the work; that the "batteries, which had so annoyed our vessels, were left *half-manned*;" that there was not a soldier to be seen from the coast; and, in short, such a picture was drawn of the situation of Boulogne, as to convince any one, who was weak enough to believe the Morning Post or the Courier, that an attack by land, though with a trifling force, must have been successful. Weak indeed were those who did believe them; but, let us hear no more of our *assuming* that Boulogne was, for a while, at least, left in a defenceless state.——And why, *if* Boulogne had been attacked by land, might that attack not have diverted the attention of Buonaparté? "It must have been done *suddenly*." Well; but, it could not have been so sudden that he could not have *heard* of it before the whole was over. And, besides, if it had not retarded his progress in the first instance, would it not have retarded him, at last, by delaying the march of his reserve? And, if it had met with little opposition, and had, of course, been successful, must it not have alarmed him for the safety of other parts of his coast? And would this alarm have caused *no diversion?* Would it have prevented the advance of neither Augereau nor any other general? Would it have drawn no troops towards the Channel? Would it, indeed, have done nothing towards preventing the terrible disasters in Suabia?——These questions the reader will have already answered, and, therefore we will come to another argument, which will be found not less curious than the former. The destruction of the flotilla was, we are told, entirely an English object, and, therefore, it would not have been wise in us to have *begun* our operations there, lest our allies should have suspected, that we had only our own interests in view. Now, you are to observe, that, in the case of the late *naval victory*, which could not *possibly* make any diversion in favour of Austria, or of any of our allies, I have been censured, nay, most grossly reviled, for having given it as my opinion, that it would not greatly tend to revive the spirit of those allies, seeing that it was purely an English object! Yes, said this same writer, it will invigorate our allies, for they will *now* be convinced *that we are in no fear for ourselves*. But, would they not have been more fully convinced of this, if we had succeeded in destroying the flotilla; that dreadful day-and-night apparition, the flotilla at Boulogne?——Giving the reader sufficient time to bless himself over this palpable, this scandalous saying and unsaying, I must beg his attention to one topic more, the expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, which, as our opponent boasts, is now undertaken by General Baird, and, probably, seven or eight thousand men. Is this a British object? The Lord Chancellor, Lord Hawkesbury, every one of the present ministers, who belonged to the last ministry, and who spoke upon the peace of Amiens, declared, that the Cape was a *mere burden*, and that we ought to rejoice at being *happily rid of it!* Mr. Pitt did not go quite so far, certainly; but he approved of the treaty generally, and was far from allowing, that the giving up of the Cape was an object of much importance. Yet, to re-capture this station it is, that a considerable part of our best troops are now sent, and that, too, at a moment when they are so much wanted in Europe, where, say men what they will, the contest *must* be decided. It is in vain to endeavour to disguise this truth from the eyes of the people. It is in vain to delude them with the hopes of final success from the capture of colonies, or even from the destruction of fleets. To this we must finally come, victory upon land *in Europe*, or a peace more disgraceful than the last.

The question whether Mr. Pitt *precipitated Austria into the war* shall be discussed in my next. It is one of great importance; and such the ministers *feel* it to be, as is evident from the means, which their partizans are making use of to rebut the charge.——The intelligence from the Continent must remain unobserved on for the present.

Botley, Thursday,
Nov. 28.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 23.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1805. [PRICE 10D.

" These are the reasons for thinking, that" [in the war about to be begun in June last], " the result cannot " be favourable. Austria will be driven to the alternative of concluding a treaty under the same " circumstances that obliged her to conclude the treaties of Leoben and Luneville, and to submit to such " terms as France shall dictate; for, it is contrary to all experience and history to suppose, as has been " argued, that being engaged to Russia and England, she will be bound to hold out to the last. No country " can be obliged, by any treaty, to hold out to its destruction, and to lie down under its ruin. There is, " however, this other alternative, that Austria may adopt, namely, to hold out to the end; but, may not " that conduct endanger the total extinction of the second power in Europe. If she adopt, as I think she " will, the former alternative, we shall then be driven, after all our efforts and expense, either to make a " separate peace, or carry on a defensive war. I hope we shall not be reduced to that alternative, and " therefore, I shall not discuss what ought to be our conduct in such a case."——MR. FOX's Speech, 21st June, 1805, upon the motion for providing the means of giving subsidies to the Continental Powers. See PARL. DEBATES, Vol. V. p. 538.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——When the ship is apparently going upon the rocks, the common sailor, nay the cabin-boy, has a right, and it is his duty, to break through the restraints imposed by his humble situation and capacity, and to call upon the crew, of all ranks and degrees, to save themselves and him. Upon the justice of this observation I may, I trust, safely rest, in the mind of every reflecting man, for an apology for expressing, upon this occasion, a desire, and even a hope, of being able to obtain general attention; for, who, except he belong to that description of persons whose trade it is to deceive the people, will *now* deny, that, notwithstanding some faint glimmerings of hope that have broken through the gloom, England, since the days of William the Conqueror, never knew dangers equal to the present?——The war upon the Continent may be regarded as being at an end; for, whatever may be the mitigation which the more recent intelligence appears to promise, in the fate of Austria, whatever may be the views and the conduct of Prussia, is there any man who believes, or will, if not hired for the purpose, pretend to believe, that any efficient check can *now*, or, without some change not to be reasonably expected, for many years to come, be opposed to France, upon the Continent? The consequence of this state of things will, in all likelihood, be, that ours will again become a war of mere self-defence; or we shall make a peace still more disgraceful and disadvantageous than the peace of Amiens, one of the preliminaries of which peace will be, the unconditional surrender of Malta, for the sake of retaining which the *ministers*, ostensibly, went to war.——Attempts will, I have no doubt, be made; nay, attempts are making, still to lull the people with the hope of success, in some way or other, upon the Continent. But, is it possible, that, after what they have witnessed within these six months, the people of England should still be the dupes of these deceivers? It is, as has been before observed, the way of a weak ministry, to be supported by the falsehoods of their partizans: they live along from deception to deception: the people are always bid to confide, and are almost always deceived: but, 'ere the effect of one falsehood is worn away, another comes to its aid: and, as about eight-tenths of the periodical press is, from causes that need not be pointed out to the well-informed reader, devoted to the ministry of the day, detection and exposure, upon a scale commensurate with the delusion, is hardly to be expected; yet, of late, so rapidly have events followed one another, giving, at every step, the lie direct to the statements of these deluders, and so striking, so awful, have been those events, that one might hope to see an end to this besotted credulity. The boasting language of the Mayor of London and Mr. Pitt has, as yet, hardly completed its circuit through the kingdom: the temple of folly yet resounds with the praise bestowed by the former upon the latter of these persons, as " the " man to whom *all Europe* looked as the " *only barrier* between them and slavery." In recording the circumstances of these puerile scenes, and especially that part of them which exhibited to the public, a citizen's wife in the *family way*, led up by her husband to touch the wonder-working, " hea- " ven-born minister;" having spoken of these worse than childish acts, in which the prime minister of the kingdom is, in the newspapers devoted to him, represented as having taken so large a part, I observed, that it would be curious to know, what, at that very time, *Napoleon was about*. We *now*,

to our sorrow, find, that, at *the moment* that the Mayor of London was proclaiming Mr. Pitt to be the only barrier between Europe and slavery, Napoleon was actually aiming his last blows at the destruction of the *real* barrier between Europe and his absolute sway: we now find, that, while *our* "great "man" was listening to the fulsome toasts and songs of the fund-dealers, in the Guild-hall of London, Napoleon was assisting at a *Te Deum*, in the Abbey of Moelk, in celebration of his victories over the armies of our allies: while our "great man" was, with gracious condescension and unspeakable self-complacency, holding forth his hand to be squeezed by a citizen's wife "in the family "way;" on that very day, and, perhaps, in that very same hour, did Napoleon behold at his feet the supplicating magistrates of the city of Vienna: while our "great man," was, by a hired mob and with those ropes so carefully kept for the purpose in the city, drawn along, upon his own dung-hill amidst the exulting shouts of thousands of brokers, contractors, and Jews, Napoleon, at the end of a march of five hundred miles, through countries guarded by the armies of two mighty empires and studded with fortified places, was preparing to make his triumphal entry into the Capital of his principal adversary, which adversary had been urged into the war by our "great man."——Particular notice was due to these occurrences at the Lord Mayor's Feast: they were calculated, they were contrived, evidently prepared, for the producing of a popular feeling favourable to the minister, and, of course, were considered amongst the means of preserving to him that power, by the possession of which he has been able to contribute so largely towards causing the calamities which have now come upon us. "I give you," said the Lord Mayor, "the health of that "man, to whom the eyes of *Europe* are di-"rected, as to the only barrier between "them and slavery; WILLIAM PITT;" at which, we are told, that loud and reiterated plaudits ensued! What must these applaudders now think? Are they not now anxious to hide their heads? Do they not now begin to anticipate that state, in which they were told the overthrow of Austria would place them? Do they now believe, that Mr. Pitt is the barrier between Europe and slavery? Nay; do they not begin to fear, that he will not prove an efficient barrier for England herself? Can it be, that the citizens of London do not, *even yet*, sympathise with the shop-keepers, the brokers, and the bankers of Vienna?——But, *what is to be now done?* That is the question. Hypocritical as some of the partizans of the ministry may be, and contemptibly foolish as others may be, and are; there are, I imagine, very few of them who will now deny, that the dangers of this country are, beyond all comparison, greater than they were previous to the renewal of the war upon the Continent. I think, they will now acknowledge the truth of what we have been so virulently abused for asserting, that, if we now return to the *single-handed* war, there will exist not even *hope* of a diversion on the side of the Continent; that our powerful and now implacable enemy will seat himself down before our country as before a fortified place; that neither months nor years will weary him; that the Continent will not dare to stir for ten years to come; that the preparations, which we have hitherto seen, for invasion, are mere child's play, compared to what we shall see; and that, times of real danger are now swiftly coming on. Few persons will be found to deny this. What, then, are we to yield without a struggle? Are we to bend our necks submissively to the yoke? I trust not. I trust we shall leave nothing undone that is likely to contribute towards the salvation of our country. I trust we shall follow the example of our countrymen under the brave Nelson. I trust, that England will still be free and great. But, after all, WHAT is to be done? How are we to save ourselves and our posterity from the mortification, the shame, the infamy of subjection to a foreign yoke? Peace, Balaam! No more of your "hoping for the best:" you have *hoped* long enough. In defiance of reason and of experience, you have been hoping for the best, while worse and worse has still come upon us. Unfold your hands, therefore, and prepare to act. How many times, Balaam, thou son of Mammon, who hoped, at last, to be able to *purchase* your safety; how many times have I told you, that the age of commerce was drawing to a close; that the soldier was abroad, and that, however you might cry, he was resolved to have his share of the good things of this world? Peace, therefore; *hope* no more, but prepare to fight, or to be extinguished. Hard alternative! Aye, hard indeed, Balaam, that you, who have so generously administered to the relief of the nation's wants, and have, thereby, so honestly accumulated your hundreds of thousands; hard, indeed, that you should not be suffered to enjoy them in tranquillity; hard, indeed, that a ruffian band should come and compel you, after all, to fight for that which you have already gained, and legally secured to yourself and your heirs for ever! 'Tis hard, Balaam. But, that does not alter the

fact. The soldier is coming, and, rely upon it, that neither writs nor warrants will protect either your chests or your person.—— Refer me no more, ye hirelings, and you, the endless tribe of placemen and pensioners; refer me no more to the all-protecting wisdom of your patrons. That wisdom has not foreseen, or, if it foresaw, it has not prevented, the fearful events which have just taken place; and, tell me, then, where is the foundation of your reliance for the future? Of all the numerous causes of national ruin and disgrace none is much more efficient than that indolent surrender of one's reason which so strongly marks the present inhabitants of this kingdom. "I'll warrant "you the government will take care of "themselves, and in so doing they will take "care of us." This, or something very much like it, you every day hear even from men of understanding, and that, too, after they have been contemplating dangers brought upon them under the very government, upon which they still propose to you to rely. To hear such men, one would imagine, that they had lain in a trance from their infancy; that they had never been informed of what had passed in the world; and that they regarded the fall of a government as a physical impossibility.——But, still, coming back to our first question: *what is now to be done?* What, if your own private affairs had been brought into a state of ruin, would you do? Either give yourself up to poverty and despair; or, endeavour to retrieve your affairs. One or the other, certainly. And, if your affairs had theretofore been conducted by a steward, or servant of any kind, would not one of your first steps be (if you meant to retrieve them) to dismiss that servant, and take another? Oh! say the Cannings and the Ramuses and the Old Roses, we see what you are aiming at; you would have Mr. Pitt dismissed from his place! Why, gentlemen, with due submission to your better judgments, that is what I would really wish to see done. And, I should like to hear the reasons (your emoluments out of the question) upon which you object to it. We have tried him, aided by you and the Dundases, for rather more than twenty years; and, is not the result such as may well induce us to hazard a change? I have heretofore frequently had to trace the nation in its progress downwards, since it has been in his hands: when reminded of his financial talents, I have shown, that after having set out with a promise to reduce the national debt, he has augmented the interest which we have annually to pay on account of that debt, from *nine* to *twenty seven* millions; I have shown, that, after having boasted, that it would be his glory to have his name inscribed upon the proud column raised to public credit, he procured to be passed a law making the Bank of England paper a legal tender as to all practical purposes; I have shown, that after having exulted in the prospect of being remembered as the minister who had reduced the burdens of taxation, he has more than fourfold augmented those burdens; and, when I have met with any one so impudent as to talk of the national prosperity under Mr. Pitt, I have shown, from documents of unquestionable authority, that during the first eighteen years of his administration, the parish paupers of the kingdom have more than doubled in number. Upon these points no answer, other than that of mere abuse, has ever been attempted by any one of all the hired newspaper, pamphlet, and review writers, with which the corrupted and all-corrupting metropolis swarms. In conversation what answer has any one ever heard attempted? None. And, the only observation that one can, by such statements, extort, is, that Mr. Pitt, say what we will, is, "a *great man;*" by which they mean, that he has the bestowing, in one way or another, of great sums of money, some portion of which each of such observers has the hope, near or distant, of receiving. Thus, are the people alienated, bought off, from the cause of their country, by the immense means created by the funding and taxing system. No error can be much greater, or tend to worse consequences, than that which supposes, that the odium and discontent excited by taxes weaken the power of the minister who imposes them. In the first stages of taxation they do, especially where the greater part of the people have a voice in elections; but, where this voice is confined to a few comparatively, and where the several employments growing out of taxation are become so many *trades*, every new tax, instead of diminishing, adds to, the power of the minister; more especially if a certain portion of the produce of each be expended in pensions, sinecures, or other grants of a similar description. Those who take the time to reflect on this, will cease to wonder, that the striking facts above stated, as the effects of Mr. Pitt's administation, have not lessened the number, or weakened the attachment, of his partizans.——To the same source we must seek for the cause of that indulgence, with which but too many have hitherto looked on his measures, as a minister of war. He has expended *three hundred millions* in war. He has mortgaged our property and

our labour, and the property and labour of our children, to that amount, for the purpose of carrying on war. And, what is the result? There is no way to say men what they will; there is, at last, no fair way of estimating a minister's worth, as a minister, other than that of comparing the state of the country at the end of his administration, or at the time when you are speaking (if he be still minister), with the state of the country at the time when he became minister. And, observe, here, that, in making this comparison, you are to consider all the means, and particularly the offensive force, of the country, not positively, but relatively with the means of other countries, and especially that country, or those countries, which have been, or, are likely to be, engaged in wars with you. Those great statesmen, the Lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh and Old George Rose do, generally, when the decline of the country is spoken of, immediately take fire, and fall most desperately to calculating, pouring down upon you whole torrents of figures, showing that, during the last twenty years, the goods, exported as well as imported, have increased in amount three or four fold; whence, as a matter of course, they expect you to infer, that the wealth, as they call it, of the nation has, in the same degree increased; and, as wealth and prosperity always, in their vocabulary, are synonymous terms, they expect you to conclude also, that the prosperity of the nation has received a similar addition. They would, indeed, be a little staggered, if any one had, upon these occasions, the spirit to rise and remind them of the vast increase of parish paupers; and, as to the *wealth* of the nation, they might be a good deal puzzled if any one were to ask them, whether the nation was really become richer in consequence of having more than *doubled its debt*, and having exchanged its twenty or thirty millions' worth of circulating gold for little bits of paper having the name of twice that amount stamped upon them. This would puzzle them, and make them, in reply, talk as if they had hot cockles in their mouth. But, were we, notwithstanding our proofs to the contrary, to give them up the points of *wealth* and *prosperity*, they would thereby gain nothing, unless they could show, that France, our ancient and constant and natural rival and enemy had not surpassed us in the acquisition of those means, by which she would be enabled to injure us. That pains-taking gentleman and staunch "King's-friend" (and minister's friend too), Mr. George Chalmers, enters, in order to show how we have *increased in power*, into a comparison between the number of our ships of war and the number that Queen Anne had. A most unfortunate selection of epochs; for that mild and virtuous and gracious Queen, though she had but so few ships of war, and though the whole of her revenues amounted annually to less than four millions, was really the arbitress of Europe, for the balanced liberties of which, pursuing the policy of her predecessor, she most nobly and successfully made war; while, at the same time, she neglected nothing due to dignity and magnificence at home. During that war, the parliament, in one bill, provided for the erecting of fifty magnificent churches; and, about the same time, provision was made for augmenting the amount of the too scanty livings of the clergy. In our days; in these days of Pittite prosperity, we build nothing magnificent but warehouses and tax-offices; and, we pass laws to authorise and invite the clergy to alienate the property of the Church. Truly, Mr. Chalmers, a most unfortunate selection of epochs! In the reign of Queen Anne we were, small as our power was, able to compel the French to demolish the works of Dunkirk with their own hands. Compare that with the circumstances now existing with this vast increase of our power!—It is, however evident, that, by statements such as those of Mr. Chalmers and the Lords Castlereagh and Hawkesbury, the people are flattered into a high opinion of themselves and of the present means of the country; they are pleased, because they are led to believe that no exertion is wanted; and, of course, they forbear to complain of want of wisdom in the ministry. One would, indeed, regard it as almost impossible, that, while they see the power of France so fearfully increased; while they see her in possession of the absolute command of all the sea-coast from the Baltic to the Gulph of Venice; and, especially while they see her actually making preparations for invading England from all those ports, opposite England and within a few hours sail of it, which ports were formerly, and until now, in the possession of those who were always the friends of England, and who, in all wars, were opposed to France; while they see this, it is almost impossible to believe, that they should; by a mere enumeration of the English fleet, and by a view of the increase of their imports and exports, be satisfied that all is yet well and safe! One can scarcely believe in the existence of infatuation so degrading to the intellectual character of the nation. Yet, is one constrained to believe it; and, it is to be feared, that, as in the case of all other nations, whose names, at

the end of a long course of infatuation, have been obliterated, the people of this country will never be brought to see and to face their dangers till it be too late. The reason why the partizans of the ministry, who have eight-tenths of the press at their command, endeavour to persuade the people that all is well, is evident enough. This is the way, in which alone they can lend their patrons aid. Their business is to deceive. But, really, powerful as the press must be acknowledged to be, there is no sufficient apology for the people, who, if they did not lend a willing ear, could not be so deceived. They have seen, that, since Mr. Pitt became minister, and especially during the last twelve years of his ministry, their country, which they always before regarded as quite equal, if not superior, in power, to France, has been gradually sinking, till they are now not ashamed to look one another in the face, while they acknowledge, that she is very far indeed the inferior of France. What would those amongst them, who are now about forty years old, have said, at the time when Mr. Pitt became minister, and when they were, too many of them at least, bawling out his praises, and literally crying him *up to the skies*; what would they, when, for instance, assembled at the Grocers' Hall to hail the "heaven-born minister;" what would they have said, if any one had risen up amongst them, and bid them check their exultation, for that, in twenty years from that day, they would see, during the administration of this same minister, the dominions of France augmented by the conquest and actual annexation of all the countries on her side the Rhine, together with Savoy, Piedmont, and Genoa, swelling her population from twenty-six to thirty-five millions; that they would see her hold Holland (for whose independence such floods of English blood had been shed) in a state of absolute dependence upon her, and being little better than a fief of her empire; that they would see Switzerland in a similar situation; that they would see her conquer Italy, erect it into a kingdom, and place the crown upon the head of her own Sovereign; that they would see England making a peace of Amiens, abandoning the honour of the flag, having previously obliterated the French Lillies from the English shield, lest France should compel her to obliterate them; and, finally, that, as the natural consequence of all this, they would see their country menaced with invasion by the French, their persons drawn out and kept constantly armed for the purpose of resistance, beacons established on every high hill upon the coast for the purpose of giving the alarm, laws passed providing for the driving away of the cattle, and for carrying off or destroying the corn, the hay, and the fodder; what, in short, would they have said, if they had then been told, that, ere this "heaven-born minister" should quit his place, they would see the Sovereign of France, having first laid all Europe at his feet, keep England in a state of siege, and this, too, though the "heaven-born minister" should, in the mean time, have expended more than *three hundred millions of English money in wars?* What would they have said to the man who should so have warned them? And, what, then, would they have said and done, had he proceeded to predict, that, after all this; after all these calamities and all this disgrace brought upon them, they would, some of them at least, be so senseless or so base, as to continue their support and applause? Would they have heard him out? Would they not have interrupted him with the exclamation and with the corresponding act of RICHARD? Would they not, while they buried their knives, their scissars, and their bodkins in his body, have exclaimed: "down, "down to hell, prophet, and finish thy "prophecy there!" Yet, after all this, and more too, has actually come to pass, worse being daily and hourly expected, the Guild-hall of London resounds with the praises of Mr. Pitt; who is, too, praised as the preserver of the liberties of Europe!—I should like to look one of these city applauders close in the face, and ask him how he could reconcile his conscience to the bestowing of such applause? I should like to see him made to comprehend the nature of his obligations towards his Sovereign and his country, to find him convinced that the setting of these obligations at nought would expose him to the most awful of consequences; and, then, I should like to put it closely to him, whether he did not repent of what he had done. Poor and paltry is the excuse that *the times have been difficult*; that, to cite the words of Mr. Pitt, it is our *fate* to live in times of extreme peril. The peril has not grown out of the times, but out of the measures of those, who have had the disposal of the resources of nations. "From "the *fatality* of the times," said he, in his speech of the 23d of May, 1803, "and "the general state of the world, we must "consider our lot, as *cast by the decrees of* "*Providence*, in a time of peril and trou-"ble." Truly a most convenient doctrine! At the end of twenty years absolute command of all the resources of the kingdom, having, during that time actually doubled,

and more than doubled, the size of the Statute Book, he comes and complains of the *decrees of Providence!* Observe, too, that having very frequently been warned of the fatal tendency of his measures, and having as frequently been told, that the nation was gradually sinking in his hands, he has, upon every such occasion, strongly maintained, that the nation was going on in progressive prosperity, that her resources of every sort, and, of course, her power, were continually becoming greater and greater. For the truth of this, I appeal to the recollection of every man who hears me. And shall we, then, bear to be told, and by this same minister too, that "our *lot* has been cast by "the decrees of *Providence* in a time of *pe-* "*ril?*" The first eight years of his administration were years of peace, and of uncommon prosperity, owing to circumstances peculiarly favourable to us, our ancient enemy being, at the same time, in a state of unparallelled decripitude. How completely has the scene been reversed! And shall he, now that the danger can be no longer hidden, be justified by throwing the blame upon Providence? Whoever were to take upon him the conducting of the national affairs *now*, indeed, might justly allege the *peril of the times*; but, the peril has arisen since Mr. Pitt became minister; it has arisen while he has had the absolute command of the national resources, which he has taken into his hands to an extent never before thought of. It was eight years before any necessity arose for drawing the sword; since it has been drawn he has expended three hundred millions in wars; he has been supported by a majority in parliament that enabled him to draw from the people whatever sums he pleased, and in whatever manner he pleased to employ them; and, after all this, having constantly maintained, in the interim, that his measures were the wisest, having constantly acted upon his own opinion to the rejection of all advice, and having as constantly asserted, that the riches and power of the country were daily increasing; after all this he comes and tells us to blame Providence for having decreed that we should live in a time of peril! And this justification, comes, too, observe, from a minister "*heaven-born.*" Mr. Burke said, that the perfidious rabble of 1784 would, first or last, have cause to repent of their base and impious adulation.—This doctrine relative to the decrees of Providence will, of course, nay, it already has, been applied to the recent melancholy events upon the continent of Europe; though, it seems impossible to deny, that Mr. Pitt's measures have been the principal cause of them. It has, indeed, been denied, that he *precipitated* Austria into the war; but, does any one believe, that she would have gone into war, or into the present campaign, at least, if he had not offered her a subsidy for so doing? Nobody blamed a policy which led to an union of the powers of the Continent against France; but, it was not a hastily formed and inefficient coalition that men of real statesman-like talents were anxious to see, well convinced, and plainly foretelling, as Mr. Fox did, in the memorable speech from which I have selected my motto, that such a coalition would produce events that would render our situation beyond all comparison more dangerous than it already was. The Treasury writers harp upon the *appointment* of GENERAL MACK, as if all the calamities of the campaign were ascribeable to him. No one ever blamed Mr. Pitt for the appointment of General Mack; and very few persons of sense and candour have taken upon them to blame General Mack himself, they having perceived, that, *in every quarter*, the Austrians, have been unable to resist the French. What Mr. Pitt has been blamed for is, for having *precipitated the war*, and, of course, the march of the Austrians. It is impossible for us, unless we obtain access to the port-folios of the foreign department, to ascertain precisely the degree, in which he contributed towards the *hastening* of Austria into the war; but, we know that, so long ago as February last, before any signs of war, on the part of Austria, were visible to us, or even to the French, he came forward with a proposition to provide five millions of money for the purpose of engaging the powers of the Continent in a war against France; and, we know, besides, that his and his colleagues' affairs at home stood in great need of *something* to retrieve them. Nor must we, upon this subject, overlook the letter of Lord Harrowby to Lord Levison Gower. This letter, it will be remembered was published by the French in the Moniteur of the 28th of March last, and was stated to have borne date the 5th of the preceding November. After reading a copy of a translation of it from the French, as inserted in all the London news-papers, we may add a remark or two upon it. —— "I am "glad to hear you have got so far in "so short a time. The concluding part of "your letter gave no hopes of great suc- "cess; but the news from Copenhagen "(received the 11th) relative to the arrival "of the Amethyst, proved that our fears "were groundless. I hope you will pre- "vail on Russia, if not to fire great guns,

" at least to publish thundering manifes-
" toes about the seizure of the Chevalier
" Rumbold. Sweden has sent his account
" of the expence of 25,000 men, amount-
" ing to about forty-eight millions of *livres*
" *tournois*; and I conclude from it, that
" the Swedish ministers have made this ac-
" count on purpose to have it rejected.—
" We know nothing yet of the first nego-
" ciation. M. Frere has been very ill. On
" the 28th of September he sent a note to
" Cevallos, to complain of the armament
" at Ferrol. The only answer he received
" was, that those armaments were not des-
" tined against Great Britain. Parliament
" is adjourned to the 3d of January. The
" King is returned, perfectly well in every
" respect. The dispatch of this day is par-
" ticularly calculated for the Court of Ber-
" lin, because it has *hitherto shewn very*
" *little inclination to enter into those views.*
" But even *Vienna* requires much *sparring*
" *on*; it appears from the reports of Sir
" Arthur Paget, that affairs *have not been*
" *more forwarded by the negociation of*
" *Rasumousky*. As long as they will com-
" plain on the one part, and not make any
" plain proposals on the other, it will be im-
" possible to get forward. The envoys
" from England and Russia, at Vienna,
" must be able to say, at the same time,
" make a defensive alliance with us, in case
" the consequences of the treaty cause a
" war with France; see here the number
" of Russian troops which you may calcu-
" late upon; *here you have the plan of the*
" *campaign*; there, what we propose, if
" successful, and *here the subsidies which*
" *England will give*. If no overtures can
" be made sufficiently explicit and positive
" to obtain a clear answer, it cannot be
" hoped that Austria will be obliged to de-
" clare herself. *Another year* will elapse
" with proposals on the one part, *and re-*
" *jections on the other*; so that resistance,
" always supposed fruitless, will at last be-
" come so indeed. Although we dare not
" *press* Russia *to proceed immediately* to
" active measures; yet if, contrary to our
" expectation, she should be inclined to
" proceed, you will *take care not to oppose*
" *it*, especially if Prussia should be inclined
" to take a part with her. All our friends
" are well. I am going to Bath for a fort-
" night, &c."——Now, I do not pretend to aver, that Lord Harrowby wrote such a letter as this; I do not give it, and of course, shall not reason upon it, as a document of undoubted authenticity; I give it as a publication in the Moniteur, translated in to English, published in all the English prints, and never, as far as I have observed, disavowed by Lord Harrowby, or by any one in his lordship's behalf. From its not having been disavowed, I myself believe it to be authentic, and to have been intercepted by the French, when they stopped and plundered the Messenger upon the borders of Hanover. If the reader does not believe this, the document will, of course, have no weight with him in forming his opinion upon the question of *precipitating Austria*; but, if he does believe the document to be authentic, he will, I think, regard it as strongly corroborating all that we have heard about the backwardness of the House of Austria, and particularly the Archduke Charles, to enter, *so soon* at least, into this fatal war.——Mr. Fox's opinion, as expressed so clearly and fully (accompanied with his reasons) in his speech of the 21st of June last, as far as we are yet informed, notwithstanding the recent more promising appearances, was an anticipation, even a circumstantial anticipation, of the event. The event itself is not, indeed, *proof* that the opinion was correct; but, it affords a fair and strong *presumption*; and, of one thing, at least, it is a proof, namely, that, if Mr. Fox had been minister, we should not now have to lament the yet probable fall of Austria, and, in that case, to look forward to increased danger to ourselves. " No," some hypocritical sycophant will say, " if " Mr. Fox had been minister, we should, " indeed, have seen no effort made to re-" press the ambition of France." But, in answer to insinuations of this sort, it must always be said, that Mr. Fox, in the speech here referred to, expressed his anxious desire to see that ambition repressed, and that too by means (indeed the only rational means) of a combination upon the Continent; but, such a combination he was for taking *time* to form, and, when the time came, he was for adopting such principles as would be likely to retrieve our character upon the Continent, by convincing the combining powers, that we had the general good of Europe, and not our own exclusive interests, at heart.——To say, that an Opposition has nothing to do but to object to every measure of a minister, in order sometimes (as every minister will sometimes fail) to assume to themselves the credit of superior wisdom, is mere cavilling, in this case; for, Mr. Fox's, though a solemn protest against the measure in question, was not a mere protest; it was accompanied with *his reasons*, and, whoever refers to the debate will perceive, that those reasons were opposed by nothing but confident asser-

and by insinuations by no means complimentary either to his wisdom or his wishes. ——What might, at bottom, be the object, which the minister had in view, in urging on this unfortunate *war* upon the Continent, we have no means of previously ascertaining; but, the views of those who have stood forward as his supporters, may be easily gathered from their language. The moment the Austrians began to move, they put forward, in his behalf, claims to *such a majority in parliament, as should enable him to dispense with the aid of Lord Sidmouth and his friends*; not forgetting to express their hope, that *now*, the people, by the mouths of their representatives, would "be more ready "to yield *his Majesty's government* a grateful "support, than to impede their efforts *by* "*the renewal of vexatious inquiries*." The TOAST bore an evident relation to these movements on the part of the press; but, unfortunately, it came a little too late, and has had in effect somewhat like that produced by Martin Marall, who wishing to pass for a melodious singer, but entranced by the sight of his mistress, kept wagging his mouth after the serenade had ceased.—— After all, however, without regard to motives, there must be *responsibility*; responsibility contracted by him, who has, as far as our share extends, been the author of measures, which have, in so short a time, produced calamities so unbounded. An Empire (heretofore, by way of eminence, called THE EMPIRE) brought to the verge of annihilation: Europe, as a community of independent states, in imminent danger of being completely overthrown: England brought into a state of the utmost jeopardy: the sovereignty of the French tort, (unless checked by events hardly to be expected) without extent or limit, to fill up first every part of the Continent, and then to flow into every other quarter of the globe. These are consequences, for which he who has been directly instrumental in producing them, whether *culpably or otherwise*, must be called to a strict account. It is in vain for a set of jobbers and loan-dealers and placemen and pensioners and men wanting to be peers and baronets, to say, that all was done for the best, it was impossible to help it, the measures were wise though the event has been disastrous, there must be something more than satisfaction for this, even though it were to come from quarters more competent and less to be suspected; for, if the country can, without inquiry, witness disasters like those above enumerated, it will require but a few grains more of apathy to fit it to the hands of the conqueror.——But, it would be to equal, and, perhaps, to surpass, the hypocrisy of the ministerial writers to affect to believe, that a *change of ministry* and *nothing else* would enable us to save, or that would give us a chance of saving, our country. Such a change, unless it be *the first of a series of important changes*, though it might serve to gratify a great number of individuals; though it might, and would, give new hopes and animation to the people; would, in the end, only deceive them; would only retard, and, thereby, perhaps, render the more complete, the national ruin. When we are remarking upon the measures of a ministry, and particularly when our arguments, however fair and convincing they may be, tend to the producing of a *change* of ministry, we must be childish indeed to flatter ourselves with the hope of escaping the imputation of being actuated by mere party, and even selfish, motives. But, this must not deter us from plainly expressing our sentiments, especially at a time like the present; for, if ever there was, or can be, a time, when all private considerations ought to sink out of sight in competition with our public duty, such is the time in which I am now writing. Nevertheless, I should regard myself as a base flatterer of the people; I should blush while I read what I had written, were I to encourage my readers to hope, that a mere change in the offices of the government would protect our country from the dangers, with which it is now menaced. *What is further to be done*, what *must* be done, in order to afford us a rational hope of being able to maintain the throne and the dignity of our Sovereign, and, with them, our own liberties; *as handed down to us by our forefathers*, shall be the subject of future observations; but, I cannot postpone, even till the earliest opportunity, the exhorting of all those, with whom I may happen to possess any weight, to prepare their minds for a long, an arduous, and an awful contest; to count, in their prospects of the future, upon sacrifices and exertions, personal as well as pecuniary, such as they have heretofore not only never made, but never thought of; to make up their minds to a total deprivation of what the world calls pleasures; to the foregoing of conveniencies, and to the supporting of fatigue, cold, and hunger; to come to a settled resolution, to suffer no party animosities, injuries, whether real or imaginary, no taunts, no insults, however galling, from persons in power or their partizans, to alienate them, for one moment, from their public duty; and, above all things, to form an inflexible determination to cling to *the country*, through every possible vicis-

situde, to put every thing else to risk; to let every thing else perish, and to perish themselves, if perish they must, rather than see England subjected to a *foreign yoke*.—If there be another exhortation, which I would press with still more solicitude, it is, not to be deluded by *false hopes*. Not to suffer any favourable appearances at the grand seat of war upon the Continent, to turn our minds, for one moment, from the prospect of having to fight for our own liberties upon our own land; for, from such hopes, nothing can tend to less good, or to greater mischief. The recent accounts are satisfactory, in some respects, especially those which relate to the gallant conduct and the probable situation of the Archduke and his army. In the Tyrol, too, all does not appear to be lost; and, it is a source of great consolation to perceive, that *the people* of that country retain an unshaken attachment to their sovereign, amidst all his misfortunes; an example, which, let us hope, will not be useless with regard to his hereditary dominions. Nevertheless, we are but too well assured of the melancholy truth, that Napoleon *has entered Vienna*; that he possesses in what he has at command all the resources afforded him in the wealth of a population of 250,000 of the most opulent of his adversary's subjects; that no small part of the magazines of the Emperor are in his hands; and, that there is a possibility, at least, of his making a political revolution co-operate with his military means in the annihilation of the House of Austria. True, that fortune is fickle, and in nothing more fickle than in the distinction of her favours in war. The next great battle *may* produce great reverses. The French *may* be defeated. The conqueror *may*, at last, be conquered. He *may* be killed. But, *possibilities* are too feeble reasons to rest upon. We must endeavour to ascertain what is *probable*; and, in this pursuit, though we give full credit to the account of the victory over General Mortier on the 9th of November, at, or near Kerms, we should not overlook the circumstance, that, under the same date, we are informed that the imperial court of Austria was about to retreat from BRUNN to OLMUTZ (another 50 miles;) and that the place of its residence was speedily to be at CRACOW, a city *out of Germany*, and 200 miles from Vienna! *Prussia* is now *named*, in the Austrian manifesto from Brunn, as amongst the *friends and allies* of the Emperor Francis; and it is said, that she had originally declared, that she could not be ready to move till about *the present time*; and, that we hurried things on with a view of forcing her into active operations. How *nearly*, at least, this policy has proved fatal, we all see. Upon the whole, therefore, though appearances are somewhat more promising than they were, they are by no means such as to justify the withdrawing of our minds, for one moment, from the anticipation of a struggle the most arduous and awful upon our native land. The Emperor of Austria has scorned to purchase the *safety of his capital* by the surrender of the independence of his country; and, if a like trial should be in reserve for us, our Sovereign, we may be assured, would follow the noble example, and, I trust, he would therein be cheerfully supported by every man, who has the honour to be numbered amongst his subjects. I trust, that, if our country should ever be invaded, we shall enter upon the contest, not as a contest for the preservation of funds or of riches or of commerce or of "*comforts*!" as is, now-a-days, the word; but, that, for the preservation of these, we shall think of no compromise, but that we shall resolve to sacrifice every thing, rather than suffer the smallest diminution of our Sovereign's dignity, or of the independence of our country. For the inculcation of these sentiments there may *possibly* be no pressing necessity; but, that they are always just, no man who loves his country will deny, and, that the rendering of them familiar to the minds of men is, at this time, necessary, I am fully convinced.

PARTY VIRULENCE.—Since writing the above, my attention has been attracted by a most virulent article in the COURIER newspaper; an article the outrageous tone of which would certainly have prevented me from taking this sort of notice of it, did it not appear to convey an intimation of *the propriety of restraining the liberty of the press, when exercised in animadverting upon the measures of ministers*. I will first quote the passage, by which I have been the most forcibly struck, and, will then advert to the immediate ground of the intimation.—"What! In the first moment of distress "upon the Continent, when Austria is supposed to have been forced to submit, and "when every other power has reason to apprehend from that modern Attila, the "scourge of God, shall the first efforts of "the English press be to *taunt* and *triumph* "*over*, and *calumniate*? Shall it offer no "condolence, no pity?—Shall it convey no "cheering sentiment? Shall it speak no "inspiring language? Shall it neither express regret, nor promise support? Shall "it represent us as the base deserters of "those whose cause we professed to make

" our own; nay, not only the deserters " but the *detractors*? Shall it insult the " Continent in its miseries, and aggravate " its sufferings by the language of insult " and reproach? Shall it revile where it " ought to console, and mock the power " over which it ought to mourn? Shall it " hold out *Austria as a fool*, and Russia " and Prussia as drunken drivellers, faithless, profane, and perjured? If the *English Press* can do this, it may indeed be " said, *that it is the greatest curse that can afflict the world*. But it *shall* not do this " *with impunity*. Was the article written " with a view to *the abridgment of the liberty of the press in this country*? The " Opposition we know are no friends to it, " as they proved by their conduct last session. But it is fit that it should be publicly known that the charge against the " EMPEROR OF RUSSIA and the KING OF " PRUSSIA of being *drunken drivellers and perjured wretches*, has been made solely " by the supporters of the Opposition; that " it is universally detested, disclaimed, and *disowned by the English Government*, who respect because they know the characters of the " two Sovereigns; who know them to be incapable of deceit or falsehood, and who place " the firmest reliance upon their integrity and " their honour."——Now, who would not think, that some one had thus calumniated these two princes? Who would not think that some Opposition writer had really made an attack upon them such as is here described? The article, from which this extract is taken, professes to be a commentary upon a most eloquent, and every way admirable, article in the MORNING HERALD of the 2d instant. In order to enable him to account for this ferocious violence on the part of the COURIER, the reader must be informed, that the editor of the HERALD misled, like many others, by the confident expectations held out by the ministers and their partizans, became, from the outset, a zealous supporter of the measures leading to the war on the part of Austria, which support he appears to have continued, till events taught him to withdraw it, when, actuated, apparently, by a sense of public duty, he candidly and explicitly stated to his readers (in the article alluded to), his reasons for so doing. In enumerating the events by which he had been deceived, he thus alludes to the ridiculous story, related by the COURIER and other ministerial writers, about the march of the Prussian armies towards Franconia. " Borne down by the indefatigableness of " successive assurances on the part of the " editor & office, we actually surrendered " the uses of our understanding to the " eagerness of our wishes. Though offended by the midnight fooleries of a couple " of drunken drivellers, in their profanation " of the tomb's sanctity; though all common sense and sound philosophy taught us " a distrust of oaths; though the slightest " exercise of our reason would suggest to us " the fear, that these persons would betray " each other only a little the sooner for the " swearing; though we know that an honest cause disdains such aid——

" ——— Swear priests and cowards
" Unto bad causes, swear such creatures as men
" doubt:

" ——though sentiments like these were present to our reflection: yet, even into this " ludicrous mummery we gave, as a sort of " pious fraud, when we were stoutly told, " in the same breath, that two or three hundred thousand Prussians were rushing " through Franconia, to fall upon the flanks " of the French army, and in his turn to " inflict upon Buonaparté the fate of Mack; " what must our feelings be, when we find " that not one Prussian stirs one foot?" —— Now, when the reader is informed, that, from the beginning to the end of the article here quoted from, neither the Emperor of Russia nor the King of Prussia is once introduced, either by name, description, or allusion, let him determine how great must have been the malignity that devised the above interpretation of this passage, and that grounded thereon an intimation of the propriety of putting an extinguisher upon all that part of the press not devoted to the ministry! But, this is the constant practice of these writers. Beaten by argument and fact, they first try upon you the powers of abuse; despised for that, they next have recourse to serious falsehood; detected and exposed here, their last resort is to *the law*, the fangs of which they invoke against you, with impudence so persevering, that, at last, the unreflecting public begin to think you are a proper object, not of justice, but of legal persecution; and, in a very little while, they are perfectly prepared for seeing you put down, ruined and extinguished. It is excessively base in these Treasury writers to resort to threats of the law; because they, feel, that they themselves are in no danger. They attack whom they please to attack. This editor of the COURIER, for instance, has very recently, imputed to the Opposition, members of parliament clearly pointed out, *perfidious* and *traitorous* designs; nay, he has called them *traitors*. The MORNING POST, in a passage lately referred to, called General Mack an "*infamous wretch*." The

COURIER, as was shown in page 821 (to which I beg leave to refer the reader), had the audacity and injustice to reproach *those who employed General Mack* as being as foolish as a talking fellow without brains; and, the unfortunate Emperor of Austria himself is, by the introduction of an anecdote about King James, represented as a FOOL. Yet, it is this very writer, who, finding himself overcome by a literary antagonist, flies to the law, and puts his own construction upon a passage perfectly innocent, in order to effect his malignant purpose. Neither in this passage, nor in any part of the article from which it is extracted, is there, as was before observed, any mention of, or any allusion to, the Emperor of Russia or the King of Prussia; would not this editor of the COURIER, then, if he had been actuated by wishes for the public good, have been very cautious how he introduced their *names*, coupled with such appellations? No one had called them "*drunken dicellers*, "*or perjured wretches*." No one in England, except himself or some of his fellows, would, I should hope, dare so to describe them. But, in fact, *he* has so described them; and, as far as his writings are likely to have effect, they must, in this instance at least, have a most mischievous effect. Yet, one is not so much shocked at what he has thus contributed to circulate respecting the characters of these two monarchs as at his insinuations respecting the character of the Austrian cabinet and Monarch, especially when taken into view with his repeated *comparisons between the conduct of the Austrian army and that of our fleet*. THERE, indeed, we discover a want of feeling; there, indeed, did the English press "*taunt, triumph over*, and *calumniate*" our ally, our best, most ancient, and most faithful ally. If the ministry do, as I hope, and really believe they do, disavow every sentiment hostile to the monarchs of Russia and Prussia, they will, I should also hope, take some means of staying the plague of this man's pen. I hope that they will disavow what he has *now* written; and, that they will, above all things, make him publicly disavow what he has recently written respecting the Austrian cabinet and army, and, though unfortunate, faithful and illustrious monarch.——In the mean time, as a relief from the contemplation of this disgusting party malignity, and to convince all those foreigners, into whose hands this sheet may chance to fall, that all Englishmen are not disposed to taunt, triumph over, and calumniate the House of Austria, I, with pleasure extract, the following passage from the MORNING STAR (a daily paper just established in London), of the 2d instant. The editor, partaking in the common deception respecting the terms of an armistice between France and Austria, first briefly describes the probable consequences, and then breaks forth in an eloquent strain of applause, but not more eloquent than just. "The calamity of this "event is common to all the nations of Europe. To the awful emotion excited by the "image of fallen greatness, they have all to "add the grief for a lost benefactor. "Amidst the general selfishness of the "eighteenth century, amidst philosophers "of kings, and calculating ministers, Aus"tria has stepped forward in the common "cause, and with fatal, because precipitate "generosity, set her all to the risk. The "dye is against her, but there is no genero"sity amongst men, if, in a common game, "they leave her to pay the whole score.— "Austria has, indeed, the boast of having "every state of Europe as her debtor. To "whatever cause it must be imputed; whe"ther to the actual greatness, and real splen"dour of her empire, which by some na"tural link of cause and effect may have "inspired something of peculiar grandeur "into the Sovereign; whether to that chi"valry of her origin, which, having as its "basis a peculiar sensibility of honour, has "insensibly ingrafted this principle in the "imperial constitution, or whether to the "hereditary generosity of an individual fa"mily, it is certain, that there has ever "been a more invariable generosity, a "more enlarged political dealing in the "House of Austria, than in any other line "of Sovereigns in Europe.—We have seen "in our own times what sacrifices she has "made in the common cause. To this "alone she has successively sacrificed the "noblest members of her empire, and to "this she has at length sacrificed her very "empire itself: she has sealed her honour "and her fidelity by her ruin."——These sentiments, uttered, too, at a moment when there was *no hope* left, do great honour to the heart of the writer, be he who he may, and they will, I trust, be found to be the general sentiments of Englishmen, of all ranks and degrees. Upon this point, at least, I hope, there will not be found a single voice of dissent. With what pleasure must this writer have learnt, that all hope was not lost; that the House of Austria, though its capital was gone, had expressed the noble resolution still to resist! May that resistance be effectual; but, whether it be effectual or

not, it gives the House of Austria new claims to the esteem and the gratitude of Europe in general and of England in particular.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Sixteenth Bulletin of the Grand Army: from the French Official Paper, the Moniteur.*

Rheid, Nov. 2.—Prince Murat has continued his march in pursuit of the enemy, sword in hand, and arrived on the 31st of Oct. before Lambach. The Austrian Generals, perceiving that their troops could not hold out, caused eight battalions of Russians to advance for the purpose of protecting their retreat. The 17th regiment of infantry of the line, the first regiment of chasseurs, and the 8th of dragoons, charged the Russians with impetuosity, and after a lively fire put them into disorder, and drove them to Lambach. We made 500 prisoners.—On the morning of the 1st inst. Prince Murat communicated that General Walter, with his division of cavalry, had taken possession of Wels. General Beaumont's division of dragoons, and the first division of the army of Marshal Davoust, commanded by General Bisson, had taken possession of Lambach. The bridge over the Traun was cut down; for which, Marshal Davoust substituted a bridge of boats. The enemy seemed disposed to dispute the left bank of the river, Col. Valterre, of the 30th regiment, was one of the first to throw himself into a barge, and passed the river. General Bisson, whilst making his dispositions for passing, received a musket ball in the arm.—Another division of this corps of Marshal Davoust has advanced beyond Lambach, on the road to Steyer. The remainder of his corps of the army is on the heights of Lambach.—Marshal Soult will arrive this evening at Wels.—Marshal Lannes will arrive this evening at Lintz.—Gen. Marmont is on his march for the purpose of turning their position on the banks of the Ennus.—Prince Murat commends the conduct of Col. Couroux, commanding the 17th regiment of the line. The troops could not possibly, under any circumstances display more impetuosity and courage.—Immediately on his arrival at Salsburg, Marshal Bernadotte detached General Kellerman, at the head of his advanced guard, in pursuit of a column of the enemy, which was retreating by the road to Carinthia. It had taken shelter under the fort of Pasling, in the defile of Pasling. Whatever might have been the strength of its position, the carabiniers of the 27th regiment of light infantry attacked it with impetuosity. Gen. Werte directed Capt. Campobane to turn the fort by roads almost impassable. Five hundred men and three officers were made prisoners. General Kellerman bestows praises on the conduct of Barber Latour, Chief of Battalion. General Werte has had his cloaths pierced with balls.—Our advanced posts announce from Wels, that the Emperor of Germany had arrived there on the 25th of Oct. that he there learned the fate of his army at Ulm; and that he was convinced, with his own eyes, of the frightful ravages committed every where by the Russians, and of the extreme discontent of his subjects. It is positively asserted, that he has returned to Vienna without alighting from his carriage.—The ground is covered with snow; the rains have ceased; the cold has arrived at its height; it is very severe; it is by no means like the commencement of November, but the month of January.—The weather is drier, as well as more wholesome, and more favourable for marching.

Seventeenth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Lambach, Nov. 3.—This day Marshal Davoust has pushed his fore-posts near to Steyer. General Methand, with the reserve of the cavalry, under the orders of Prince Murat, entered Lenz on the 1st of Nov. Marshal Lannes arrived there on the 3d of November with his division of the army. Considerable magazines were found at Lenz, of which the inventories have not as yet been made out; there are a great many sick in the hospitals, of whom are about an hundred Russians. Fifty Russians have been made prisoners.—In the combat at Lambach, two Russian pieces of cannon were found among those taken. A Russian General, and an Austrian Colonel of Hussars, were killed.—The wound which General Bisson, Commander of the first division of Marshal Davoust's division of the army, received in the arm, is so serious, as to prevent his serving the rest of the campaign. There is no danger, however. The Emperor has given General Caffarelli the command of this division.—Since the passage of the Inn, we have taken from 16 to 1800 prisoners, comprising both Austrians and Russians, without counting the number of the sick prisoners. The division under the command of General Marmont left Lambach on the 3d of Nov. at mid-day.—The Emperor has established his head-quarters at Lambach.—The season continues severe, the ground is covered with snow, the weather is very cold.—At Lambach magazines of salt were found worth several mil-

lions. In the chest at Lintz were found several hundred thousand florins.—The Russians have spread desolation in the neighbourhood of Wels, Lambach, and the surrounding villages. There are some villages where they have killed eight or ten prisoners.—The agitation and confusion are extreme at Vienna. It is said that the Emperor of Austria has established himself in the convent of Benedictines at Moelk. It would seem that in the sequel of the month of November events of the greatest importance will take place.—M. Lezay, Minister of France at Salzbourg, has had an audience of the Emperor at the moment when his Majesty set out from Braunau. Till then he had constantly resided at Salzbourg.—We have no news from M. de Rochefoucault. It is believed that he is still at Vienna. At the moment that the Austrian army passed the Inn, he demanded passports, which were refused him.—Several Russian deserters have arrived to day.

Eighteenth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Lintz, Nov. 5.—Prince Murat does not lose sight of the enemy. They had left at Ebersberg 3 or 400 men to retard the passage of the Traun; but General Walter's dragoons threw themselves into boats, and, under the protection of the artillery, attacked the town with impetuosity. Lieut. Villadet, of the 13th regiment of dragoons, was the first to pass over in a small boat.—General Walter, after having passed the bridge of Traun, advanced towards Ems. The brigade of General Milhaud, met the enemy at the village of Asten, defeated them, pursued them to Ems, and made 200 prisoners, 50 of whom were Russian hussars; 20 Russian hussars were killed. The rear-guard of the Austrians, supported by the Russian cavalry, was every where overthrown; neither one nor the other waited to be charged. The 22d and 16th regiments of chasseurs, and their Colonels Latour-Maubourg, and Durosnel, shewed the greatest intrepidity. Flahault, Aid-de-camp to Prince Murat, was wounded in the arm. Yesterday we passed the Ems, and this day Prince Murat advanced in pursuit of the enemy. Marshal Davoust arrived on the 3d at Steyer! on the 4th he took possession of the town, and made 200 prisoners. The enemy made a shew of defending it. General Beaumont's division of dragoons have maintained their character: his Aid-de-camp was killed. Both the bridges on the Ems are completely repaired.—At the battle of Lambach, the Austrian Col. De Graefen, and the Russian Col. Golofkin, were killed.—The Emperor of Austria, on his arrival at Lintz, received complaints from the Magistracy of the bad conduct of the Russians, who are not content to plunder without beating the peasantry, which has occasioned a number of villages to be deserted. The Emperor appeared extremely afflicted at these excesses, and observed, that he could not answer for the Russian troops as for his own, and that they should endure in patience; which gave but little consolation to the inhabitants. A great deal of provisions was found at Lintz, and a considerable quantity of cloth and clothes in the Imperial manufactories.—General Deroi, at the head of a body of Bavarians, fell in, at Lovers, with the advanced guard of a column of five Austrian regiments coming from Italy, completely defeated it, and took 400 prisoners and three pieces of cannon. The Bavarians fought with the greatest obstinacy and gallantry.—General Deroi was wounded by a pistol shot. These trivial actions gave rise to numerous instances of courage on the part of certain officers. The Major-General is occupied in drawing up a particular account, in which every one will receive that share of the glory which his courage has deserved.—The Enns may be considered as the last line which defends the approaches to Vienna. It is said that the enemy intend to make a stand, and intrench themselves on the heights of St. Hyppolite, within ten leagues of Vienna. Our advanced guard will be there to-morrow.

Twentieth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Linz, Nov. 7.—The combat of Arnsletten has reflected great honour on the cavalry, and particularly on the 9th and 10th regiments of hussars, and on the grenadiers of General Oudinot's division. The Russians have since accelerated their retreat; in vain they cut down the bridges over the Ips, which have been immediately re-established, and Prince Murat has reached the abbey of Moelk.—A reconnoitring party has taken the route of Bohemia. We have taken considerable magazines, both at Freystadt and Matthausen.—Marshal Mortier with a division, manœuvred upon the left bank of the Danube.—A deputation from the Senate has just arrived at Linz. The Elector of Bavaria is expected there in two hours.

Linz, Nov. 8. The Elector of Bavaria and the Electoral Prince arrived here yesterday. Lieut. General the Count De Guilay, sent by the Emperor of Austria, arrived there in the course of the night. He had a very

long conference with the Emperor. The object of his mission is not known.—In the combat of Arnsletten we took 1,800 prisoners, 700 of whom were Russians.—Prince Murat has established his head-quarters at the abbey of Molk. His advanced posts are at St. Polten.—On the 8th, Gen. Marmont directed his march to Leoben. Arrived at Weyer, he encountered the regiment of Guilay, charged it and made 400 prisoners, among whom were a Colonel, and several officers. He has pursued his march. All the columns of the army are in grand march.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Naval Victory off Trafalgar.

(Concluded from p. 838.)

Orion: 1 seaman, killed; 2 petty officers, 17 seamen, and 4 marines, wounded. Total 24.—Agamemnon: 2 seamen, killed; 7 seamen, wounded. Total 9.—Spartiate: 3 seamen, killed; 1 officer, 2 petty officers, 16 seamen, and 1 marine, wounded. Total 23.—Africa: 12 seamen, and 6 marines, killed; 2 officers, 5 petty officers, 30 seamen, and 7 marines, wounded. Total 62.—Belleisle: 2 officers, 1 petty officer, 22 seamen, and 8 marines, killed; 3 officers, 3 petty officers, 68 seamen, and 19 marines, wounded. Total 126.—Colossus: 1 officer, 31 seamen, and 8 marines, killed; 5 officers, 9 petty officers, 115 seamen, and 31 marines, wounded. Total 200.—Achille: 1 petty officer, 6 seamen, and 6 marines, killed; 4 officers, 4 petty officers, 37 seamen, and 14 marines, wounded. Total 72.—Polyphemus: 2 seamen, killed; 4 seamen, wounded. Total 6.—Swiftshure: 7 seamen, and 2 marines, killed; 1 petty officer, 6 seamen, and 1 marine, wounded. Total 17.—Defence: 4 seamen, and 3 marines, killed; 23 seamen, and 6 marines, wounded. Total 36.—Thunderer: 2 seamen, and 2 marines, killed; 2 petty officers, 9 seamen, and 1 marine, wounded. Total 16.—Defiance: 2 officers, 1 petty officer, 8 seamen, and 6 marines, killed; 1 officer, 4 petty officers, 39 seamen, and 9 marines, wounded. Total 70.——Total: 21 officers, 15 petty officers, 283 seamen, and 104 marines, killed; 41 officers, 57 petty officers, 870 seamen, and 196 marines, wounded. Total 1587.

(Signed) C. Collingwood.

Return of the Names of the Officers and Petty Officers killed and wounded on board the Ships of the British Squadron, in the Action with the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st Oct. 1805.

Killed.—Victory: The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Nelson, K. B. Vice Admiral of the White, Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c.; John Scott, esq. secretary; Charles W. Adair, captain royal marines; W. Ram, lieut.; R. Smith and A. Palmer, midshipmen; T. Whipple, captain's clerk.—Royal Sovereign: B. Gilfland, lieut.; W. Chalmers, master; R. Green, 2d lieut. of royal marines; J. Aikenhead and T. Braund, midshipmen.—Britannia: F. Roskrage, lieut.—Temeraire: S. Busigny, captain of royal marines; J. Kingston, lieut. of royal marines; L. Oades, carpenter; W. Pitts, midshipman.—Prince: None.—Neptune: None.—Dreadnought: None.—Tonnant: No return.—Mars: G. Duff, captain; A. Duff, master's mate; E. Corlyn and H. Morgan, midshipmen.—Bellerophon: J. Cooke, first captain; E. Overton, master; J. Simmens, midshipman.—Minotaur: None.—Revenge: T. Grier and E. F. Brooks, midshipmen.—Conqueror: R. Lloyd and Wm. M. St. George, lieutenants.—Leviathan: None.—Ajax: None.—Orion: None.—Agamemnon: None.—Spartiate: None.—Africa: None.—Belleisle: E. Geall and J. Woodin, lieutenants; G. Nind, midshipman.—Collossus: T. Scriven, master.—Achille: F. J. Mugg, midshipman.—Polyphemus: None.—Swiftshure: None.—Defence: None.—Thunderer: None.—Defiance: T. Simens, lieut.; W. Foster, boatswain; James Williamson, midshipman.

Wounded.—Victory: J. Pasco and G. Miller Bligh, lieutenants; L. B. Reeves and J. G. Peake, lieutenants of royal marines; W. Rivers (slightly), G. A. Westphall, and R. Bulkeley midshipmen; J. Geoghegan, agent victualler's clerk.—Royal Sovereign: J. Clavell and J. Bashford, lieutenants; J. Le Vesconte, 2d lieut. of royal marines; W. Watson, master's mate; G. Kennicott, G. Thompson, J. Cambell, and J. Farrant, midshipmen; I. Wilkinson, boatswain.—Britannia: S. Trounce, master; W. Grint, midshipman.—Temeraire: J. Mould, lieut.; S. J. Payne, lieut. of royal marines; J. Brooks, boatswain; T. S. Price, master's mate; J. Eastman, midshipman.—Prince: None.—Neptune: J. Hurrell, captain's clerk.—Dreadnought: J. L. Lloyd (slightly) lieut.; A. M'Cullock and J. Saffin, midshipmen.—Tonnant: No return.—Mars: E. Garrett and J. Black, lieutenants; T. Cook, master; T. Norman, 2d captain of royal marines; J. Yonge, G. Guiren, W. J. Cook, J. Jenkins, and A. Luckraft, midshipmen.—Bellerophon: J. Wemys, captain of royal marines; T. Robinson, boatswain; E. Hartley, master's mate; W. N. Jewell, J. Stone,

T. Bant, and G. Pearson, midshipmen.—Minotaur: J. Robinson, boatswain; J. S. Smith, midshipman.—Revenge: R. Moorsom, captain (slightly); L. Brokenshaw, master; J. Berry, lieut.; P. Lily (slightly), captain of royal marines.—Conqueror: T. Wearing, lieut. of royal marines; P. Mendell, lieut. of his Imperial Majesty's Navy (both slightly).—Leviathan: J. W. Watson, midshipman (slightly).—Ajax: None.—Orion: Sause, C. P. Cable, midshipmen (both slightly).—Agamemnon: None.—Spartiate: J. Clarke, boatswain; J. Bellairs, and J. Knapman, midshipmen.—Africa: M. Hay, acting lieut.; J. Tynmore, captain of royal marines; H. West and A. Turner, master's mates; F. White (slightly), J. Elmhurst, and J. P. Bailey, midshipmen.—Belleisle: W. Terrie, lieut.; J. Owen, 1st lieut. of royal marines; A. Gibson, boatswain; W. H. Pearson and W. Culfield, master's mates; S. Jago, midshipman; J. T. Hodge, volunteer, first class.—Colossus: J. M. Morris, captain; G. Bully, lieut.; W. Forster, acting lieut.; J. Benson, lieut. of royal marines; H. Milbanke, master's mate; W. Herringham, F. Thistlewayte (slightly), T. G. Reece, H. Snellgrove, R. M'Lean, G. Wharrie, T. Renou, and G. Denton, midshipmen; W. Adamson, boatswain.—Achille: P. Prynn (slightly) and J. Bray, lieutenants; P. Westroppe, captain of royal marines; W. Leddon, lieut. of royal marines; G. Pegge, master's mate; W. H. Staines and W. J. Snow, midshipmen; W. S. Warren, volunteer, first class.—Polyphemus: None.—Swiftsure: A. B. Handcock, midshipman.—Defence: None.—Thunderer: J. Snell, master's mate; A. Galloway, midshipman.—Defiance: P. C. Durham (slightly), captain; J. Spratt and R. Browne, master's mates; J. Hodge and E. A. Chapman, midshipmen.

(Signed) C. Collingwood.

From the London Gazette, Nov. 30. Copy of a Letter from the Hon. Capt. Blackwood, of his Majesty's Ship the Euryalus, to Wm. Marsden, Esq. dated this day at the Admiralty.

Sir,—Observing in the Gazette Extraordinary of the 27th inst. that the number of the enemy's ships taken and destroyed, in consequence of the action of the 21st of Oct. is stated at 20 sail of the line; I take the liberty of mentioning to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that as this must be intended to include the French ship Argonaute, of 74 guns, which ship I had an opportunity of knowing was safe in the port of Cadiz, it will be proper to state the actual number taken and destroyed, at 19 sail of the line. This apparent inaccuracy was occasioned by the dispatch of the commander in chief, dated the 4th, having been made up before my last return, with a flag of truce from that port. I am, &c.

Henry Blackwood.

Prisoners of War.—*Correspondence between the English and French Government relative to Prisoners of War.—Transport-Office, May 28, 1805.*

Sir,—Although we still remain without receiving any answer to the propositions made to the French government, in our letter to you of the 13th of Sept. last, relative to a general exchange of prisoners of war; yet, desirous always to promote the interests of humanity, to the utmost of our power, we have not ceased to release, and send to France, from time to time, all such French prisoners of war, as from age, wounds, or other causes, appear not likely again to become active enemies: and we accordingly embrace the present favourable season of the year, for sending, from Bristol, about 40 French prisoners of this description, who will be conveyed to Morlaix in the same vessel with this letter.—In making this communication to you, it is fit that we should request of you to express our hope to the minister of marine, that the same motives which actuate us will induce the French government to send immediately to this country all such of the British prisoners in their possession, as are, from either of the causes above mentioned, become unfit for any active service, and consequently cannot add to the force of this country. Among the prisoners of this description, we beg to recommend to your notice, Lieut. W. Dalyell, who was made prisoner on the 4th of January last, and who appears, by a certificate from the surgeon who attends him, of which the enclosed is a copy, to be so much disabled by the wounds which he received at the time of his capture, as to require the utmost care and attention of his family. We have only to add, that if the French government will release this young officer, we will immediately release any French prisoner of equal rank whom you may point out to us, in exchange for him. (Signed) Rupt. George, Ambrose Serle, Thos. Hamilton, J. Brown. To M. Riviere, &c.

Answer of the French Government, dated Paris, Sept. 3.

Gentlemen,——I have laid before his Excellency the Minister of Marine, and the Colonies, the letter you did me the honour to write to me on the 28th of May last, relative to the sending home English prisoners of war detained in France, whom age,

wounds, or infirmities, had rendered incapable of being employed in active service, and particularly Lieut. Dalyell, of the Ratler cutter.—His Excellency directs me to inform you, that nothing can be done upon the subject, without a formal order from the Emperor, and that, under the present circumstances, his Imperial Majesty cannot attend to the business.—Doubt not, gentlemen, of the zeal with which I shall renew the representation, as soon as circumstances shall permit, and of my eagerness to communicate to you the determination which shall be adopted upon the subject. Accept, gentlemen, the assurance of my high consideration. (Signed) RIVIERE.

SURINAM.——*Official Report received and communicated by the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Counsellors of Court, of Policy, and Criminal Justice, of the Colony of Surinam, relative to the late Insurrection. From the Surinam Gazette Extraordinary; dated Sept.* 18, 1805.

On Monday the 9th instant, the unpleasant information had been received, that the free colonial black troops which are stationed at Post Orangebo, under the command of Captain Muller, have executed their abominable project, and, on Saturday evening, between the hours of 8 and 9, shot and murdered Captains Muller and Wan Der Assen (which last commanded at Post Imotapie, but had arrived on a visit to Captain Muller, at six o'clock in the evening), with the white serjeant stationed at the post, and also the resident commissary and serjeant; and that some of these black troops, to the number of ten, had repaired to the wood plantation, called Woolfskamp, where they, on Sunday noon, about twelve o'clock, also had massacred the residing overseer, Mr. Backer, and from thence kidnapped and carried off the male and female slaves who were on his estate, returning again to the Post Orangebo; and, after examining every thing, left three males and three females behind, on account of their not being able to go with them, and then took their route towards Merewyne.—On receipt of this information, his Excellency, the Lieut.-Governor, instantly had written to the commanding officer at Port Orange, and charged him to march, without delay, a detachment to reinforce the Post of Prince William Frederic; at the same time detaching from here, under command of Major Roepel, sixty men to the Upper Commonwyne, and the same number, under command of Capt. Inthurn, to the Jew Savannah; the last mentioned to march by land to the Upper Commonwyne, and on his arrival there, to join with the others, and, after due deliberation, to do whatever may be judged necessary to frustrate the object of the rebels, and also to track them in the best and most speedy manner.—In the mean time, orders have been given to reinforce all the posts, which orders have already been executed.—A letter has been received yesterday by the general from the commanding officer, Turner, at Post Orange, mentioning to have received a letter from the officer commanding at Post Prince William Frederic, wherein he states to have received information that the Post Armina had mutinied, and that the officer and doctor had been killed by five of the black soldiers, who, the week before, had been sent as patrol to the Post Orangebo, and, on their return, committed this act, after which they had fled, when they were joined by the remaining troops of the post.—The officer, Klein, after receiving this information, called his men before him, to whom he held orth the foregoing circumstances, and demanded of them how they were disposed, and if he could rely on them, to whom they unanimously and with one accord swore to be firm and loyal to the country, and would never leave their officer, and should obey his orders punctually. Hereupon the officer Klein immediately sent an express to the Indians, cautioning them to take care of themselves, and to watch as close as possible what was passing above, and also to report the same without delay; which they had accepted faithfully to accomplish. Three men had been dispatched for the purpose of assisting in discovering what was going on, but who had not returned at the time this letter was sent off.—The officer, Klein, the other day, in the morning, had repaired on board of the there lying gun-brig, and related to the commander all that had been transacted by the black troops, requesting him at the same time to go on shore with him, which was immediately complied with. After they had arrived at the post, the Lieutenant Klein, for the second time, had called his men before him, when they again swore, in presence of the commander of the brig, the same fidelity and loyalty as the evening before.—It appears, from the examinations and depositions of several persons who were witnesses to the barbarous acts (but who, through favourable opportunities, made their escape, and arrived here), that this mutiny only exists among the ringleaders, and not generally among the whole corps, from which there is good reason to hope that several of these mutineers, out of fear or otherwise, will return to their duty. By order of the court, (Signed) M. S. SCHUSTER, Sec.

Printed by Cox and Baylis No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 24.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1805. [PRICE 10D.

"When wealth usurps the influence and the respect due to high station and mental endowments, the State "is fast approaching to the last stages of degradation."——MABLY on the United States of America.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LLOYD'S FUND.——In page 850, and the following, it was thought necessary, in consequence of the revived activity and increased boldness of the persons at the head of this self-erected corporation, to refer to the several parts of the Register, wherein observations had been made upon its nature, its conduct, and its tendency, and to add thereunto such further observations as the contemplated *new* measures of the uncharted and unlicenced body loudly called for. We have since seen, that those measures were persevered in, and we have some reason to fear, that they met with the countenance of but too many of the magistrates and the clergy. But, previous to any further comments upon the mode adopted by the Committee at Lloyd's for raising money upon the people, it will not be amiss to place upon record (in the words of their own proclamation, given from their Council-Chamber at Lloyd's on the 3d instant) the Declaration of their gracious intentions as to the manner, in which part, at least, of the amount of the money raised is intended to be employed.——"RESOLVED, That a Vase of the value of 500l. ornamented with emblematical devices, and appropriate inscriptions, "illustrative of the transcendent and heroic "achievements of the late Lord Viscount "Nelson, be presented to his relict Lady "Viscountess Nelson.——RESOLVED, That "a similar Vase be presented to the present "Earl Nelson, of Trafalgar, to descend "as an Heir Loom with the title so gloriously acquired.——RESOLVED, That a "similar Vase be presented to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, who after the "death of the Commander in Chief in the "hour of victory," so nobly completed the "triumph of the day.——RESOLVED, That "Vases of the value of 200l. each, with "appropriate inscriptions, be presented to "the Right Hon. Rear Admiral the Earl of "Northesk and Sir R. J. Strachen, Bart. "——RESOLVED, That Swords of the value of 100l. each, with appropriate inscriptions, be presented to the surviving "Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's ships who shared in the dangers and "glory of those memorable actions.——"RESOLVED, That the sum of 100l. be "presented to each of the Lieutenants of "His Majesty's navy, Captains of the Royal Marines, and other officers in the second class of His Majesty's proclamation "for the distribution of Prize Money, who "was severely wounded; and the sum of "50l. to each Officer of the same rank who "was slightly wounded.——RESOLVED, "That the sum of 50l. be presented to each "of the Officers of the third class in His "Majesty's proclamation for the distribution of Prize Money, who was severely "wounded; and the sum of 30l. to each "Officer of the same rank who was slightly wounded.——RESOLVED, That the "sum of 40l. be presented to each of the "Officers of the 4th class of His Majesty's "proclamation for the distribution of Prize "Money who was severely wounded; and "the sum of 25l. to each Officer of the "same rank who was slightly wounded; "and that additional gratuities be hereafter "voted to such Officers as may be disabled "in consequence of their wounds.——RESOLVED, that the sum of 40l. be presented to every Seaman or Marine whose "wounds may be attended with disability, "or loss of limb; the sum of 20l. to each "Seaman or Marine severely wounded; "and the sum of 10l. to each Seaman or "Marine slightly wounded.——RESOLVED, "That relief be afforded to the Widows, "Orphans, Parents, and Relatives, depending for support on the Captains, Officers, "Petty Officers, Seamen, and Marines, "who fell in these glorious engagements, "as soon as their respective situations shall "be made known to the Committee.—— "RESOLVED, That *letters be written to "Lord Collingwood and Sir R. J. Strachan*, "requesting they will *communicate the "above Resolutions to the different ships "under their command, and furnish the "Committee with the names of the private "Seamen and Marines killed and wounded*, "with such particulars as they can collect, "respecting the Widows, Orphans, or "other Relatives, who depended for support "on the brave men who so gloriously fell "in the cause of their country.——RESOLVED, That the sums contributed on

"on the day of Thanksgiving be exclusive-
"ly appropriated to the relief of the Sea-
"men, Marines, and Volunteers wounded,
"and to the Widows, Orphans, and Rela-
"tives, of those killed, in His Majesty's
"service, and that a separate account be
"kept of the same."——Upon the palpable and gross impropriety of the people giving their money in order to constitute a Committee of fund-dealers and under-writers the national rewarders of military merit, enough has already been said; and, I am not, as many others are, of opinion that the impropriety is at all heightened by this Committee's taking upon them to expend the money in *Vases, Swords,* or *Medals*; for, I look upon them *full as fit* to determine upon "*emblematic devices,* and *appropriate* "*inscriptions,*" as they are to make a distribution of bank notes to soldiers and sailors. But, here we find them, for the first time, openly promulgating their orders for carrying on, in a public capacity, a *correspondence with the commanders of His Majesty's Fleets,* and for requesting those commanders to make to them *reports relative to the state of the crews of the several ships under their command.* This is something new. It is, indeed, no more than another step in the same path they were before pursuing. It is a step perfectly natural; but, it would, one would think, tend to open the eyes of those, who have not heretofore perceived the point to which the rapidly increasing power of this dangerous institution must, if unchecked, finally lead. In a very early part of the discussions relative to this subject, I had occasion to remark, that the amount of a subscription made during the rebellion of 1745, and of another made during the American rebellion, were, respectively, lodged *in the hands of the Commanders in Chief, to be by them distributed;* and, that there was, in neither of those cases, any sitting Committee; any permanent Corporation, to receive reports from, to judge of the claims of, to distribute rewards amongst, and, of course, to be *looked up to* by, the army and the navy. The conduct of the subscribers upon those occasions, it was, at a very early period foreseen, would not be imitated by the fund-dealers and under-writers at Lloyd's. It was foreseen, that these gentlemen had not lighted their candle to hide it under a bushel; and, for the reasons hinted at, it was, indeed, evident, that they would, with all convenient speed, take care to cause it to be believed, both in the army and the fleet, that the part of the nation best affected towards them, the part of the nation most ready to acknowledge and reward their services, were the fund-dealers, underwriters, and the like. But eager as, for the reasons alluded to, it was evident the Lloyd's men would be to endeavour to produce this persuasion, scarcely any one, I believe, suspected, that they would, so soon, at least, venture to transmit a request to the commanders of the fleets (commanders to whom they had just voted valuable presents) to "*communicate* their "resolutions *to the different ships under their* "*command!*"—Here they are, then, fairly entered on their career. They raise money upon the people, first by what is *called* a voluntary subscription and next by a general collection in the churches and chappels, throughout the kingdom, in consequence of circular letters by them addressed to the Magistrates, the Rectors, the Vicars, and the Curates; having raised the money, they award compensation for services and suffering, they confer badges of honour and marks of distinction; and, that they may not lose that gratitude, respect, and authority, which are inseparable from the exercise of such a power, they transmit their resolutions to the commanders of the fleets, and, dating them from the Coffee-house of Lloyd, request those commanders to "com-
"municate them to the different ships un-
"der their command."——Is there any reflecting man, who does not entertain apprehensions for the consequences to which this may lead? Can there be any man, an enemy to innovation, who fears nothing from this, the most bold innovation that has, in this country, for more than a century been attempted?——Much as I have, at different times, already said upon the subject, I cannot refrain from taking a view of it, though, at the evident hazard of wearying the reader, in another light or two in which it now presents itself.——And, first, I must observe, how much I was surprized, that, immediately after the Lloyd's men had proclaimed their intention of calling upon the Clergy for a general collection, the learned Society of Lincoln's Inn should, as it was notified in the news-papers, lend their chapel for the purpose. It must, surely, have appeared to some, at least, of that learned body, that, in a constitutional point of view, there was much of novelty, that, as the instance of Lloyd's Coffee-house, the Churches and the Clergy, and the Churchwardens should range themselves under its direction, and collect money from the people for purposes to be applied to the benefit of the state, though to be employed by other than royal or parliamentary authority; and, if such a proceeding be constitutional, I should be glad to know from any one of the many

bers of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, for what other object, and to pass through what other hands, money might not, and may not, be, in the same manner, raised upon the people.——*Legally* considered, will any member of the learned Society of Lincoln's Inn say that this proceeding is justifiable? No collection for a public or even private purpose can be made *throughout the kingdom* by the Ministers and Churchwardens, in the Churches, or Chapels, without the authority of the King's Sign Manual, afterwards moulded into Letters Patent, and which Letters Patent, so issued out of Chancery, are stiled *Briefs*. The Society of Lincoln's Inn must well know, that the law imposes a great variety of regulations and checks on the various stages which the collection upon a Brief goes through; that it imposes also heavy penalties on omissions; that the Minister is to indorse the sum received, that the Churchwardens are to countersign it, that they are to pay over the money to the Patentees; and, that the Patentees, are, within a given time, to account for the sum, before a Master or the Register of the Court of Chancery. Now, I would ask any member of the learned body above-mentioned, how this course can be pursued towards a Committee at Lloyd's, who put themselves in motion without any authority of Sign Manual, Letters Patent, or liability to account? They are not a legal corporation, and who amongst them is to give a receipt to the collecting agent? Certainly, for private purposes, a practice has obtained of collecting in an individual Church without a Brief; as, in the instance of a charity school or hospital in the parish. But a *general* collection for a *general* purpose *throughout all England* cannot be made *legally* without the authority of Letters Patent. If this can be done by a suggestion and letters missive from Lloyd's Coffee-house, there will be not only an end of the necessity of Briefs; but, money may thus be raised for any purpose whatever; and, there can be no objection, other than those created by the mere private inclinations of the Ministers and Churchwardens, to a general collection throughout all England being made for the purpose of erecting a statue to Mr. Pitt, a purpose which, probably, the fund-dealers and underwriters at Lloyd's have *full as much at the bottom of their hearts* as the alleviating of the sufferings of wounded seamen.——What a field is here opened for the creating of opposite powers in the state! Those who heretofore had the guardianship of the rights of the crown and the liberties of the people, did not fail to perceive how dangerous an instrument the Church might possibly be rendered as a channel for the collection of pecuniary means. And, therefore, they wisely provided such checks as were calculated to prevent such danger. But, if this proceeding of the Lloyd's men and their clerical co-operators be allowed to pass without any notice, and even without reproof, from some department or other of the state; if the ministers and churchwardens, who have acted upon these Letters Missive from Lloyd's Coffee-house, meet with nothing to convince them that they have acted wrong, here will be a precedent established for their raising money, in future, for whatever purpose they please, and for lodging it in the hands of whomsoever they please. There can be no reason why money should not be thus raised for the purpose of honouring and rewarding statesmen and their adherents as well as military and naval commanders and the men serving under them. No reason at all. And, what a source of mischief is here? The Church is thus, if this proceeding remain without censure from competent authority, liable to become, and, in all probability, will become, a great political engine, as fit and as likely to be used against the monarchy as for it. Suppose, for instance, that, amongst the circumstances of the approaching times, it were, in order to preserve the throne and the independence of the country, to become necessary, to curtail, by the amount of one half, or two thirds, the interest at present paid upon the funded debt of the nation. It is easy to conceive, that, in such a case, the fund-holders would endeavour to resist; and, considering how much more active and expert they are than the rest of the community, it is by no means difficult to foresee the use they would make of this newly-discovered mode of appealing to the people in support of their cause. Indeed, it is perfectly useless to suppose particular cases; for, that man's mind must be very barren, who does not perceive many out of the numerous ways in which this daring innovation tends to consequences of danger the most extensive to the stability of the throne and the peace of the realm.——I should like, too, to put it to the learned Society of Lincoln's-Inn, whether it really be *lawful* for the Committee at Lloyd's, or any other self-created body, to collect money *only by voluntary contribution*, and though not in the Churches, or by means of general Letters Missive, for any public purpose whatever, and particularly for that of paying, or making presents to, the army or navy? If

put this question to that learned Society, and I am pretty confident they will not answer in the affirmative; for, that Society are, surely, not to be reminded of the prosecution, in the reign of Charles I. of the leaders of the CLERICAL-FUND. The professed and the real object of this fund, was, to *relieve the distresses and to reward the meritorious conduct* of the poorer clergy of the Church of England. To this end, a fund was formed, by voluntary subscription, for purchasing up and restoring to the Church, as much as might be of the property of which it had been plundered by the remorseless tyrant Henry and his selfish and impious favourites. Than this object, which, (to its great shame and its sorrow when too late) had been neglected by the government, under the reigns of Elizabeth and James, nothing, surely, could be, in itself more laudable; especially as the conditions attached to the enjoyment of every benefice so restored, were, a *foregoing of all pluralities*, and a *constant residence* upon the cure. Yet, the institution was unlawful; as such an information was filed against the leaders in it, by the King's Attorney General; their funds were confiscated to the use of the King; and their conduct was pronounced to be in contempt of the King and his laws, and hostile to his crown and dignity. Pray, then, tell me, any of you the members of the learned Society of Lincoln's Inn, whether, if it was unlawful thus to endeavour to make provision for the distressed, the half-starving, Clergy of the established Church, and, at the same time, to provide for the instruction of the people in the most important of all human concerns; if this was unlawful, tell me whether it be lawful for a self-created body at Lloyd's to form a fund for the relief and reward of the distresses and the meritorious conduct to be found in the army and navy?——But, in a *military* point of view; in its probable, and almost inevitable effects, upon the discipline of the army and navy, this new and self-erected board for the distribution of honours and rewards will, perhaps, be still more mischievous. It has already been observed, that it must greatly diminish that anxiety, which every soldier and sailor ought to feel to stand well with the king and his officers, and which is the soul of military discipline. To Lloyd's, and not to the throne, will the army and navy, in general, now look as to the fountain of honour and of reward; and thus are the people, by giving their money, to Lloyd's, enabling a set of fund-dealers and underwriters to control their Sovereign in those acts, [illegible] born, and which are the most useful to, his office. Flowing from such a source, and distributed upon such principles as the Lloyd's men will naturally adopt, and as, indeed, they have adopted, honours and rewards must create discontent and ill blood in the army and navy; for, is it likely, that those who have been wounded in a defeat or a repulse (frequently with every circumstance of severe suffering and meritorious conduct); is it likely that such men, who stand most in need of consolation, will be contented to see all the honours and rewards bestowed upon those, who have had the good fortune to share in some popular victory? Again, if this mode of honouring and rewarding the army and the navy be suffered much longer to exist, *when is it to stop?* Will not the army and the navy (for it must be extended to *both*, or the consequence is too evident to be pointed out), look, after *every* victory, to Lloyd's? If honours and rewards do not follow the engagement, will they not ask *the reason?* Will they not think themselves neglected? Will they not murmur? Whereunto all this leads, it is, surely, unnecessary to say!——At the end of these observations; after having, as I think, shewn that the institution and proceedings of the Committee at Lloyd's are unconstitutional, illegal, and greatly injurious to the discipline of the army and the navy, I am sorry to have to add, that, from the publications in the news-papers, it appears, that some, at least, of the magistrates and the clergy have given them their support; and, amongst the former, it is with peculiar regret I see the Mayors of OXFORD and CAMBRIDGE. *They*, at least, ought to have been better taught *. It is satisfactory,

* The notifications of these magistrates should be preserved. No one will object to this, who is not afraid to stand the test of time.—"TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE "CITY OF OXFORD.—I have this day re- "ceived a communication from the Com- "mittee for managing the *Patriotic Fund*, "suggesting the propriety of collections be- "ing made after divine service on the day "appointed for a General Thanksgiving, in "religious congregations of every descrip- "tion, for the relief of the widows and or- "phans of those who fell, and for those "who were wounded, in contributing to "the late glorious naval victories. The "Committee have been induced to make "this recommendation from a persuasion "that many persons, whom it may not suit "to give sums for which they would chuse "to set down their names as individual sub- "scribers to this fund, would gladly avail

however, to learn, as we do from the SUN news-paper of the 6th instant, that, "at "*several of the churches and chapels* in Lon- "don *no collection was made.*" The ministers and churchwardens of those churches and chapels, knew their duty, and had the firmness to perform it, notwithstanding all the insinuations of the writers in the SUN and other prints of the same description. As far, too, as the lists have reached me, I am pleased to observe, that, *this time*, very few indeed of either the nobility or the clergy (*one* only, that I have observed, of the *ancient* nobility) have delegated to the Lloyd's men the power of bestowing their property in largesses, thinking, probably, that they themselves are full as capable of distributing honours and rewards, and of selecting "appropriate inscriptions" for vases and swords; or, which is still more probable, and more praise-worthy, thinking, that the pleasing, the gracious, the love-inspiring, and the power-creating task of acting *for the nation* in this way belongs exclusively to their Sovereign, on the dignity and stability of whose throne *they* and *theirs*, in a peculiar manner, depend. It is a further satisfaction to perceive, that, the names of very few, if any, of His Majesty's ministers are to be seen in the Lloyd's List. They, or some of them, at least, *must* see the dangers to be apprehended from the institution and its proceedings; and, therefore, it is their duty to refrain from giving them their countenance; but, their duty, if what I have stated and inferred be not grossly erroneous, goes much farther, it being, upon this supposition, their bounden duty, not to discountenance merely, not only to check, but immediately, and with a resolute hand, to put an end to the proceedings and to put down the Committee, for which, as I have shewn from a precedent of unimpeached legality, and analogous to which many others might be cited, the King's Attorney General has ample authority.——Here the subject might, and, I hope, for ever, be dismissed; but, a remark or two upon the *title* of this FUND I am anxious to offer here, and the rather, because I do trust that this is the last time, that it will be necessary to mention it. —The astonishing effect which, during the French revolution was produced by an artful use of WORDS, and, in spite of the glaring contradiction in the acts, an inflexible perseverance in that use, have frequently been the subject of remark. Whereunto LIBERTY AND EQUALITY tended, we have long since seen; nor can we have forgotten that the "*Dons Patriotiques*" was a subscription for providing the means of withdrawing the army from its dependance upon the throne, and, thereby, of subverting that throne, and, eventually, dragging the sovereign and his family to the scaffold. The Parisian Committees did, too, call upon the people to contribute towards rewarding the "*défenseurs de la patrie*;" and, though I sincerely acquit the Lloyd's men of having, even in the smallest degree, adopted the disloyal views of those Committees, I cannot help being

---

"themselves of such an opportunity, when "every heart will swell with gratitude for "national mercies, to unite the duties of "patriotism with those of devotion, and "contribute, according to their means, to "the assistance of these meritorious objects. "In *conformity with the views of the Com-* "*mittee*, I have *notified this their wish to* "*the ministers of the several parishes*, and "places of public worship, within this city; "and, not doubting their readiness to adopt, "and give it all possible effect, I think it "right to make this public intimation, "*that collections will be received in all our* "*churches* and religious congregations on "the ensuing General Thanksgiving Day, "in aid of the Patriotic Fund. JOHN "THORP, Mayor. Oxford, 28th of No- "vember, 1805."——He does not say, that the ministers *had given their consent*. It would be curious to know, whether the minister of the Church, at the principal seat of Church learning, obeyed the notification thus communicated.—— The Mayor of Cambridge speaks thus.—"*Cambridge, Dec.* 2, 1805. "TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF "CAMBRIDGE.—In consequence of a wish "expressed by some respectable persons, I "hereby give notice, that there will be *no* "*illumination* of this town on Thursday "next, as was intended, it being hoped and "*recommended*, that individuals will *add* "the expence, which would thereby be in- "curred, to their *intended* subscription to "the *Patriotic Fund*, for the relief of the "widows and orphans of those sailors who "fell in the cause of their king and country "in the late glorious victory gained by the "fleet under the late Lord Nelson, off "Cape Trafalgar. JOHN MORTLOCK, "MAYOR."——Was there, I wonder, no Clergyman at Cambridge to remind this Mayor of the sharp reproof which was given to those, who reproached the woman with having *wasted* the precious ointment, when it might have been sold for so much money, and the price have been *given to the poor?* Was there no one of all the hundreds of Clergymen at Cambridge to remind MR. MORTLOCK of this?

forcibly struck with the similarity of terms adopted in the two countries, while, in my own behalf and in behalf of all those who think with me, I resent the insolence of those persons who have dared, as in the instance of the advertisement for a collection in the parish church of St. George, Southwark, to insinuate, in a manner too intelligible to be misunderstood, that those only are *friends to their country* who encourage the raising of money to be transmitted to Lloyd's; that those only are *patriots*, who, being able, give part of their property to the "*Patriotic Fund!*" † Upon the mischiefs which must naturally result from thus dividing the people into *friends* and *no friends* of their country, it is unnecessary to remark; but, in rebutting the insinuation, thrown out in this particular instance, as well as in several publications in the news-papers (one of which was quoted in page 855), we may, without any want of charity, and even with singular propriety, revert to the illustration furnished us in *Lord Melville*'s subscription to the "*Loyalty Loan*," taking care to copy our account of the transaction from his speech in the House of Commons on the 11th of June last, and from his *own report* of that speech, as published in a pamphlet, and circulated through the country:—"I "have no materials, nor has Mr. Trotter "confessed any, by which he could make a "statement on this subject, more accurately "than he has hitherto done. But he has "very recently communicated to me his "belief, that the advance for me of one or "two instalments on what is *called* the "*Loyalty Loan*, was the only material ad-"vance to which he meant to allude; and, "so far as I can form any judgment on the "subject, I am inclined to think, that his "recollection does not much mislead him "in this respect. When I subscribed ten "*thousand pounds* to that loan, I certainly "had not at my command the money "wherewith to purchase the stock; but "many who hear me will recollect, that it "was *expected of men in public situations* "that they should *give countenance* to it, "and I accordingly did (as I believe many "others did) give directions for subscribing "to it, *meaning to dispose of it as soon as I* "*could*. The late Mr. Henry Drummond "arranged this for me; but I inadvertently "omitting to make the transfer at the *pro-*"*per time*, and the value of the stock *hav-*"*ing fallen*, it remained upon my hands. "To the best of my recollection I remitted "the first instalment from money borrowed "in Scotland. MR. TROTTER MADE "PROVISION FOR THE REMAIN-"DER, *whether by advance on his private* "*account with me, or through the House of* "*Messrs. Coutts*, I DO NOT PRECISELY "KNOW." The reader will, I dare say, be at no loss to make a tolerably accurate guess as to the source, whence this ten thousand pounds worth of *loyalty* came; and, even at the hazard of dissenting from the modest gentlemen of St. George's, Southwark, and others of that description, he will have little difficulty in believing, that a vast proportion of the Lloyd's *patriotism* is made of much about the same stuff as Lord Melville's *loyalty*; in which belief he will, it is

† "St. George, Southwark.——THE "FRIENDS OF THEIR COUNTRY are "respectfully informed, that two Sermons "will be preached in the church of this "parish, on Sunday, the 8th day of Decem-"ber next, when collections will be made "*in aid of the subscription at Lloyd's*, for "the benefit of the widows, wives, and "children of those brave seamen who gal-"lantly fell, or were wounded, in the late "glorious engagements. That in the morn-"ing by the Rev. Robert Stevens, M. A. "Assistant Morning Preacher at St. James's "Church and Chapel, alternate Evening "Preacher at the Magdalen, and Chaplain "to the Lord Bishop of Dromore; and that "in the afternoon, by the Rev. Henry "Draper, D. D. of St. Edmond's Hall, "Oxford, Sunday Morning and Evening "Preacher at St. Antholin's, Watling-street, "and Lecturer of this Parish. Prayers will "begin at half past ten in the morning, and "at three in the afternoon. Thursday, 28th "Nov. 1805."—Here we have a striking instance of the evils, of the wild work, proceeding from the *non-residence of the beneficed Clergy*. The living of this large parish is not half sufficient to maintain its Rector; if it had been, he would, in all probability, have been upon the spot, and, in that case, I may, I hope, confidently assert, that his wisdom, his well-known acquaintance with the laws of the realm, and particularly those relative to the Church, of which his profound learning and distinguished public spirit render him an ornament, would have prevented these proceedings.—— N. B. The above is copied from a hand-bill, not having the *printer's name* upon it, so that, unless the persons, by whom it was published, look upon this preaching, praying, and collecting as a *Bible*, and the Church as a *shop*, and can prove them to be such too, there is, in the publication, a direct violation of the law.

to be hoped, find some consolation for having declined to add any of his golden burthen to the *dust* now deposited at Lloyd's.

NAVAL VICTORY.—One might have hoped, that the public would have been suffered to see the brave Nelson deposited in the tomb, without hearing of any more claimants to a share in his honours. One might have hoped, that, after the claims in behalf of those, who had appointed Sir John Orde to supercede him in the Chief Command upon the Cadiz station, had been, by the almost unanimous voice of the nation, rejected with such a decided expression of disdain; after this, one might have hoped, that no new claim would have been raised to insult the feelings and the understandings of the people. Yet, 'ere the remains of the gallant, the public-spirited, the disinterested, the honest-hearted, the clean-handed hero have received the rites of the sepulchre, up start the partizans of SIR HOME POPHAM, and advance for *him* a share of the honour won at Trafalgar! This claim was first preferred in the Courier newspaper of the 5th instant, in the following manner:—"Several of the letters from Lord Collingwood's fleet praise the system of *Lord Nelson's* signals. Every man must be proud of having it known that he was of *some use* in *gaining* the glorious victory of Trafalgar, and hence we may state, that it was the help of the Naval Telegraph *first invented by Sir Home Popham*, of which Lord Nelson *availed himself*. It was by this new telegraph that Lord Nelson, at a distance, out of sight of Cadiz, was enabled to communicate with his cruizers close in with that port, and to know what the enemy were doing as accurately as if he had been on the spot; while he was so far away that the enemy did not believe him to be within reach. It was by this telegraph, too, that he said to his fleet as it was going into action, 'England expects every man to do his duty.' It is obvious that such an expression could not have been conveyed by signal. Sir Home Popham's telegraph was indeed of *great use* to Lord Nelson: and we hope this may be mentioned without offence to those gentlemen who, by their *naval inquiries*, and *false accusations*, had nearly ruined Sir Home."—The manner in which this paragraph was inserted clearly betrayed a premeditated design of imposing upon the public. It was placed in a conspicuous part of the paper, and in that sort of printing which is used for the purpose of attracting extraordinary attention. In *all* the ministerial papers (every one of them) thus was this paragraph published; and, in one of them, if my memory does not fail me, it was said, that, without the aid of Sir Home Popham's telegraph, the victory of Trafalgar would, probably, not have been won! It was before asked, why the cannon-founders and powder-makers did not put in their claim; and, certainly, if Sir Home's claim be admitted, we may reasonably expect the rope-makers, the smiths, the sail-makers and the carpenters to apply; for, without these, too, "the victory of Trafalgar could not have been won!" But, as to the *fact*, upon which this claim in favour of Sir Home is founded; as to the fact itself, though I will not be quite positive, I will state, that I have good reason to believe, and my firm belief is, that it is *utterly false*; for, that the mode of conveying signals which Lord Nelson made use of was no more Sir Home Popham's than it was mine! I challenge these purloiners of fame to produce any of these "letters from Lord Collingwood's fleet," and to tell us the *names* of the writers: till they do that, they must and will stand justly suspected of falsehood. Sir Home, Sir Home Popham, good now! *He* share with Lord Nelson! No, no: to Sir Home we leave all the honours acquired in the SENSIBLE and the ROMNEY (I think it was); nor grudge we him aught of his large share of the merit of the Catamaran expedition, in which he participated with the gallant Melville, while, as the Morning Post told us, MR. PITT and Lord Harrowby, from the top of Walmer battlements, "surveyed "the awful scene, and while they exulted "in the triumph over the Corsican tyrant, "dropped tears of compassion for the fate of "the miserable victims of his ambition;" grudge we Sir Home aught of the honours acquired amidst his at once tremendous and melting scene; but, in the name of all that is brave, generous, and just, let no man give unto him one particle of the glory of that victory, in the obtaining of which the public-spirited, the honest, the ingenuous, and true-hearted Nelson breathed his last!——Having been, by the above publication, forced back to the subject of these attempts to interlope upon the merits of the late glorious victory, I cannot refrain from noticing a subterfuge, which has, on the 5th instant, been attempted by the Courier, relative to the declaration made by MR. PERRY (of the Morning Chronicle, I believe), at the Surrey address-meeting, as noticed in the Register, page 850. The writer in the Courier says, that the passage I quoted, *he had not seen* in *any* of the papers. Now, I *told* him that I found it in the SUN newspaper of the 22d of

November; and, if the reader looks at p. 848, he will see that I told him so. Why, therefore, had he not appealed to the SUN, instead of saying that *he had not seen it?* When he might at once have appealed to the *fact*, he falls to *reasoning* upon the matter, and attempts to show, how *improbable* it was that MR. PERRY should have said, at the Surrey meeting, that "he had in his pocket "a letter from Lord Nelson, written a few "days previous to the engagement, which, "if read, would satisfy every man present, "that the disposition of the naval force at "that period *deserved censure, not praise*;" the writer in the Courier asks whether it be probable, that MR. PERRY (he, apparently had ascertained that it was Mr. Perry of the Morning Chronicle) should say this one day, at the Surrey meeting, and the next day praise, in his paper, the vigilance of Lord Barham, and extol his great merit in having so amply provided Lord Nelson with ships; in answer to which I have only to say, that, though, generally speaking, I agree with the opinions, and frequently admire the talent, that appear in the Morning Chronicle, I have not taken upon me any responsibility for the consistency of that print in matters where Lord Barham is concerned. I simply stated a *fact*, and gave my authority, which authority was in possession of the editor of the Courier also. It was for him, therefore, to appeal to that authority, or to hold his tongue upon the subject. The fact, however, I now find to have been *correctly stated*. Mr. Perry did utter the words attributed to him; and, as to the sentiments of the Morning Chronicle, they have nothing at all to do with the matter.——Not less foul, or rather mean, is the attempt, in the same Courier, to shift off the charge of having spoken of Lord Barham as "*a superannuated old fool.*" I said, that I was fully convinced, that this Lord had never been so spoken of, *publicly*, or in *print*, at least, in any paper but the Courier. I said, that the writers in the papers, called opposition papers, *knew better*; and, I added, that I hoped, that no opposition writer would think of so calling the Lord, in print. In commenting upon this, the Courier accuses THE TIMES newspaper of having made use of this degrading appellation, with respect to the Lord; but, in again quoting the words, as from THE TIMES, the Courier writer takes care, quietly to leave out a very material part of the phrase; to wit; the words OLD FOOL! "He" (meaning me) "knew it "was THE TIMES that was so base as to call the "present first Lord SUPERANNUATED." Yes, yes (without, however, accusing any body of *baseness*, upon this occasion) I knew very well, that THE TIMES did call this Lord "*superannuated*;" but, Mr. Courier-Writer, there is, methinks, some little difference, between *superannuated* and "*superannuated* "OLD FOOL," an appellation, which I still insist *nobody but you* has, in *print*, and in this country, applied to this Lord. Here I will pin you down; you have said, that certain writers called Lord Barham "a *su*-"*perannuated old fool*:" I deny it. I assert, as I before asserted, that, since this man was made a Lord, he has, in no *printed* paper in England, the Courier excepted, been called a "*superannuated old fool.*" Now, refer us to the paper, where you pretended to have seen the appellation; give us the name and date of the paper, or, frankly, and like a man, take the appellation upon yourself. How you came to give into such licentious language; how you came to launch out into such ear-clipping expressings; whether you were led along by that impetuosity of genius that marks all your writings, or whether you just clapped on a couple of monosylables for the purpose of rounding your sentence; the cause I shall not attempt to ascertain; but to the fact I hold you; and, be assured, that it will not be three or four columns of abuse that will extricate you from the toils, where I now leave you to gnaw, and fret and growl and foam, till I have leisure to return and stir you up again.

"PIOUS TO THE LAST!"——I have often had to remark, and I now think it my duty again to remark, upon the irreverent manner, in which some of the newspapers introduce the subject of religious worship, and particularly that part of it, which has arisen from special appointment, and has been connected with the political circumstances of the times. Upon the occasion of the recent THANKSGIVING, the Times newspaper contained a very censurable paragraph; full of pharisaical boasting, mixed up with no small portion of falsehood. The SUN, the ORACLE, and the COURIER had all something of the same sort; but the MORNING POST, ever pre-eminent in disgusting flattery of the people, contained on the 6th instant, an article, which, I think, every sensible and truly pious man must join me in censuring. "It "is difficult to suppose which is more ac-"ceptable to God; the piety, that when all "human means have been provided, looks "to Heaven for success, as a blessing upon "a righteous cause, or the gratitude, which "after having performed all that human "bravery is capable of achieving, gives to "Heaven the whole merit of the victory, "and thanks God for the success he sp

"bountifully bestowed. But surely the "people, that, having itself put forth every "exertion of which human nature is capa- "ble, expects success only from the favour "of Heaven, and having performed deeds "of valour beyond the conception of hu- "man power, ascribe the praise of victory "to God alone. *Surely such a people must* "*be a spectacle formed for the* PARTICU- "LAR DELIGHT OF GOD. Such a "spectacle *the British nation has* IN "EVERY INSTANCE *afforded*, but ne- "ver in a more striking manner than yes- "terday. Every one seemed to be actuated "by the example of Nelson, so sublime and "distinguished in every thing, so pious in "prayer for victory before the battle, so "fervent in thanksgiving after victory was "obtained. In our observations on the re- "cent public fasts, we noticed particularly "two æras; the first, the very commence- "ment of the war, when we were menaced "with the immediate irruption of 500,000 "disciplined soldiers, prepared to over- "whelm and destroy us for ever. At that "time, though we had the confidence *in* "*ourselves, and the Almighty*, to take up "arms against such a powerful host, we "implored from the Creator, *the opportu-* "*nity of acquiring military discipline*, "without which the arms we had taken "would, in the day of trial, be but useless "incumbrances in our hands. *The Almigh-* "*ty favoured us with the time that was so* "*essential*; and we having improved that "time by pursuing and attaining the object "we had in view, appeared in gratitude "before his throne to acknowledge the "blessing. Since that time *we have not* "*ceased to desire most anxiously the oppor-* "*tunity of meeting the menaced attack, and* "*contending with the enemy hand to hand*. "But by the *particular providence of God* "a great part of the means that were to fa- "cilitate the descent upon us has been cut "off by our navy, without being suffered to "produce any domestic disturbance or con- "fusion among us. This forms a third æra, "and *for this we yesterday offered our* "*grateful praise*, and poured forth our "heartfelt thanksgiving. We trust that we "will always solicit the Almighty with the "same justice in our cause; with the same "piety in our prayers. We trust that the "Almighty will be ever equally bountiful "to us, and that we will always acknow- "ledge his bounty with the same fervour of "thanksgiving, and the same heartfelt sin- "cerity of gratitude. May we have many "such occasions of acknowledgment! We "cannot here forbear to notice *the pleasure* "*we found* in associating in our thanks- "giving of yesterday, *our gratitude* "*for the recent* SUCCESS *of the al-* "*lied powers on the Continent.*"——— Reader, what think you of this? What think you of the piety of those who stand forth, and in print too, and assert, that they have, in *every instance*, so acted as to ren- der themselves the "*particular delight of* "*God!*" And, then, after having, in con- sequence of a little prayer, obtained time to go to drill and to get our knapsacks and firelocks ready, we have not ceased to pray that *we might meet the enemy single-handed*; but, a great part of his force having been *prevented from coming to meet us*, we *thank* God for that! Was there ever before an instance of such familiar, low, unworthy language with respect to the Deity; and was there ever so glaring an instance of hy- pocrisy? Have you, reader, been, for a long time past, praying that we might time to meet the French single-handed? Have you not, on the contrary, and do you not now, at church, every Sunday, pray that the enemy may not be able to come at us single-handed? And, when the war upon the continent drew off the French troops from Boulogne, did not this same writer in the Morning Post congratulate the public, that *now* we were *relieved from the dangers of invasion?* "Having," said he, "*no longer* 200,000 disciplined soldiers "placed in a position, from which "*they* "*might pour in upon us, in a few hours of* "*favourable coincidence*; *having the ad-* "*vantage of acting with allies, capable of* "*engaging the vast armies that were to be* "*poured down upon us, horde after horde,* "*till we should be consumed even by conti-* "*nued victories*, if we should be fortunate "enough to gain them, we have *now* to "*congratulate ourselves* that the time is ar- "rived which can alarm the threatener in "his turn." And yet this same writer, speaking seriously and addressing himself, in some sort, to the Deity, now says, that, since the volunteer corps have been drilled (for that is what he means by military dis- cipline) he has not ceased to pray, that we might have to meet the French in a single- handed contest!——But, the concluding sentence is the worst! To hear a man con- gratulate himself; to hear him soberly de- claring that he felt a holy pleasure, from the lucky circumstance of being able to join to his thanksgiving for the victory of Tralfagar, his thanksgiving for "the recent SUC- CESSES of our allies upon the continent;

the hearing of this who can help calling to mind the hypocrisy of the old puritans.

"Thus flattering heaven with a lie:
"And, for their hearing giving thanks,
"Raised supplies and filled their banks."

Now, mind, this applies only to the thanksgiving; or, rather, pretended thanksgiving, for the "recent SUCCESSES of our allies upon the Continent." Thanksgiving! Thanks that the Emperor Napoleon has passed through Vienna; that he has driven the combined armies before him almost out of Germany; that the House of Austria, the last-remaining barrier between Europe and subjugation totters to its foundation! Do any one, or did any one in England, on the 5th instant, rejoice at these things?——*Hypocrisy* is the great vice of the times; and, no where does it appear in colours so glaring and so odious as in some of the newspaper writings. The writers in some of these papers have so long been in the habit of deceiving the people; they have had so much success in this way; such gross falsehoods they have sent out as truths, and have seen them received as such; that, at last, they have fallen into a language, that would seem almost to indicate, that they had conceived the intention of deceiving Providence itself. The fact is, however, that, if we may judge from the rest of their conduct, they think but very little about the impiety of their language and sentiments; and make use of this mode merely the better to carry on their work of delusion; for, nine, perhaps, out of every ten of their readers, will give a greater degree of credit to their statements, when thus backed by an appeal to the Searcher of Hearts; these readers will hardly believe it possible, that, when men *thank heaven* for the successes of our allies, no such successes should have taken place, and that the thanksgivers themselves should be convinced that none such have taken place.——In taking my leave of this subject, I must beg the reader to bear in mind the renewed declaration, that this writer has not ceased *to beseech God to cause us to meet the French single-handed.* This declaration I am very anxious that the reader should not forget; for, he will see the day, when I and every other man who shall dare to speak his sentiments upon the state of the country, will be accused of *a wish to induce the enemy to invade us.* This accusation will be preferred by this very writer; and, therefore, I am very desirous, that this present declaration should be remembered.

ADDRESSES TO THE KING.——At the meeting lately held, in the county of Berks, to agree upon an address of congratulation upon the late naval victory, and of condolence for the loss of Lord Nelson, a meeting held in consequence of *a notice from*, and not (as in the case of Lord Melville) in consequence of a *requisition to*, the Sheriff, Dr. MITFORD begged to know, previous to passing any vote of thanks to the Sheriff, whether the last address to his Majesty from the county of Berks, at the most numerous and respectable meeting ever witnessed in that Hall, had been *presented* to his Majesty, agreeably to the request of the said meeting. This brought on an explanation, on the part of the Sheriff, whence it appeared, that he had used his utmost endeavours to comply with the request of the meeting, having had many interviews with Lord Hawkesbury upon the business, and being obliged, at last, to leave the address at the office.——The public must have perceived, that the addresses, as they are received, upon this occasion, are, by the ministers, published in THE GAZETTE. How comes it that the addresses respecting the affair of Lord Melville have not been so published? This will, doubtless, become a subject of inquiry elsewhere.——Having been brought back again to the subject of the address upon the occasion of the naval victory, I avail myself of the opportunity to correct an error, into which, for want of information, I fell relative to the *calling* of MR. BOTHAM, whose celebrated speech at the Surry Meeting (as the said speech was found in an advertisement in the Morning Herald) was inserted in the present volume, page 840. Judging from the internal evidence afforded me in that speech, I guessed Mr. Botham, whose Christian name I find to be PETER, to be an army or navy taylor; but, I am happy to have it in my power now to state the real fact, which is, that Mr. Botham is a *Deputy collector of the land-tax*, for the county of Surry; and, that he may be enabled still more highly to appreciate the value of the "*greatest minister that* "*ever lived*," he is, I hear, upon the look-out for the post of *Receiver General*.——The *Chapter of Winchester* have had a meeting, a *dinner*, and, as the Winchester news-paper informs us, some excellent *toasts* and *songs*, upon the occasion of the naval victory. At this meeting, *after dinner*, and by way of interlude to the singing part of the feast, a MR. POULTER (a clergyman), the news-paper tells us, made a speech, and in this speech, sentiments like those of Sir Thomas Turton and Peter Botham were expressed. Indeed, it appears from the publication here alluded to, that MR. POULTER thought much less of Lord

Nelson than of that "great man," Mr. Pitt. This is, it would appear, the same Mr. Poulter, who held forth (at the Winchester meeting last spring) against Lord St. Vincent, and in favour of Lord Melville. But, there were *other sentiments* uttered, upon the last-mentioned occasion, by Mr. Poulter, which, as coming from a clergyman, and a clergyman, too, of almost unequalled church preferment, will, at an hour of more leisure, demand a detailed examination. Such sentiments, if merely *heard* at the end of a rich dinner and amidst the exhilirating effects of wine, might have escaped any very serious notice; but, having been obtruded upon the public, through the channel of the press, it would argue a great want of discernment, or a very culpable degree of indifference, in the readers of the speech, were it to be suffered quietly to sink into that oblivion, whither all the other of this gentleman's performances have so rapidly descended.

French Bank.——Upon the proclamation of Fouche, relative to the stoppage of payment in specie at the Bank of Paris, the Courier of the 5th instant has the following remarks.—"*Great discontent prevails at "Paris.*" The distrust of paper money, in "consequence of the failure of so many "Bankers, one of whom, Recamier's House, "is for no less a sum than four millions "sterling, and the consequent distress is "universal. Fouche, the Minister of Police, "found the discontent to be so rapidly increasing amongst the crouds that flocked "about the doors of the Bank for payment "of bank bills, that he feared some disturbance, and issued a proclamation, in "which he prohibits those assemblages; in "other words, *forbids the people under pain "of incurring the vengeance of the Police, "to go and demand payment for the bank "notes in their possession.* But a partial "payment is to be made to peaceable citizens. But in what manner? Individuals "are to go before the mayors of the respective districts, and to make known their "wants; they are then to receive, if the "mayor and Fouche choose, a ticket, which "they may carry to the Bank, authorizing "the Bank, upon that ticket being presented to it, to give cash for the notes the "ticket-holder has in his possession. We "have inserted this curious proclamation. "Those who refuse to disclose their necessities, and to give an account of the manner in which they came by the notes in "their possession, or of the manner in "which they mean to employ the money "which they solicit to be permitted to receive for them, will of course be suspected, "and no tickets will be granted them. Of "this *we may be sure*, that none but bank "notes *for small sums will be allowed to be "paid in cash*; the large ones will be refused, as belonging to avaricious men and "stock-jobbers. Amidst this *universal distress* and depreciation of paper money in "France, it is curious to read the dissertations in the accounts from the French "army, of the great discount upon the bills "of the Bank of Vienna, circulated in Suabia and Bavaria. We know that the discount has been enormously exaggerated; "but what is the conduct of the French in "Germany? The Austrians pay for provisions and other necessaries in bills which "may be at a discount, but the French pay "nothing at all for what they take."—I have inserted this paragraph, in order to point out to my readers, the inferences, against which, upon this subject, they ought to be upon their guard. I beg them not to believe (unless they wish to be most cruelly disappointed), that any event, of the sort above-spoken of, will have the least effect upon the power or the military operations of France. The "distress," instead of being "*universal*," as the Courier represents it, *must necessarily* be very limited indeed, seeing, that, of the circulating medium in France, not above *one twentieth*, at the most, consists of bank notes, the rest being gold, silver, and copper. The bank notes are confined, chiefly, to Paris, and, for the far greater part, are held by stock-jobbers and other dealers in funds and money. It *was said* (in our news-papers) that, before the Emperor set off for the Rhine, he emptied the Bank of its specie, and carried it off to the army. This is not very improbable, though we find it stated in these prints; and, if true, it shews, that a bank, upon a limited scale, and having some real money always in hand, may, upon occasion, be rendered conducive to the power and glory of a nation.——But, I would ask this writer, whether he considers the stoppage of cash-payments at a national bank, even supposing the relative amount of the paper to be twenty times as great as it is in France; even upon that supposition, I would like seriously to ask him, whether he really thinks, that of such an event the natural consequenses are, *great discontent*, and *universal distress*. I would like to ask him, whether he thinks, that the forbidding of the people (under pain of the police if he will) to go and demand payment for the bank notes in their possession, or, which is the same thing, protecting the Bank from the consequences of refusing to comply with

uch demand: I would like to ask him, whether, upon his honour, he does really think, that, from such a cause, great discontent, universal misery, and national ruin and disgrace must arise. He says, that *we may be sure*, that none but bank notes for small sums will be allowed to be paid in cash. Very *likely*, though not *quite sure*. But, admit the perfect assurance; and then where is the hardship? Do not he and I know of a very rich and flourishing country, under the management of "the *first financier in the world*," where the bank notes in circulation are twenty times as great in their relative amount as the bank notes in France are, and where even *small notes* are not allowed to be paid in cash, while, at the same time, it is asserted, that the country is in a state more prosperous than ever, that it is richer than ever, that its credit is unshaken and unsuspected, and while, indeed, it is not less confidently asserted, that "*guineas are an encumbrance?*"——If he will give an answer, in civil language, and with as little as may be of bombast and tautology, I will insert every word of it in the next Register.

Continental War.—From the French Official Bulletins, down to the *twenty-sixth*, the whole of which, regularly arranged, will be found in the second sheet of this Number, it will be seen, that it was not without some reason, that, in my last (p. 881) I endeavoured to put my readers upon their guard against the sanguine expectations held out by the ministerial writers. I was, more, perhaps, from my wishes than my reason, led to give full credit to the account of the victory said to have been gained by the Russians at, or near, Krems: but, I could not overlook the circumstance, that, *immediately after the victory*, the victors *retreated*, that the two Emperors were about to remove from Brunn to Olmutz, and that Cracow, a city *out of Germany*, was fixed on as the place of their still farther retreat. Upon the statement of the ministerial writers (not supposing that they would have given out a downright falsehood upon such a subject) I concluded, that the Archduke Charles had "reached the confines of Hungary," and, upon that ground, particularly, was inclined to congratulate my readers upon the change of prospect. But, the Bulletins now come to hand; the rapid advance of the French in all quarters; the situation of the Archduke Charles with regard to the French force both before and behind him; the letter of Count Palfy, on the part of the Archduke Palatine, relative to the non-resistance of the Hungarians; the capitulation tendered by the Russian army; the operations of Ney and Augereau against the remaining force of the Austrians in the Tyrol; and, finally (in spite of all the promising and vowing and praying and swearing, of which the ministerial papers have told us) the obstinate immobility of the Prussians: with all this before one, it is, I think, next to impossible for any reasonable man not to believe, that the Emperor of Austria will, in a short time, be compelled to submit to the terms of the conqueror.——I shall be told, perhaps, and, indeed, I am told by the ministerial newspapers, that the Letter of Count Palfy, and the Russian Capitulation, are fabrications of the French, "*base and infamous* "*forgeries.*" In such a case, to reason is really to throw away time; and, therefore, I shall only say, that I think, that they are both perfectly authentic; and that, if my opinion should prove to be erroneous, no one will more sincerely rejoice than myself.—— The narrative of events which will follow here, and which is inserted in the French official paper, of the 18th of November, will be found very useful in illustrating certain parts of the history of the campaign.

Continental War.——*Narrative of the Events of the Campaign, taken from the Moniteur of the 18th of November, and said to be a Letter dated from Vienna on the 11th of November.*

A council of war was held on the 15th of October, in consequence of the reports from the Tyrol respecting the Austrian army of the empire, which were far from being consoling.—Field Marshal Colloredo, opening the business, declared, that the disaster which had happened to the army was unexampled in the history of the monarchy; that the reparation of the loss was not so much an object, as the disgrace, which was indelible, and in which a large corps of the army was involved, in consequence of laying down its arms; while its commander in chief, and a number of officers were at its head; and not even daring to force a passage through the enemy's corps. He added, that the general of this army deserved to be hung up in one of the public places in Vienna.—The result of this conference was decisive, as to the necessity of exerting every means remaining in their power, to resist the progress of the enemy, till the Russians should arrive, and who had hitherto moved with such rapidity, that all the draught horses, &c. for several leagues, were quite exhausted and knocked up.—On the evening of the same day, the Archduke Ferdinand's adjutant, Colonel Bianchi, arrived, having quit-

ted this prince at Anspach. He was the bearer of all the details of the unhappy affair which had annihilated an Austrian army; and as reports were soon circulated in Vienna, in spite of all the endeavours of government to conceal them, the consternation became general, and was only interrupted by the indignation expressed by the public against the ministers, who had commenced a war without adequate means for its support; and against General Mack, who had delivered up his brave troops to shame and dishonour, as a sacrifice to his own vanity and presumption.—Though there was scarcely an individual who did not sympathize in this event, none appeared to suffer more acutely than his Majesty the Emperor. His concern was too great to be long concealed. He gave a vent to his feelings, and complained, that the more his efforts were directed to secure the tranquillity of his reign, the further he found himself from his object. And when those about him endeavoured to soothe him with the hopes of a long repose, which must naturally follow a period of such cruel agitation, he answered, in a plaintive accent, 'That he should never repose, till his dead body should be carried to the capuchins!'—General Mack having demanded a council of war to try him, His Majesty at first returned for answer, that it would be unnecessary; but the general insisting, he said he would grant his demand; but, in the interim, it would be necessary the general should retire to a place, where he would not be exposed to the questions of the cursous. He consequently chose the fortress of Brunn, where he resides with his adjutant, captain———. The Generals Span and Werneck were afterwards arrested, and confined in fortresses. General Werneck, it seems, was the person upon whom Mack wished to fix all the blame of the battle of Ulm.—Those partizans of Mack, who say he presented a memorial to His Majesty, with a view to exculpate himself, assure us, that he had completely justified his conduct; and that the loss of the battle was occasioned by treason.—His enemies, on the other hand, reproach him with endeavouring, by secret means, to prevent the Archduke Charles from having the command of the army of Germany, for the purpose of having it conferred upon himself and his partisans: that he descended so low as to calumniate the Archduke in the presence of His Majesty, thus forgetting both his patriotism and his fidelity.—However, though it may be true that General Mack had intrigued for the command of the army, merely to figure under the eye of his minister; and that his partisans also made use of unjustifiable means to assist him; it is not less certain, that his nomination was as much owing to England and the Emperor of Russia, to whom the Emperor had left the choice of his generals.—That the army of Germany was not entrusted to the Archduke Charles must be imputed to Russia, which protested against his nomination in consequence of the grudge she harboured against him, ever since the Russians under Gen. Korsaroff, lost a battle in Switzerland, which loss was attributed to the Archduke Charles. The person least terrified by the catastrophe of General Mack's army, was the Cabinet Minister, he being persuaded that the Austrians never could be ultimately defeated, because they defended a good cause—having God and Religion on their side. Since this epoch, they say this Minister has doubled his pious exercises, and that he still recommends a vigorous resistance, being of opinion that every thing should be hazarded in the cause.—A general rising *en masse* was proposed for the German provinces of Austria, with a rising of the cavalry, after the example of the Hungarians; but the doubt, as to the possibility of organizing them, the magazines being empty, and the rapid successes of the French, and their allies, would not admit of the opportunity.—It is said, that Kutuzow had declared, that he dared not give battle, excepting in the environs of the mountain of Reid, some miles from this city.—In the mean while, draught horses of every description were called for by Government, not excepting even coach horses. The public was also stunned with proclamations. I take the liberty of subjoining such as have come to my knowledge: some of them are perfectly ridiculous: that, for example, which enjoins a month's provisions to be collected for the troops that were to pass through to the environs of Vienna; at a time when it was necessary to use main force to get through a hungry crowd to obtain a pound of flour on the market days. Similar to this is the Proclamation against the monopolizers of the small currency, while there were very few persons who had a sufficient quantity of it for the purpose of giving change in their daily traffic.—It was hoped, when his Majesty the Emperor went to Brannau, on the 27th of October, that he would there have had a meeting with the Archduke Charles, and that an armistice was in agitation. This measure might have been facilitated by the respect which his Majesty the Emperor of the French entertained for that Prince. To have granted it, it is true, the Emperor did not require any small sacrifices, nor shrunk

sureties for its due observance.—But the Terra Firma of Venice, the object of the French politics, being abandoned, in consequence of the retreat of the Austrian army (a report prevalent here these two days past), the French have now only to seize upon the Venetian territory, in order to enable them to dispose of Hungary and its appurtenances at pleasure.—But if the Emperor of Austria would add to the Venetian territory, the evacuation of the Tyrol, which will very shortly be invested on all sides; and if he obliges the Russians to halt, there is no reason why the Emperor of the French should not concede to his Majesty of Austria sufficient time to consult with his allies; and, with their consent, to withdraw himself from that connection.—If it be true, that Prince Murat has entered Bohemia, where he will find more partizans than elsewhere (that country being the focus of every sect, religious and political), the allies of Austria will themselves feel the necessity of listening, as soon as possible, to a final accommodation. The public do not relish the continuation of the war; and as they augur nothing from it but calamities, they neither conceal their dissatisfaction with government, nor their indifference as to any change.—This spirit of disaffection, and a wish for a new government, appears to pervade all classes, and particularly the most enlightened; and there is no doubt, that if the Archduke Charles, or his brother the Archduke Palatine of Hungary, aspired to the throne, they would find a number of partisans, but no opponents.—The Emperor's brothers having constantly augured ill of the war, their predictions being verified, and events evidently proclaiming the incapacity of ministers, there is every degree of probability, that the Emperor must yield to their solicitations for peace, in spite of the insinuations of England, the promises of Russia, and the astonishing amity of the Prussian Monarch.—The cabinet minister, for the moment at least, has lost all his influence in political affairs. This his Majesty made him sensible of, upon the occasion of his departure for the head-quarters at Brannau; and when this minister advised him against taking the step he was upon the point of pursuing, without mature consideration, his Majesty replied, "He was weary of being governed by others; and that the minister should not interfere with affairs with which he was unacquainted."—The inaction of the Archduke Charles was for some time the subject of censure; now, on the contrary, they do him justice, and admire his prudence, in conducting his forces in such a manner as to support the army of the Danube, the adverse fortune of which he had foreseen.—In fact, to have made a progress in Italy, two armies were required; one to invest the fortresses, and the other to maintain the advantages which should have been obtained.—The defeat of the Austrians, near Ulm, was not altogether unforeseen here. Several generals predicted this disaster; among others, General Troon, who hearing of the passage of Bernadotte, said, publicly, and very frequently repeated it, 'that they would see the French at Vienna'.—They have a strange mode of consoling themselves here; they pretend, that the victory of the 15th was not to be ascribed to the genius of the French general, but to chance, and the unskilfulness of the Austrians, who, having lost their senses, added one blunder to another.—The Archduke Charles has sent a courier, to express his apprehensions that he shall not be able to cover the Tyrol, and to demand reinforcements. Consequently the reserve of the troops upon the frontier are ordered to march, as reinforcements for the Archduke: similar orders have been given to the levy en masse, the nearest in point of situation.—The Archduke Palatine proposed, that if his Imperial Majesty had chosen to have taken refuge in Hungary, to demand of him full powers to bind him to the dismission of all his Austrian ministers, and to substitute Hungarians; to abandon the German provinces to their fate; to concentrate his forces in Hungary: to put 300,000 men under arms, and with these to advance to the frontiers and demand peace of the Emperor Napoleon. In case of his Majesty's acceptance of reasonable conditions, the Archduke Palatine would have undertaken to obtain the consent of his brother. If, on the contrary, the terms were rejected by Napoleon, the Archduke had resolved to sacrifice the whole of his army, and his own person, in defence of the honour of his nation.—This promising project was entirely set aside, by the Emperor's determination to take refuge at Olmutz, with the Empress, and the foreign ministers of all the courts in amity with him; and to send his children only to Hungary.—This change has contributed very much to the diminution of the enthusiasm, with which the presence of his Majesty had inspired the Hungarians, in the sitting of the late Diet. The zeal which has been remarked among the Hungarians, is not so much the offspring of their devotedness to their Sovereign, as of their apprehension on account of any change in their constitution. Their ideas of the political importance of

this constitution are so extraordinary, and of the obstacles the Emperor Napoleon would meet with in any attempt to overturn it, that they imagine it is the principal object at which he is now aiming, merely to obtain the end he has proposed to himself.—They are also intimately persuaded, that, so long as their constitution shall remain inviolate, Europe, encouraged by their example and their principles, will struggle successfully against French principles; but that, from the moment their constitution shall be shaken, its subjugation must necessarily follow.—The Emperor having rejected the offer of a general rising en masse, and having preferred an army of sixty thousand men, and a reserve of thirty thousand, paid and equipped by the Hungarians, the Palatine seemed to be no longer animated with the same energy, and the levies went on so slowly, that it is probable six weeks would have elapsed before they would have been completed; and that the Palatine would have broke with his Majesty, being disgusted with the new measures, which, as they did not promise better than the former, might compel him to make a dishonourable peace. It seems, however, that he is determined to continue the war, with the aid of the Russians; and that he will still collect recruits, neither willing nor able to fight. One single check may destroy these resolutions.—After the battle of Ulm, the Emperor offered the command of the army of the Danube to the Archduke Charles, adding, it was the desire of Russia and England that he should accept it, that, at the same time, he might have an opportunity of negociating for a peace with the Emperor Napoleon; and either to obtain good conditions, or time for the arrival of the Russian columns. The Archduke answered, that he thought nothing of any sacrifices he might make for the preservation of his Majesty's provinces; but that the idea of a negociation, for their cession to the enemy, was intolerable.—It seems the Archduke, will, in future, enjoy the full confidence of his Majesty; the Cabinet Minister also frequently invites the Privy Counsellor Fasbender, to his private conferences. This enrages his antagonists, the obscure partisans of the Jesuits, such as Flot and others, and makes them tremble.—This junto, it is said, persuaded the Emperor to cause the Archduke Charles to set out for the army of Italy, long before his presence was necessary, that they might avail themselves of his absence, to hasten the commencement of hostilities, a measure the Emperor had constantly resisted, while the Archduke was with him.—The dearth is excessive; the magazines are empty; nothing is in circulation but paper, which decreases in value every day. If the reverses continue, and the French armies should happen to demand contributions in specie, it will be impossible to pay them. It will then be necessary for the Emperor to open his private treasury, which contains ducats, at least, to the value of 50 millions of florins.—The Canon of Collambach has declared, upon several occasions, that if his brother, the Privy Councillor, should only succeed in effecting the promotion of General Mack to the head of the army, the merit of this act alone would be so considerable, that the country could never sufficiently testify its gratitude. But the battle of Ulm has produced such an alteration in the Canon, that the severity of his censure is now as extravagant as his former adulation.—The Emperor of Russia was expected here on the 5th, and every preparation was made at Court for his reception, when a courier brought intelligence to the Palace of Lichtenstein, that his Majesty was suddenly indisposed, and had passed the night in his chateau, at Felsberg, in Moravia.—This indisposition was thought a mere pretext to avoid the spectacle of misery, which he must otherwise have seen imprinted upon every countenance, notwithstanding the affected cheerfulness, which it was the wish of Government to exhibit. This change of the Emperor's intention of visiting Vienna did not appear to have been foreseen at court, as none of the preparations for his reception had been countermanded.—The Emperor of Austria set out on the 7th for Presbourg, on his way to Olmutz; he had declared he would put himself at the head of his troops, and he nominated General Schmidt as Adjutant-General. They say the Emperor took that route to avoid a meeting with the Russian army, which, no longer concealing its disgust, accuse even the Austrians of selling and betraying them.—The Emperor was expected to have slept at Scholshof, after leaving Presbourg, where it was thought he would wait the return of Count Giulay, who was to bring him the determination of the Emperor of the French.—The Empress set out for Olmutz in the night between the 7th and 8th, with the elder princess, and her physician.—On the 29th of October, government determined to put all the vessels upon the Danube in a state of requisition, to transport the effect belonging to the court and the different chanceries; and the boatmen were ordered not to take any thing in charge from private

individuals; but on the 7th of November, it was announced, that his Majesty had appropriated one vessel for the transport of valuables belonging to private persons; that proper officers were appointed to give receipts for what might be confided to their charge; that such deposits should be transmitted to a place of safety, and faithfully returned to the owners, when the danger had subsided; and that his Majesty would be answerable for every thing not depending upon the elements.—Yesterday, the 10th, orders were issued for discharging all the boats, &c. upon the Danube, which took place accordingly.—Much precaution was used in saving all the old carriages belonging to the court; as to the library, only the most valuable books were packed up.—From the gallery of paintings, the most precious pieces only were removed: on the other hand, not a sheet has been left behind of all the documents relative to the war.—A report had been spread, that General Lamberti was disgraced; but this is not confirmed, as he accompanied the Emperor in his carriage. The public, who do not like this general, received the intelligence of his fall with pleasure.

(To be concluded in the next Number.)

PUBLIC PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*Nineteenth Bulletin of the Grand Army, from the French Official Paper, the Moniteur.*

Lintz, Nov. 6, 1805.—The battle of Lovers has been very brilliant for the Bavarians. The Austrians occupied beyond Lovers, an almost inaccessible defile, flanked on the right and left by peaked mountains. The summit was covered by Tyrolean chasseurs; three stone forts securing the mountains, and rendering the access to them almost impossible. After a smart resistance, the Bavarians overthrow every thing, took 600 prisoners, two pieces of cannon, and carried all the forts; but, at the attack of the last, Lieut.-Gen. Deroi, Commander in Chief of the Bavarian Army, was wounded by a pistol shot. The Bavarians had 12 officers killed and wounded; 50 soldiers killed, and 250 wounded. The conduct of Lieut.-Gen. Deroi merits the greatest praise. He is an old officer, full of honour, and extremely attached to the Elector, whose friendship he enjoys.—All the time has been hitherto so occupied, that the Emperor has not yet been able to review the Bavarian army, nor to become acquainted with the brave men who compose it.—Prince Murat, after the capture of Enns, pursued the enemy anew. The Russian army had taken a position on the heights of Amstellen; Prince Murat attacked it with General Oudinot's grenadiers; the battle was very obstinate. The Russians were driven from all their positions, and left 400 dead on the field of battle, and 1500 prisoners. Prince Murat gives particular praise to General Oudinot; his aid-de-camp, Lagrange, was wounded.—Marshal Davoust, on his passage from Enns to Steyer, particularly commends the conduct of General Heudelet, who commands his advanced guard; he has continued his march, and proceeded against Wahedoffen.—All the intercepted letters state, that the moveables of the Court are already embarked on the Danube, and that they are at Vienna in expectation of the approaching arrival of the French. [For the 20th Bulletin of the Grand Army, see p. 890.]

Twenty First Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Moelk, Nov. 10.—On the 7th Nov. the division under Marshal Davoust advanced from Steyer towards Naydhoffen, Marienzel, and Lilienfield. By this movement he entirely uncovered the left of the enemy's army, which was expected to make a stand on the Heights of St. Hippolite, and from Lilienfield he directed his march towards Vienna by a great carriage road which leads directly thither. On the 8th, the advanced guard of this marshal, while it was still many leagues from Marienzel, met the corps of General Meerfeldt, who was marching for Neufstadt, to cover Vienna on that side. The General of Brigade Hendelet, commanding the advanced guard of Marshal Davoust, attacked the enemy with the greatest vigour, put them to rout, and pursued them for the space of five leagues. The result of this battle of Marienzel was the capture of three standards, sixteen pieces of cannon, and four thousand prisoners, among whom are the colonels of the regiments of Joseph Coloredo and Deutchmeister, and four majors. The 13th regiment of light infantry, and the 108th of the line, conducted themselves admirably. On the 9th, in the morning, Prince Murat arrived at St. Hippolite. He directed the general of brigade of dragoons Sebastiani, to proceed towards Vienna. The whole court and the nobility had quitted that capital. It had been already announced at the advanced posts, that the Emperor was preparing to quit Vienna. The Russian army effected its retreat to Krems, by repassing the Danube, dreading, without doubt, to see its communications with Moravia cut off by the movement made by Marshal Mortier on

the left bank of the Danube. General Marmont must have passed Leoben. The Abbey of Moelk, in which the Emperor is lodged, is one of the finest in Europe.—There is not, either in France or in Italy, any convent or abbey which can compare with it. It is in a strong position, and commands the Danube. It was one of the principal posts of the Romans, which was called the Iron House, built by the Emperor Commodus. The vaults and cellars of the Abbey were found full of excellent Hungarian wine, which was of great service to the army, a long time in want of this article. But we are now in the wine country! there is a great deal of it in the vicinity of Vienna. The Emperor ordered that a particular safeguard should be at the Chateau of Lusichoss, a little country residence of the Emperor of Austria, on the left bank of the Danube. The approaches to Vienna on this side bear no resemblance to the ordinary avenues of great capitals. From Lintz to Vienna there is but one made road, a great number of rivers, such as the Inn, the Eslaph, the Molk, the Tragen, &c.; which have but bad bridges of wood. The country is covered with forests of fir. At every step there are impregnable positions, in which the enemy endeavoured in vain to make a stand. They had always to dread that they would be uncovered, and turned by the columns which manœuvred beyond their flanks. From the Inn to this place, the Danube is superb, its points of view are picturesque, its navigation down the current is rapid and easy. All the letters intercepted speak only of the frightful chaos which Vienna presents. The war has been undertaken by the Austrian cabinet contrary to the opinion of all the Princes of the Imperial Family. But Colloredo, led by his wife, who though a Frenchwoman has a mortal hatred to her country; Colloredo accustomed to tremble at the very name of a Russian, in the persuasion that every thing ought to give way before them; and to whom it is, besides, possible, that the agents of England, may have found means to introduce themselves; and in fine, that wretch Mack, who had already played so great a part for the renewal of the second coalition. These are the influences which have been stronger than those of all prudent men, and of all the members of the Imperial Family. There is not a man down to the meanest citizen, or the lowest subaltern officer, who does not feel that this war is advantageous only to the English; that they have fought only for them; that they are the authors of the misfortunes of Europe, in the same manner as by their monopoly they are the authors of the excessive high price of goods.

The following is a translation of the several Letters, inserted in the Moniteur, together with the above Bulletin, and the originals of which are there said to have been intercepted by Persons in the French Army.

Ried, Oct. 25. All our army is dispersed. The enemy is arriving in our neighbourhood. It is thought that the Russians will stop them, but I no longer rely upon them; I am packing up my goods: I wish to God I had done so before these savage men arrived, whom we have called to our assistance for the purpose of devouring us. They have plundered every thing, as if they were never to repass this way. They have, however, been driven from Branau, and they are now coming to the number of 30,000, to occupy the position of Lambach. They can now do no more harm to this unhappy country, except to burn the houses, for no inhabitants remain. (Signed) Pr.

Enns, Oct. 28. I write this to make you acquainted with our critical situation. Several families fled when they saw that the Russians and the Imperialists, pursued by the French, returned this way. We shall soon be all reduced to beggary. The Emperor arrived here this morning early. The president of Lintz arrived here yesterday; the Emperor walked with him half the day in the garden of the Castle of Auersperg. The Russians have 3000 waggons with them, and this immense number of carriages impedes the march of the troops. They have caused the greatest confusion in the Imperial army. (Signed) C——.

Weinzell, Oct. 29. I never shall forget the month of October of this year. Figure to yourself my situation; alone in a farm, endeavouring to save some of the wrecks of my property. In eight days 8000 more Cossacks will pass this way, yet notwithstanding all this, we shall have the worst of it in this war, since it has begun so unfortunately, and we have not one skilful general. The Russians, though our allies, commit more ravages than the French would if they had taken a city by storm, so that the country people wish the French to come and drive them away. God alone can withdraw us from this labyrinth. It is said that the Court of Vienna is packing up its most valuable property: it is melancholy to see women and children arrive every day with the few valuables they possess. (Signed) W.

Mathausen, near Enns, Oct. 30. God knows whether you will receive this letter, or what will become of me. We are in the most uncertain state, and know nothing positive. I arrived on the 25th at Voglabruck. Every body thought of flying. People fled in the utmost confusion, naming our Emperor as the cause of all our evils. On the 26th I could not go to Lambach on account of the Russians, who were retreating with all their depôts. These uncivilized beings are as great a scourge as the grasshoppers, or the French were in Egypt. They are thievish, stupid, and inexorable. On the 27th I went to Wels, where I saw 20,000 of these inhabitants of Tauris, and also the person so much to be pitied, our Monarch. He was pale, emaciated, and his eyes wandering. He was going to Brannau. In eight days the Emperor Alexander is expected. On the 28th our battalion will set out for Lintz. (Signed) F——.

Enns, Oct. 31. This day 24,000 Russians have returned here; they have traversed the city. I do not know where this army will be stationed, some think in Bohemia, others suppose in Lower Austria, where they will wait for their Emperor. We are constantly shut up; we dare not appear at our doors or windows. By adopting this precaution we have hitherto escaped bad treatment; but, alas! we see what our neighbours suffer. The order of the regency is, to give to each Russian one pound and a half a day of meat, four pounds of bread, twelve potatoes, and a jug of beer. They have no sooner dined than they want their supper; as soon as they have that they call for their next day's breakfast; and as soon as they are satisfied they beat their unfortunate hosts. Some poor families have twenty, and some as many as 80, to lodge. Excuse the confusion of this letter: in our present situation every body's head seems to be turned. (Signed) E.

Vienna, Oct. 29.——The aspect of affairs is very melancholy at Vienna, for the citizens are obliged to mount guard. All foreigners are ordered to quit Vienna in eight days, and the Hereditary States in ten days. No carriage can quit Vienna without a passport from the police. All the inhabitants are called out for the defence of the country. In a word, it seems as if the enemy was close to us. No young man is seen in the streets for fear of being taken by the soldiers. Every one is taken who is capable of carrying arms. The order for the levy-en-masse is posted up every where. (Signed) R.

Vienna, Nov. 2.—We were yesterday in the greatest anxiety, but two couriers who arrived successively brought good news. They say that the Archduke John has beat the French, and that the French army is surrounded on the Inn, and are on the point of laying down their arms. We did not at first believe this news, but an Imperial order was issued for the clergymen to discontinue the packing up the plate of the churches. (Signed) T.

Vienna, Nov. 4.—Every person of any property has within these few days made preparations for their departure for Hungary. The road to Presburg is covered. Nothing can be more unjust than the general recruiting, which is going on without respect of age or rank. The Bank paper is no longer paid. All the plate of the churches is packed up. (Signed) F.

Twenty-Second Bulletin of the Grand Army

St. Polten, Nov. 13.—Marshal Davoust followed up his success. The whole of Meerfeldt's army is destroyed. That general made his escape, with about 100 Hulans. General Marmont is at Leoben, where he took about 100 horse. Prince Murat had been for three days within half a league of Vienna. All the Austrian troops had already evacuated the town. The national guard did the duty there; it was excellently disposed.—On this day, the 13th, the French troops entered the capital.——The Russians declined all the temptations that were held out to them to engage on the heights of St. Polten. They passed the Danube at Krems, and, immediately after they had got over, they burned the bridge, which was very hand-some.——On the 11th, at day-break, Marshal Mortier, with six battalions, advanced towards Stein. He reckoned upon finding the rear-guard there; but the whole of the Russian army was there, their baggage not having passed by. The battle of Diernstein then took place, which will be for ever celebrated in military annals. From six in the morning until four in the afternoon, these 4000 brave fellows made head against the entire of the Russian army, and routed all those who were opposed to them.—Having made themselves masters of the village of Loeben, they thought the labour of the day was over; but the enemy, enraged at having lost ten stand of colours, six pieces of cannon, 900 prisoners, and 2000 killed, had marched in two columns, by difficult passes, to turn the French. As soon as Marshal Mortier perceived this movement, he marched straight against the troops, who had turned him, and cut his way through the enemy's lines, at the very moment that the 9th regiment of light infantry, and the 33d infantry of the line, had charged another Russian corps, and defeated it, after having taken two stands of colours and 400 prison-

ers.—This day was a day of blood. Heaps of dead covered a circumscribed field of battle. More than 4000 Russians were killed and wounded, and 1300, among whom were two colonels, were taken prisoners. On our side the loss was considerable. The 4th and 9th regiments of light infantry suffered most. The colonels of the 100th and 103d were slightly wounded. Colonel Wattier, of the 4th regiment of dragoons, was killed. His Majesty had made choice of him to be one of his equerries. He was an officer of great worth. In spite of the difficulty of the ground, he made a most brilliant charge upon a Russian column; but he was struck by a ball, and died in the contest.—The Russians, it seems, are retreating by forced marches. The Emperor of Germany, the Empress, the ministers, and the court, are at Brunn, in Moravia. All the persons of consequence have quitted Vienna; all the respectable citizens have remained there. The Emperor Alexander is expected at Brunn, on his return from Berlin. Count Giulay has been often backwards and forwards, with letters from the Emperors of France and Germany, to each other. The Emperor of Germany will, no doubt, determine upon peace as soon as he shall have received the consent of the Emperor of Russia. —In the mean time, the dissatisfaction of the people is at its height. They say at Vienna, and in all the provinces of the Austrian monarchy, that they are badly governed; that they have been drawn into this unjust and disastrous war, for the sole advantage of England; that Germany has been inundated by barbarians, a thousand times more to be dreaded than all the plagues together; that the finances are in the greatest disorder; that the public estate, and the fortunes of individuals, are ruined by the existence of a paper circulation, which loses 50 per cent; that they had sufficient misfortunes to surmount, and that the calamities of war should not have been added to them.—The Hungarians complain of the illiberality of the government, which does nothing in favour of their industry, and which shews itself continually jealous of their privileges, and uneasy at their national spirit.—In Hungary as well as in Austria, at Vienna as well as other towns, every one is persuaded, that the Emperor Napoleon wishes for peace, and that he is the friend of all nations, and of all noble sentiments.—The English are the perpetual objects of the curses of all the subjects of the Emperor of Germany, and of the universal hate. Is it not at length time, that princes should hearken to the voice of their people, and that they should tear themselves from the fatal influence of the English oligarchy?—Since the passage of the Inn, the grand army has taken, in the different affairs of advanced posts and actions which have taken place, about 10,000 prisoners. If the Russian army had waited for the French, it was all over with them; many divisions of the army are actively pursuing them.

Twenty-Third Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Castle of Schoenbrunn, Nov. 14.—At the battle of Diernstein, where four thousand French, who were attacked on the 11th by 25 or 30,000 Russians, maintained their position, killed from 3 to 4000 of the enemy, took some colours, and made 1,300 prisoners, the 4th and 9th regiments of light infantry, and the 100th and 32d regiments of infantry of the line, covered themselves with glory. General Gazan, on this occasion, displayed a great share of bravery and conduct. The Russians, the day after the battle, evacuated Krems, and quitted the Danube, leaving 1,500 prisoners in a state of the greatest want. We found in their field hospitals, a great many wounded, who died in the night.—It appeared to have been the intention of the Russians to wait for reinforcements at Krems, and to maintain their position on the Danube. The battle of Diernstein disconcerted their plan. They could perceive, from what 4000 French had done, what they were to expect from an equal force.—Marshal Mortier set out in pursuit of them, while other divisions of the army passed the Danube, by the bridge of Vienna, to outflank them on the right; and the corps of Marshal Bernadotte marches to turn their left wing.—Yesterday, the 13th, at ten in the morning, Prince Murat passed through Vienna. At the break of day, a column of cavalry advanced to the bridge over the Danube, which it passed, after some conferences with the Austrian generals. The enemy's engineers, which were ordered to burn the bridge, attempted it often, but could not succeed.—Marshal Lannes and General Bertrand, aides-de-camp to the Emperor, were the first who passed over the bridge. The troops did not stop at Vienna, but pursued their march to follow their direction.—Prince Murat established his head-quarters in the house of Duke Albert. Duke Albert has been a great benefactor to the city. In many parts of it they wanted water; he ordered it to be conveyed there at his own expence, and spent very large sums for that purpose.—Annexed is an account of the artillery and stores taken at Vienna. The House of Austria has no other foundery, no other arsenal, than those at Vienna. The Austrians had no time to carry off above a fifth, or a fourth of their artillery, or the im-

terials for casting it. We have ammunition enough to last for four campaigns, and to renew our trains of artillery four times over, if we should lose them. We have also found heavy artillery enough to supply a great number of fortresses.—The Emperor has taken up his residence in the palace of Schoenbrunn. He went to Vienna this day at two o'clock. He passed the rest of the night, in visiting the advanced posts upon the left bank of the Danube, as well as the positions, and in satisfying himself, personally, that the duty was properly done. He returned to Schoenbrunn at break of day.—The weather is become uncommonly fine. The day, though cold, is one of the finest since the commencement of winter. Trade, and every thing else, goes on at Vienna as usual; the inhabitants are full of confidence, and quite easy. The population of the town amounts to 250,000 souls. It is not supposed, that 10,000 people have left it on account of the absence of the court and the persons of distinction.—The Emperor received, at noon, M. de Wabna, who is at the head of the administration of all Austria.—The corps of Marshal Soult passed through Vienna, at nine o'clock this morning. The division of Marshal Davoust is defiling through it at this moment.—General Marmont gained several advantages in actions of advanced posts at Lioben. The Bavarian army is daily receiving reinforcements.—The Emperor has made some more presents to the Elector. He has given him 15,000 musquets, taken in the arsenal of Vienna, and has ordered all the artillery to be restored to him which Austria had taken in the Bavarian states on former occasions.—The town of Kuffstein has surrendered to Colonel Pompei.—General Milhaud followed the enemy on the road to Brunn, as far as Volkersdorff. This day, at noon, he took 600 prisoners, and a park of forty pieces of artillery, ready harnessed.—Marshal Lannes arrived, at two o'clock in the forenoon, at Stokereau. He found there an immense quantity of clothing, 8,000 pair of shoes and half boots, and cloth enough to make great coats for the whole of the army.—Several boats, which were dropping down the Danube, freighted with artillery, leather, and articles of clothing, have been stopped.—(Here follows a list of the artillery and stores of every kind taken at Vienna.)

Chief Staff.—Imperial Head-quarters at Vienna, 14th November. Order of the day.—The Emperor expresses his satisfaction to the 4th regiment of light infantry, to the 100th of the line, to the 9th light infantry, to the 32d of the line, for the bravery which they displayed at the battle of Diernstein, where their firmness, in preserving the position which they occupied, compelled the enemy to abandon theirs on the Danube.—His Majesty expresses his satisfaction to the 17th and 30th regiments of the line, which, at the battle of Lambach, made head against the rear-guard of the Russians, defeated them, and took 400 prisoners.—His Majesty also expresses his satisfaction to Oudinot's grenadiers, which, at the battle of Amstetten, drove the Austrians and Russians from their excellent and formidable positions, and took 1,500 prisoners, of whom 600 were Russians.—His Majesty is satisfied with the 1st, 10th, and 22d regiment of chasseurs, with the 9th and 10th regiments of hussars, for their good conduct in all the charges which they have made from the Inn to the gates of Vienna, and for the eight hundred Russians taken prisoners at Stein.—Prince Murat, Marshal Lannes, the reserve, and all the cavalry, entered Vienna the 13th, took possession of the bridge over the Danube the same day, prevented it from being burned, passed it immediately, and set out in pursuit of the Russian army.——We found in Vienna more than 2000 pieces of cannon, an arsenal containing one hundred thousand muskets, ammunition of all kinds, in fact, every thing to complete three or four armies for a campaign. The inhabitants of Vienna appear to view the army with sentiments of friendship. The Emperor has given orders that the greatest respect should be paid to property, and that the greatest attention should be shewn for the inhabitants of this capital, who see with pain the injustice of the war, and who evince to us, by their conduct, as much friendship as they shew hatred to the Russians, a people who, by their habits and barbarous manners, should inspire all polished nations with the same sentiments. (Signed) Marshal Berthier.

Twenty-Fourth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Palace of Schoenbrunn, Nov. 15.—At the battle of Diernstein, the Austrian Major-General Smith, who directed the movements of the Russians, was killed, and two Russian generals also. It appears that Colonel Wattier is not dead, but that his horse was wounded in a charge, and that he was taken prisoner. This intelligence gave great satisfaction to the Emperor, who has a particular regard for this officer.—A column of 4000 Austrian infantry, and a regiment of cuirassiers, traversed our posts, who suffered them to pass, in consequence of a false report of a suspension of arms, which prevailed in the army. Here may be discovered the extreme facility of the French character, which, brave

Discounts

in the moment of battle, is often of a most inconsiderate generosity out of action.—General Milhaud, commanding the advanced guard of Marshal Davoust's corps, took 181 pieces of artillery, with all their ammunition, and 400 men. Thus, almost the whole of the artillery of the Austrian monarchy is in our possession.—The palace of Schoenbrunn, in which the Emperor resides, was built by Maria Theresa, whose portrait is to be found in almost every apartment.—In the room in which the Emperor is employed, there is a marble statue of this Sovereign. The Emperor, on seeing it, remarked, that if that great Queen were living, she would not allow herself to be influenced by the intrigues of such a woman as Madame Colloredo. Encircled as she always was with the chief persons of her kingdom, she would have known the inclination of her people; she would not have had her provinces ravaged by the Cossacks and Muscovites; she would not have consulted, in order to form her determination of going to war with France, a courtier like Cobentzel, who, too well informed respecting court intrigues, dreads to oppose a foreign woman, invested with a pernicious authority, which she abuses; a scribe like Collembach; and a man, in short, so universally detested as Lamberti. She would not have given the command of her army to such men as Mack, appointed, not by the choice of the Sovereign, not by the confidence of the nation, but by England and Russia.—This unanimity of opinion, is, in fact, an extraordinary circumstance, in a nation entirely adverse to the decision of the court. The citizens of every class, the enlightened men, the very princes themselves, oppose the war. It is said, that Prince Charles, on his setting out for Italy, wrote to the Emperor, to shew him the imprudence of his determination, and foretold him the ruin of the monarchy. The Elector of Saltzburgh, the Archdukes, the principal persons, held the same language It should be a subject of regret to the Continent, that the Emperor of Germany, who means well, who has clearer views than his ministers, and who, in many respects, might be a great prince, is so diffident of himself, and lives so much retired. He would learn from the chief persons of the empire, who esteem him, to set a just value on himself; but not one of them, not one of the men of consequence, who know and regard the interests of the court, ever approach the interior of his palace. This retirement, which is imputed to the influence of the Empress, is the cause of the hatred which the nation has conceived against this princess. As long as this order of things shall exist, the Emperor will never learn the wishes of his people, and will be always the puppet of the underlings whom England bribes, and who surround him, to prevent him from receiving information. There is but one voice at Vienna, as well as at Paris: the misfortunes of the Continent are the pernicious work of the English.—All the columns of the army are in full march, and are already advanced into Moravia, some days march beyond the Danube. A patrol of cavalry has pushed forward to the gates of Presburgh, the capital of Upper Hungary. It intercepted the Courier from Venice, at the very moment that he was endeavouring to enter the town. The dispatches of this Courier have informed us, that the army of Prince Charles was retreating in great haste, in the hope of arriving in sufficient time to assist Vienna.—General Marmont writes, that the corps which advanced to Oedemburg, by the Valley of Muerh, had evacuated that district, after having destroyed all the bridges; a precaution which put them out of all danger of being hotly pursued.—The number of prisoners made by the army increases every instant.——His Majesty gave audience this day to the Batavian Major-General Bruce, brother-in-law to the Grand Pensionary, who came to compliment the Emperor on the part of their High Mightinesses the States of Holland. The Emperor has not yet received any of the authorities of Vienna, but only a deputation from the different corporate bodies, who, on the day of his arrival, went to meet him at Sigarts-Kirschew. It consisted of Prince Senzendorff, of Bishop Seidenstetten, Count Veterani, Baron Kees, the Burgomaster M. de Wohebben, and General Bourgeois, of the corps of engineers. His Majesty received them with much kindness, and told them, that they might assure the people of Vienna of his protection. The General of Division, Clarke, is appointed Governor General of Upper and Lower Austria. The Counsellor of State, Daru, is appointed Intendant General.—(Some decrees follow for regulating the civil administration of the Duchy of Austria.)

Twenty-fifth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Schoenbrunn, Nov. 16.—Prince Murat, and the corps under Marshal Lannes, came up with the Russian army yesterday at Holebrunn. Our cavalry charged them; but the enemy immediately abandoned the ground, leaving an hundred carriages, with their equipage. The enemy having been reinforced, and his dispositions made, an Austrian flag of truce advanced, and demanded permission for the Russian troops to separate

from the Austrians, which was granted. Soon after, M. Le Baron De Wintzingerode, Aide-de-Camp General to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, presented himself to the advanced posts, and demanded leave to capitulate for the Russian army. Prince Murat thought it his duty to assent to this measure; but the Emperor disapproved of it, and immediately set out to the advanced posts. The Emperor's approbation was refused, because this capitulation was a species of treaty, and because M. De Wintzingerode was not furnished with full powers on the part of the Emperor of Russia. However, his Majesty, when ordering his army to march, declared, that if the Emperor Alexander, being in the neighbourhood, would ratify the Convention, he was ready, on his part, to do the same. General Vialannes, commanding the cavalry of Marshal Davoust, has entered Presburg. General Count Palfy addressed a letter to him, which, with its answer, are subjoined. A corps of 3000 Austrians, being intrenched near Waldermunchen, General Baraguay D'Hilliers marched against them, at the head of three b talions, when they abandoned their post with precipitation. General Baraguay D'Hilliers was at Treinitz, in Bohemia, on the 9th inst. —Marshal Ney had orders to seize upon the Tyrol, and has acquitted himself with his usual address and intrepidity. He turned the fortresses of Scharnitz and Neustark, and carried them by force of arms. On this occasion, he made 1800 prisoners, a standard, and 16 pieces of cannon (field pieces). On the 16th of Nov. at five in the afternoon, he made his entry into Inspruck, where he found an arsenal, with a respectable artillery, 16,000 muskets, and an immense quantity of powder. The same day he entered Hall, where he also found very considerable magazines; the inventory of them is not yet arrived. The Archduke John, who commanded in the Tyrol, escaped by way of Luchethal. He had ordered a Colonel to remit all the magazines to the French, and recommended to their generosity 1200 sick at Inspruck. But to these glorious trophies may be added a scene, which affected the feelings of every soldier. In the late war, the 76th regiment of the line lost two standards in the Grison; which circumstance was, for a long time, the subject of deep affliction to the whole corps. These brave fellows, conscious that Europe had not forgotten their disgrace, though their courage was uncensurable, were so fortunate as to find the subjects of their lost honour in the arsenal at Inspruck. Happily they were recognised by an officer. All the soldiers crowded around him; and Marshal Ney, being informed of the particulars, ordered the colours to be restored to the 76th with great ceremony. Tears fell from the eyes of all the veterans; and the Conscripts felt themselves elated, in the assistance they had given in the recovery of the honours snatched from their comrades by the chances of war. The Emperor has ordered, that the remembrance of this affecting scene should be consecrated by a tablet. The French soldier maintains a sentiment for his colours, bordering upon tenderness: they are the object of his affections, equally with a present from his mistress.—General Klein, with his division of dragoons, has made an incursion into Bohemia. He has every where witnessed the horror in which the Russians are viewed by the people. The devastations committed by them make one tremble. The irruption of these barbarians called in by the Government itself, has almost extinguished every remnant of affection for their Prince in the hearts of his subjects. 'We and the French (say the Austrians) are the descendants of the Romans; the Russians are the posterity of the Tartars. We would rather a thousand times have the French armies against us, than such as the Russians for our allies.'—At Vienna the mere name of a Russian excites terror. These savage hordes are not contented with pillage; they carry off, they destroy every thing. A wretched peasant, whose cottage contains nothing but his clothes, in them excites no pity. The opulent man residing in his palace, would hope in vain to assuage their voracity with his wealth. They would pillage him, and leave him naked under the devastated ruins. Doubtless this will be the last time that an European Government will call in such fatal succours: were it possible they could again try the experiment an insurrection of their own people must be the certain consequence. A hundred years hence it will not be in the power of any Prince to introduce Russians into his States. There are notwithstanding, a great number of officers in this army, men of education, whose manners are polished, and whose ideas are enlarged; but as to what has been said of the army in general, this must always be confined to the natural instinct of the mass of which it is composed.

Capitulation proposed by the Russian Army.

It has been stipulated between the General of Division Belliard, authorised by his Highness Prince Murat, Grand Admiral, Marshal of the Empire, Lieutenant of his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and Monsieur Baron de Wintzingerode, Aide-de-Camp General of his

Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and Major General of the Army. First, That there shall be an armistice between the Corps of the Army under his Highness Prince Murat, and the Russian Army commanded by the General in Chief Kutusow, from the moment of the signing of the present Conditions.—The Russian Army shall quit Germany, and continue its march homewards, by the same route it came, and by easy marches, when Prince Murat shall have agreed to suspend his movements in Moravia.—The present conditions cannot be executed before their Ratification by the Emperor Napoleon; in the mean while the Russian army, and that of Prince Murat, shall remain in the positions they now occupy. In case this capitulation is not ratified on the part of the Emperor, four hours notice shall be given, previous to the cessation of the armistice. Done at Holebrunn, Nov. 15, 1805.

Letter from General Count de Palfy.

General, his Royal Highness the Archduke Palatine, in his character of supreme head of the military and civil departments in Hungary, has charged the undersigned to declare, that his Highness having established a cordon of militia, as guards, upon the western frontier of this kingdom, supported by small detachments of cavalry, composed of invalids and recruits, solely with a view to check the progress of the marauders in the Austrian army, nothing hostile is to be apprehended from them; the said detachments being ordered to retire, whenever the French troops shall approach the frontier. Thus, in the circumstances in which these feeble detachments are placed, they can only be looked upon as piquets of observation. His Royal Highness has ordered the Heads of the Houses of Invalids, Seminaries, Pensioners, &c. &c. to remain at their posts, persuaded that the Commandant of the French troops will not refuse them the protection necessary; and that he will also interest himself in the prevention of any excesses which might be committed by the French detachments that shall enter Hungary, especially as they will meet with no kind of opposition. In consequence of such a declaration, the Undersigned may have to treat with the Commandant of the French troops, relative to several very interesting objects. He also solicits a rendezvous, upon parole, in a vessel in the middle of the Danube. He accordingly waits an answer from the General; and has the honour to be, his very humble servant, Leopold, Count Palfy, Major-General and Commandant at Presburg.

The Answer of Marshal Davoust to General Count de Palfy.

General; I have submitted the letter you sent the Commandant of my light cavalry, to his Majesty's inspection. His Majesty has charged me to inform his Highness, the Archduke Palatine, by your favour, that he is ready to agree to the neutrality of the Hungarian nation, if, upon his part, the Archduke will recall the Hungarian troops, discontinue the levy in masse, and continue to supply Vienna with provisions; and, in fine, conclude a Convention between the Hungarian nation, and the Emperor of the French, tending to maintain a good understanding between the two countries. I have been authorized to let any officer pass, whom his Royal Highness the Archduke may choose to send to my Sovereign, to treat with him upon these preliminaries. I am happy in the opportunity of performing any good office agreeable to your compatriots; and to secure the well-being and tranquillity of a people so estimable in many respects as the Hungarian nation. I have the honour to be, M. Le General, your very humble servant, the Marshal of the Empire, and one of the Colonels-General of the Guard of his Majesty the Emperor and King. L. Davoust.

Twenty-sixth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Znaim, Nov. 13. Prince Murat having been informed that the Russian Generals, immediately after the signing of the Convention, were marching with a part of their army towards Znaim, and that from all appearances the other party were about to follow them and escape, caused it to be signified to them, that the Emperor had not ratified the Convention, and that he would of course attack them. In fact, Prince Murat, having made his dispositions, advanced towards the enemy, and attacked them on the 10th, at four o'clock, which brought on the battle of Tunterdorff, in which a part of the Russian army, composing the rear guard, was routed, lost twelve pieces of cannon, one hundred baggage waggons, and two thousand prisoners; two thousand more remained on the field of battle. Marshal Lannes attacked the enemy in front; and, while their left was turned by General Dupass's brigade of grenadiers, Marshal Soult turned their right with Gen. Levasseur's brigade, consisting of the 3d and 18th regiments of the line belonging to Legrand's division. Gen. Walther charged the Russians with his brigade of dragoons, and took three hundred prisoners.—Gen. Laplanche Mortier's brigade of grenadiers distinguished themselves. Were it not for

the night, nothing would have escaped. There were frequent attacks with the bayonet. Some battalions of Russian grenadiers shewed great intrepidity. Gen. Oudinot was wounded. His two aides-de-camp, Demangeot and Lamotte, were also wounded by his side. General Oudinot's wound will prevent him from serving for a fortnight. In the mean time, the Emperor wishing to give the grenadiers a mark of his esteem, has given the command of them to General Duroc.—The Emperor advanced his head-quarters to Znaim the 17th, at three o'clock. The rear guard of the Russians were obliged to leave their sick at Znaim, where we found a considerable quantity of flour and oats. The Russians retreated towards Brunn, and our advanced guard pursued them half way, but the Emperor having learnt that the Emperor of Austria was there, wished to give a proof of his respect for that Prince, and halted the 18th.—Annexed is the capitulation of the fort of Kuffstein, taken by the Bavarians.—General Baraguay d'Hilliers made an incursion into Bohemia as far as Pilsen, and obliged the enemy to quit his position. He took some magazines, and fulfilled the object of his mission. The dismounted dragoons rapidly passed over the mountains, covered with ice and fir-trees, which separate Bohemia from Bavaria.—It is not possible to form an idea of the horror which the Russians have created in Moravia. In retreating, they set fire to the finest villages, and they murder the peasantry. In consequence, the inhabitants feel easy when they find that they remove. They exclaim, 'Our enemies have left us.' In speaking of them, they characterize them as barbarians who have brought ruin upon them. This does not apply to the officers, who are in general quite different from the soldiers. Many of them are of distinguished merit; but the soldiers are guided by a savage instinct unknown in European armies.—When the inhabitants of Austria, Moravia, and Bohemia, are asked if they love their Emperor, they answer, 'We did love him; but how should we continue to love him? He has brought down the Russians.'—It was reported at Vienna, that the Russians had defeated the French army, and that they were marching towards Vienna. A woman cried out in the streets, 'The French are beaten, and there are the Russians.' The alarm was general; fear and stupefaction prevailed in Vienna. Behold the result of the pernicious councils of Cobentzel, Colloredo, and Lamberti; therefore, these men are detested by the nation, and the Emperor of Austria can never recover the confidence and love of his subjects, without sacrificing them to the public hate, and one day, sooner or later, this must happen.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*Austrian Official Accounts relative to the Operations of the War. From the Court Gazette.—Continued from p. 791.*

Vienna, Nov. 9.—The military occurrences, which have taken place since those already given in this paper, are as follow:—Captain Scheibler Von Meerfeldt, brother of Field-Marshal Count Meerfeldt, who was stationed on the left bank of the Danube, with a party of about 100 horse, and 130 infantry, having remarked, in the night of the 4th of Nov. that the enemy occupied the left bank, without any military precautions, attempted an attack upon the post of Mathausen the same night, which was so successful, that the place was carried without the loss of a single man. The commandant, an officer of dragoons, and about 30 men, were killed in defending themselves in a house, which was forced; two commissaries, one general officer, one captain, one lieutenant, 18 dragoons of the 20th regiment, 23 sappeurs, and 5 privates of infantry, with 28 horses, were taken.—The Emperor of the French, Marshal Prince Murat, and the whole garrison of Lintz, where the divisions of Davoust and Ney arrived on the 3d, were so much alarmed by this circumstance, that the garrison immediately retreated, and formed a line on the other side of the Danube. It was now day-light, and the Emperor arrived on the bank with his staff, and must have seen the prisoners carried off. The captain of our party has been promoted to the rank of major.—The rear-guard of the Imperial and Russian troops were attacked near Remmelbach, in the afternoon of the 5th, by the advanced guard of the enemy, consisting of 10,000 men, who were followed, according to the statement of the prisoners, by a body of 30,000 men. The Russians, notwithstanding the superior numbers of the enemy, charged them with the bayonet, and compelled them to fall back; but General Kutusow found himself under the necessity of retreating to Moelk, in consequence of being outflanked, on his right and left, by a numerous column of the enemy.

Brunn, Nov. 15.——Our Court Gazette contains the following official account of the occurrences of the war.—A courier who arrived on the 14th of November to his Majesty the Emperor and King, from the commander in chief of the Russian troops, Count Kutusow, brought the joyful news of a complete victory which has been obtained over

the enemy's division under the command of Marshal Mortier, between Stein and Weisskirchen, near to Krems. The following are the particulars extracted from the report made on the field of battle: On the 9th of Nov. the Russian Imperial army passed the Danube. Its rear was pressed by the enemy, till it arrived at Mantern, and the commanding general resolved on the night, between the 9th and 10th, to pass to the left bank of the Danube, and to burn the bridge. This was the more necessary, as we had received certain information that the enemy had re-established the bridge of Lintz, and that already one division of their army was on this bank of the Danube. On the afternoon of the 10th of Nov. the enemy approached our fore posts in the neighbourhood of Dierstein. drove them back with a superiority of force along the Danube, from Weisskirchen to Stein, and on the approach of night our army could with difficulty maintain themselves on the Stein. It was determined, therefore, to attack the enemy on the morning of the 11th at Weisskirchen, in three columns, preserving that order as much as possible in a country covered with vineyards. At Weisskirchen, he had assembled a number of vessels, to cut off our retreat. The happiest results crowned this determined enterprise, executed with as much prudence as steadiness and valour. The enemy was defeated, and those parts of his division who could not save themselves in some of the ships, were either killed or taken prisoners. The number of the former cannot be ascertained with exactness, but the following is a list of the prisoners: the Chef de Brigade, Grain D'Orge, 3 colonels, 1 lieut.-colonel, 136 superior officers, and 2000 men, among whom were the 4th regiment of dragoons. Five cannons were also taken. Marshal Mortier, who commanded the enemy's division, is missing. He is thought to be among the dead. The loss of the Russian troops is in proportion inconsiderable. It consists for the most part of wounded, among whom are a general and several officers.—But this brilliant and victorious day cost so excellent a man his life. Lieutenant Field-Marshal Schmide, who had been given as Quarter-Master-General to the Russian army, died the death of a hero, after he, as General Kutusow remarks, had contributed to the victory, and had attacked the enemy both in flank and rear. The loss of this man, who had served 40 years, and during the last war acquired a distinguished reputation, will be deeply felt by the Sovereigns both of Russia and Austria, who know well to appreciate merit. His name is his own monument!

OPERATIONS OF THE FRENCH ARMY OF ITALY.—*Continued from p. 798.* *Fifth Official Bulletin of the Army of Italy, dated Nov. 5, 1805.*

After a few hours rest at Montebello, the army pursued the enemy towards Vicenza: the gates of the city had been secured; it was summoned to surrender; a refusal was returned. A sentiment of humanity had influenced the general in chief to summon it; the passage must be forced, and the cannons and howitzers directed against the gates, and unfortunately against the city itself; we occupied ourselves in this work at the point of day. The precipitation with which the retreat of the enemy was conducted obliged them to abandon 1000 wounded, and to leave some remains of magazines in our possession. In the course of the day we had made 800 prisoners.—The Austrians were retreating by the road of Bassano; the army pursued them there, and constantly galled their rear. At the part where the road branches off to Bassano, and to Treviso, they proceeded towards this latter city, after burning behind them the bridge over the Terent, near the Palu. When we arrived at the village of St. Pierre, in Gu, we found it was occupied by a corps of troops, which was vigorously charged. The village was carried after an action which gained us six hundred more prisoners and one piece of artillery.—We then marched towards the Brenta. The advanced guard arrived at the moment when the enemy was attempting to destroy the bridge; a brisk cannonade was commenced from both banks of the river, which was continued till night. —The army continued on the right bank. At four in the morning I ordered many regiments of cavalry, with the light troops mounted behind them, to ford the river, whilst the bridge was repairing.—The army soon after crossed it, and we arrived at Cittadella, time enough to cut off the rear-posts of the enemy. At five in the evening we entered Castelfranco, and our chasseurs, by pushing forward, were already in possession of Salvatrunda and Albaredo. The general in chief felt the necessity of allowing a few hours to the wants of the army. On our march from Montebello, we had made 1800 prisoners. The division of the right has directed itself against Padua, which it occupies this day; the division of the left has proceeded by the Sette Communi against Bassano, which it will occupy to morrow.

Sixth Official Bulletin of the Army of Italy.

Head-Quarters at Passeriano, Nov. 13.—The army, in its march towards the Piave, met

with only slight opposition; from the Piave to the Tagliamento, they perceived, flying before them, some corps of cavalry, which appeared to observe them, but who retreated in such a manner as to avoid any action.—It was at the Tagliamento that the enemy appeared inclined to wait for us. They had assembled, on the left bank, six regiments of cavalry and four regiments of infantry; and their firm front led us to suppose, that they were determined to obstinately dispute the passage of the river with us. The commander in chief at first only intended to reconnoitre their position with the cavalry. The division of chasseurs commanded by Gen. D'Espagne, that of dragoons and cuirasseurs, under the orders of Generals Mermet and Pully, were posted on the river; while the divisions of Duhesme and Seras marched by St. Vito; and those of Generals Molitor and Gardanne, took the direction of Valvasone. General D'Espagne had received orders to push forward his patroles. On the 12th November, a squadron, which he had ordered to cross the river, was charged by a regiment of Austrian cavalry; it bravely supported the attack, and gave time to General D'Espagne to advance upon the enemy, who were soon repulsed, and obliged to fly. Our artillery, nevertheless, took its position; the cannonade began from both sides of the river; it was very brisk, and continued during the whole day. The enemy had placed thirty pieces of cannon behind a bank; we had only eighteen; and our artillery preserved their usual superiority. The divisions of infantry arrived in the evening. The commander in chief, satisfied with the advantages he had obtained, and which secured to him others, did not think proper to effect the passage of the river. He contented himself with making his dispositions for the next day, convinced that he could then achieve something more decisive. The divisions took their appointed positions at St. Vito and Valvasone, it was at those two points that they were to pass the river, turn and cut off the enemy. Prince Charles, no doubt, was apprehensive of this intention; he did not think proper to remain that day in his position, and at midnight he began to retreat by the road to Palma Nuova.—The army passed the Tagliamento with regret, that there was no enemy to engage; and it was then that it became better acquainted with the result of the preceding day. The left bank of the river was covered with men and horses, which were destroyed by the effect of our artillery.—The army continues its march; the hope of meeting and engaging the enemy increases their impatient ardour. They are acquainted with all that has been done by the grand army; and the desire to second its movement, and to meet the confidence of the Emperor, agitates and continually spurs them on. The advanced guard carries off some prisoners every day, which will increase the number of those we have already made. The bridges over the Piave and Tagliamento are repairing.

Seventh Bulletin of the Army of Italy.

Head-Quarters, Gorizia, 17th Nov.—The enemy, after having abandoned to us the banks of the Tagliamento, retreated towards Palma Nuova. They did not attempt to defend that town, which they might have done with advantage; and we were not able to come up with their last posts, before we had advanced some miles beyond it. Some trifling skirmishes took place, in which we took a few prisoners.—On the 15th, the army was formed in two columns, and advanced towards the Isonzo. The advanced guard, under the orders of General Espagne, entered Gradisca, two hours before nightfall, after a feeble resistance on the part of the Austrians. The horse chasseurs then ascended the right bank of the river, to get to Gorozia, and Seras's division established itself at the same time at Sagrado, on the left bank. On the next day, the divisions of Molitor, Gardanne, and Partouneaux, marched by the right bank of the Isonzo, with an intention of passing the river below Gorizia; but the bridge of boats not being arrived, they could not pass the river at that point.—The divisions of Seras and Duhesme marched, on their side, towards Rubia and Savogna. Their advanced posts followed close at the heels of the enemy. There was an engagement, at the close of which the enemy's cavalry fell back in the greatest disorder; their artillery escaped on account of the night; we pushed them under the walls of Gorizia. The Commander in Chief made his dispositions for a general attack on the morning of the 17th, but the Austrians would not risk it. They availed themselves of the night to hasten their retreat. General Espagne pursues them with the cavalry and light infantry; he has orders to drive them before him to Laybach.—The army has taken a position beyond the Isonzo; three hundred fresh prisoners have been just brought in, and every minute we see others arrive. The magazines established at Udina and Palma Nuova have fallen into our hands.—The Commander in Chief praises the continued activity of the army; they support joyfully and courageously, the fatigue and privations inseparable from so rapid a march. It is a testimony which he is happy to transmit to his Majesty the Emperor and King.

Letter addressed by Marshal Augereau, Commandant of the 7th Corps of the Grand Army, to the General of Division Vial, Ambassador from his Majesty the Emperor, to the Helvetic Confederation, dated Head-quarters at Bregentz, Nov. 18, 1805.

Landau, Bregentz, and Feldkerch, my dear General, are in our possession. All this was effected on the 22d and 23d instant. The results are, six thousand Austrians disarmed, and sent to Bohemia, upon condition not to serve against France, for a year and a day, from the present time; a considerable number of Tyroleans and peasants are also disarmed; eight standards, several magazines, and some fine artillery, have fallen into our hands; I am vigorously pursuing the corps, under Prince Rohan, and hope shortly to come up with him. A Lieutenant and a Major-General, are among the number of prisoners.—Receive, my dear General, the assurance of my particular esteem. (Signed) AUGEREAU.

FRANCE AND NAPLES.——*Treaty between the Emperor of France and the King of Naples, Made at Paris the 21st of September, and ratified at Portici, the 8th of October*, 1805.

His Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and King of Italy, wishing to prevent, by the relations of amity which unite them, their states from being commised by the events of a war whose evils it is their wish to diminish, by restricting as much as is in them, the theatre of present hostilities, have named for their plenipotentiaries—His Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, his Excellency the Marquis De Gallo, his ambassador at Paris, both to the Emperor of the French and the King of Italy, and his Majesty the Emperor, his Excellency C. M. Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs, who, after having exchanged their full powers, have consented *sub spe rati* to what follows:—Art. I. His Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies promises to remain neutral during the course of the present war between France on the one part, and England, Austria, Russia, and all the Belligerent Powers on the other part. He engages to repulse by force, and by the employment of all his means, every attempt made upon the rights and duties of neutrality. II. In consequence of that engagement, his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies will not permit any body of troops belonging to any Belligerent Power to land or penetrate upon any part of his territory, and engages to observe both by sea and land, and in the ports of his ports, the principles and laws of the strictest neutrality. III. Moreover, his Majesty engages not to confide the command of his armies and places to any Russian officer, Austrian, or other belonging to other Belligerent Powers.—The French emigrants are included in the same exclusion. IV. His Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies engages not to permit any squadron belonging to the Belligerent Powers to enter his ports. V. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, confiding in the engagements and promises hereing expressed, consents to order the evacuation of the Kingdom of Naples, by his troops. This evacuation shall be entirely completed within a month after the ratifications shall have been exchanged; at the same time the military places and posts shall be delivered up to the officers of his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies in the state in which they were found, and it is agreed, that in the month occupied by these operations, the French army shall be maintained and treated as it had been previously.—His Majesty the Emperor of the French further engages to recognize the neutrality of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, as well by land as by sea, during the existence of the present war.—The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged as speedily as possible. Made at Paris, the 21st Sept. 1805. (Signed) The Marquis de Gallo. Ch. Maur. Talleyrand. Ratified at Portici, the 8th Oct. 1805. (Signed) Ferdinand. Tommaso Ferras.

AUSTRIA AND FRANCE.—*Declaration of the Emperor of Austria.*

Brunn, Nov. 13, 1805.——By special order of his Majesty the Emperor and King, who has for some days honoured our town with his presence, the following notice has been published by the Resident of Police, the Baron Von Summerow:

Proclamation.—His Majesty the Emperor and King had never a higher wish than the maintenance of peace. This wish lay in the principles of his government as well as in his heart. Without any, even the most distant project of enlarging his states, or of procuring an indemnification for the sacrifices he had made at Luneville and Ratisbon to the tranquillity of Europe, he desired nothing but that the Emperor of France, actuated by a similar spirit of enlightened and humane policy, should return within the limits prescribed by the treaty of Luneville. Whoever with a clear understanding took an interest in the fate of Europe felt the justice and the moderation of this desire. True to his principles, his Majesty, in the progress of the present war, was ready every moment

to hold out his hand to peace, and amid the most brilliant victories, he would have thought and acted in the same way as under the influence of contrary occurrences.—His Majesty believed that the great and happy moment of this reconciliation, and of returning happiness to his people, was not far distant, when the Emperor of France, on several occasions, publicly manifested corresponding dispositions, and expressed himself with precision in the same spirit to Austrian general officers, whom the fortune of war had made his prisoners.—Full of confidence in such manifestations, and animated by an earnest wish to avert the approaching danger from the capital of Vienna, so dear to his heart, and, in general, to free his good and faithful subjects from the pressure of a longer war, his Majesty sent his Lieutenant Field Marshal, the Count de Guilay, to the head quarters of the French Emperor, in the name of himself and his allies, to obtain a confirmation of these pacific dispositions, to learn the further overtures which the Emperor Napoleon might make on this occasion, and to treat for an armistice as preparatory to negociations for a general peace.—But the hopes of his Majesty were not fulfilled. As the basis of an armistice, limited to a few weeks, the Emperor of France demanded, "That the allied troops should return "home; that the Hungarian levies should "be disbanded; and that the Duchy of Ve-"nice and the Tyrol should be previously "evacuated to the French armies."——All Europe will feel the inconsistency between such demands, and the foregoing manifestations of the Emperor. His Majesty the Emperor and King had, by this first step, fulfilled a sacred duty which his heart had dictated.—But he should have thought himself grievously injuring himself, the honour of his Monarchy, the dignity of his house, the reputation of the good and great nation over which he rules, and the highest interests of the states, in the eyes both of the present and of future generations, if, notwithstanding the duty incumbent on him to preserve all these intire, he had yielded to the severe, but passing, pressure of the moment, and assented to conditions which would have been a death blow to his monarchy, and a breach of the relations in which he stood with all friendly states.——His Majesty wished for peace; he wishes for it still, with sincerity and earnestness. But he never could, and never will, place himself in a defenceless state, where he and his people would be delivered over to the imperious and arbitrary decisions of a mighty foe.—In such circumstances, nothing remains to his Majesty, but to have recourse to those great and inexhausted resources which he finds in the hearts, in the prosperity, in the loyalty, in the strength of his people; and in the as yet undiminished force of his high allies and friends, the Emperor of Russia, and King of Prussia, and to persist in this firm and intimate connection till the Emperor of the French, with that moderation which is the brightest gem in the crown of a great Monarch, consents to conditions of peace which are not purchased by a sacrifice of the national honour and independence of a mighty state."

HANOVER.—*Proclamation addressed to the Inhabitants of the Electorate of Hanover, by Lieut. General Don. Given at Stadt, Nov.* 20, 1805.

I George Don, Lieutenant-General in the service of his Majesty of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, Commander in Chief of a corps of British troops upon the continent, hold it for my first duty, upon my arrival in his Majesty's German States, to make known and declare hereby to the inhabitants of the Electorate of Hanover, that the principal object of the troops I have the honour to command, is to effect the evacuation of his Majesty's German States, and to undertake the defence of the same, against the enemy.—The well-known discipline of the troops under my command, is to me the best assurance of their good conduct towards the subjects of their lawful Sovereign; but, contrary to my expectation, should any well-grounded complaint be brought before me, I shall investigate its merits with impartiality, and remedy the same accordingly without delay.—His Britannic Majesty, my gracious Sovereign, is convinced, that his beloved German subjects, will receive his troops in the most friendly manner; I, therefore, in his Majesty's name, and by his express command, invite all persons, whose circumstances will permit, to enter into the military service, particularly those who have previously belonged to the Hanoverian army.——I invite them, without delay, to join the British standard, where I shall ensure to them every privilege attached to his Majesty's German Legion. With our forces thus united, we shall then oppose a check to the unlawful demands of the enemy; and we may thus the more confidently reckon upon the good consequences of our efforts, being armed with the justice of our cause, in behalf of our King and our country. Given at Stadt, Nov. 20, 1805.

(Signed) GEORGE DON, Lieut. Gen.

Copy of the Letter sent by his Excellency the Grand Pensionary of Holland on the

1st of November, 1805, to the Emperor Napoleon, congratulating him on his success; delivered by General Bruce, brother-in-law of his Excellency, to the Emperor at Schoenbrunn, Nov. 15.

Sire! after what you have already achieved in the career of glory, it appeared as if nothing had been left to excite admiration. These reflections, Sire, could not fail of being peculiarly my own, who have been enabled so intimately to observe and admire the magnitude of your genius; but that which your Majesty has achieved in this campaign, which was scarcely opened before it appeared to be terminated, forms a new prodigy, by the unexampled extent of the plans of it, by the rapidity of the application of the means, and by the lustre of the development.—I am unable, Sire! to express the sentiments of joy, which your heroic actions have impressed on me and on my country; I perceive in them a new guaranty, that your Majesty will sustain the part of Disposer of the fate of Nations, and of the Benefactor of mankind in general, and of your Majesty's Allies in particular.—My brother-in-law, General Bruce, is charged with the honour of handing this letter to your Majesty; he will be the interpreter of the sentiments of admiration, of the sincere attachment to your person, and also of my constant wish, that your Majesty, after having compelled your enemies to accept of peace—to which your Majesty will know how to set the seal of durability—at length, with your illustrious family, enjoy the flattering spectacle of the restoration of the rights of nations, effected by your great actions; of the liberty of the Ocean, of the blessings of mankind; of constant love for your people; and of the gratitude of your faithful Allies.—I beseech your Majesty to accept the assurance of my most profound esteem, &c. (Signed)

SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NAVAL VICTORY.——*Spanish Official Report of the Battle of Trafalgar. From the Madrid Gazette, Nov. 5, 1805.*

The Chef d'Escadre Don Antonio de Escano, Major-General of the Squadron of the Ocean, has written, from the port of Cadiz, to his Excellency the Prince of Peace, under date of the 22d of Oct., as follows:

Most Excellent Senior, my Lord,—The situation of Lieut.-General Don Frederick Gravina, in consequence of a ball he received in his left arm, at the close of the action of yesterday, does not permit him to inform your Excellency of that bloody combat; and although I have had the fortune to spill my blood for the honour of his Majesty's arms; yet finding myself less inconvenienced than the brave and worthy General in Chief, on whom his Majesty, with a confidence which he merits, had conferred the command of the fleet, I enter upon the painful but necessary duty of informing your Excellency, that our efforts, and the discharge of our duty, have not been able to avert a loss, which would be greater, if we were not firmly persuaded that nothing was left undone; and consequently, that our honour was saved.—I know that, under date of the 18th inst. the General Gravina had informed your Excellency, that Admiral Villeneuve had signified to him his intention of putting to sea the next day, and desired to know whether the Spanish squadron were ready to accompany him? Your Excellency is not ignorant of what was the answer of the general; satisfied that his squadron would promptly follow the movements of the French, and that such were the repeated orders your Excellency had communicated to him. With this information the French admiral returned on board, and, subsequently, made the signal for getting up anchors and signals, which was repeated by this ship, the Principe de Asturias, and followed by the most ready execution for embarking the artillery and marines, with various others which were on shore. On the morning of the 19th, some French and Spanish ships got under weigh, in consequence of a signal made by Admiral Villeneuve, but we were not all able to effect it that day, the wind having veered to the S.W. but getting round to E.S.E. they all successively got out, on the morning of the 20th.——Scarcely had we cleared the mouth of the harbour when the wind shifted to S.S.W. so strong, and with such alarming appearances, that one of the first signals made by Admiral Villeneuve, who had hoisted his flag on board the Bucentaur, was, to take in two reefs in the main-sail; the shiftings of the wind necessarily occasioned a dispersion of the fleet, till towards the evening, when the wind again shifted, and the horizon clearing, a signal was made to form in two columns, and to unite. An advanced frigate made signals for 18 sail of the enemy in sight; and, in consequence of this information, the ships were cleared, and every thing got ready for action. At three, we tacked, and stood on for the Streights, preserving the same formation of the day before, as before this movement; but if we had executed it, 4 of the enemy's frigates appeared, which were chased by order of Admiral Villeneuve; and to this ship he attached

L'Aigle, Algesiras, and San Juan, as a squadron of observation, which might reinforce the ships in chase; with instructions, to re-unite with the main body of the fleet before night fall; at half-past seven, a French ship advised us of L'Aigle having reconnoitred 18 enemy's ships in line of battle, and soon after we saw, at no great distance, several lights, which, doubtless, were from the enemy's frigates, interspersed between the two fleets. At nine, the English made signals by firing cannon; and, by the interval between the flash and repeat, they appeared to be distant about two miles. The French admiral made signal that it was necessary to form in line of battle upon the leeward ships, which was afterwards repeated by that admiral, and, in this order, the day-break of the 21st came on with the enemy in sight, in number 28 ships, among them 8 three-deckers, formed in order of battle. At seven in the morning, the enemy approached, in different columns, upon our squadron, with a direction to the centre and rear, upon which Admiral Villeneuve ordered them to tack in succession, which brought the squadron of observation, commanded by General Gravina, into the situation of rear-guard. General Gravina made to his squadron the signals most proper to enable them to perform the various movements, which the exigency of the circumstances required, with ability and precision, and, on nearing the enemy, he ordered them to close their distances, and complete their order.—At 8 minutes before 12 an English three-decker, with a flag at her main-top, penetrated our line in the centre, supported by the ships which were in her wake. The heads of the other column of the enemy did the same; one of them doubled our rear-guard, another entered between L'Aigle and San Ildefonso, and from that moment the action was confined to a furious combat between the whole of the enemy's squadron and half of ours the greater part of the time within pistol-shot. I have not the necessary information to enable me to acquaint your Excellency with the particulars of the action; neither can I, at present, say any thing of the movements of the vanguard, which, I am assured, from the commencement, supported that part of the squadron which was attacked. What I can affirm to your Excellency is, that all the ships, both French and Spanish, which were within my observation, most fully performed their duty, and that this ship, after a horrible combat of four hours, with three or four of the enemy, with all her sails and rigging cut, without stays, without the power of making sail, her masts, and top-masts pierced through with balls, and in a most distressed condition, was opportunely assisted by the Spanish ship San Juste, and the French ship Neptune, which occasioned the removal of the enemy from us, and equally assisted the junction of the Rayo, Montanes, Axis, and San Leandro, which were so much damaged, with some other French ships, which had no better fate.—As soon as this ship was free from opponents, orders were given to those united to support such ships as wanted support, and at night-fall, the firing having ceased on all sides, the frigate La Thamise towed us towards the Bay of Cadiz, into which it was not possible to enter that night, the wind having got towards the S. S. E. strong, with showers of rain, which obliged us to anchor at a mile and a half from Rota, with the above-mentioned ships, and having considerably freshened, our main and mizen masts were carried away, notwithstanding the precautions taken for their security. It also dismasted the Leandro, which had anchored also by us. I cannot do less than perform a duty, which to me is very pleasant, that of placing in your Excellency's view, the generous emulation with which the officers and crew of this ship strove to perform their respective duties; and I am highly gratified in paying this tribute to those, who, by their gallant conduct in action, have done themselves so great credit. We have had forty-one killed; among them, Lieutenant de Vaihemd, Don L. P. del Lamino, and 107 badly wounded; in which number is included the Lieutenant of Volunteers, Don B. Corral, and Brigadier of Marines, Don A. Rua. I have learned that Don F. de Alcedo, of the Montanese, was killed in the action; and his Second Captain, Don A. Castano, badly wounded. Many losses of other excellent officers have doubtless been sustained throughout the fleet, as several ships were entirely dismasted; and this catastrophe is generally accompanied with misfortunes, which are inevitable. When I am acquainted with them, I will communicate them to your Excellency. His Excellency, the Prince of Peace, has replied to Admiral Don A. Escano, under date of the 27th of October, in the following terms: I have just received from your Excellency three letters, one of the 22d, and two of the 23d inst. acquainting me, for the information of his Majesty, of the action between the combined squadron, and that of the enemy, commanded by Lord Nelson, off Cadiz, in the evening and night of the 21st inst. which intelligence your Excellency has not omitted to give, notwithstanding you are considerably inconvenienced, by a wound in

the left leg, on account of his Excellency, Admiral Gravina, not being able to do it, from the wounds he received in the same action. All the three letters of your Excellency breathe a spirit of truth, animation, constancy, valour, and loyalty to the King. His Majesty is penetrated with the event, and is desirous (with me) of information of the situation of your Excellency, and that of Admiral Gravina; expecting at the same time to be informed of the detail, and the conclusion of this glorious but unfortunate action, in order to reward merit, dry up the tears of the afflicted families, and to assist the necessitous. The disposition of the King, his noble and generous heart, will not be satisfied till he sees these cares of his paternal affection accomplished; neither shall I, for my own part, enjoy ease, while the least thing remains to be done.—I acknowledge my obligations to your Excellency for your intelligence, and request you to participate the same to Admiral Gravina. The subsequent advices received of this event, reach to the 25th, and state, that on the 23d, Admiral Escano sailed again, with the French and Spanish ships which had entered the preceding night, in order to assist the crippled ships which might appear in sight, and to attack those that had charge of them; by this means he has recovered the Spanish ships Santa Anna, and Neptune, and assisted the L'Aigle, Algesiras, and Bucentaur French ships, notwithstanding his experiencing a strong gale from S.S.E. which broke loose and drove on shore near Santa Pancha Maria, the Asis and Neptune on the night of the 23d. Brigadier Don C. De Valdes, commander of the Neptune, is badly wounded, having received three bullets in the action; as is also Lieut. General Don J. M. De Alava, who has returned to Cadiz, in his ship the Santa Anna. The English have also experienced considerable misfortunes in this engagement, in which, according to advices from Gibraltar, Lord Nelson, and several officers of distinguished merit, were killed.

America and France.—*Memorial of certain American Merchants to Mr. Madison, Secretary of State in America, relative to the Conduct of the French Cruizers with regard to American Ships.*

The Memorial of the President and Directors of the South Carolina Insurance Company, and of the Merchants and Others interested in the Commerce of the City of Charleston; respectfully sheweth, that your Memorialists are deeply affected by the recent capture, at the very entrance of this port, of the American ship, Two Friends, by a French privateer. This event has excited among all classes of citizens the strongest sensations; not only because the said ship was captured without any colour of pretence, within sight of land, but because she is our only regular London trader, and had on board a full supply of spring and summer goods. The distress and anxiety occasioned by these circumstances are greatly enhanced from our having been hitherto deprived of our spring supplies, and from an anticipation of the consequences justly to be apprehended from a continuance of similar outrages, should not the most prompt and effectual measures be adopted for the protection and security of our commercial interests.—Your Memorialists are authorised to add (although the fact be not detailed in the Protest), that it appears from undoubted authority, that the magnitude of the prize was the sole inducement to the above-mentioned capture, the captors having said that they would release the Two Friends, in the event of their falling in with any other valuable prize which might be more worthy their notice.—This most extraordinary capture, in direct violation of our treaty with France (as appears by the accompanying documents), has already been followed by events no less alarming, our harbour being at this moment completely blockaded by three French privateers (and more are daily expected), which examine all vessels coming in and going out of this port, and either detain or release them, according as their value excites the cupidity of the cruizers.—This degrading state of our harbour has necessarily raised the premium of insurance, thus forcing additional sums from the pockets of our citizens, has advanced the price of every commodity, and created a distressing stagnation of our exports; for the Merchants, not receiving their goods from abroad, are incapacitated from purchasing the produce of the country. Among these deplorable effects of the defenceless and humiliating condition of our commerce, may be moreover enumerated the immense loss of duties; those on the ship Two Friends alone being estimated by the collector at 45,000 dollars.—Your Memorialists have the best reasons for believing that this early success, experienced by these French privateers, will immediately allure others in swarms to our coasts and bars to the total ruin of private mercantile concerns, and the most fatal defalcation of the public revenue; Your Memorialists have no less ground for apprehending that British cruizers, availing themselves of the absence of domestic protection, will, under the co-

lour of expelling the French, assume and occupy their ground, and either retain us in the same degraded state, harrassing our vessels by searches and detensions, or subject us to the disgraceful and mortifying obligations of gratitude, for alien succour and relief. — Your Memorialists are the more alarmed at these depredations, because much valuable property is still expected this summer from other quarters than London, and considerable importations will be looked for in the fall for our winter supplies; and should there not be an early and effectual check to these aggressions; should our fall importations be also interrupted, the calamities of the last year, produced by the hurricane and other causes, in which this city has so largely participated, would be aggravated to such an extent as to eventuate in general ruin—and these great alarms and apprehensions of your Memorialists are heightened by the well known circumstance of the cruizers which infest our shores belonging to St. Jago de Cuba and Barracoa, in which receptacles our vessels and their cargoes, with the knowledge of the government of Cuba, are instantly sold, without even the formality of a trial, or any condemnation whatever, thereby precluding every future probability of redress.—Your Memorialists avail themselves of this occasion to notice a late decision of the District Court within this State, grounded on an Act of Congress, whereby the territorial jurisdiction of the United States is limited to the short distance of three miles, or a maritime league, from the coasts or shores, which by the said Court is construed to mean three miles from the land, consequently the middle channel of our bar being more than three miles distant from the nearest land is pronounced, by judicial authority, to be without the jurisdiction of the United States! The very entrance of our harbour, in full sight of the city, where vessels are frequently obliged to anchor, while waiting for a tide, and with a Pilot on board, is, by our own Tribunals, acknowledged to be without the protection of our government. —Your Memorialists refrain from commenting on the pernicious effects of a system of policy so pregnant with dishonour and ruin to the trade and navigation of the Union at large, but more particularly to those of Charleston, from the geography of whose shores, and peculiar local situation of whose bar and horbour, every vessel in her ingress and egress, is thus subjected to search, detention or seizure. We content ourselves with a bare statement of the above grievance, superadded to so many others, not doubting that the President will take the same into consideration, and being duly impressed with the necessity of some early remedial arrangement, either of a legislative or diplomatic nature, will recur to such as may appear most conducive to the desired end —Your Memorialists having thus exhibited but an imperfect view of their ruinous, unprotected, and degraded situation, rely with confidence on the prompt interposition of the President, to obtain, by representations to the Minister of France, and of Spain (in the event of the Two Friends being carried into a Spanish port), restitution of the said ship and her cargo, and to cause a stop to be put to similiar spoliations. And your Memorialists further most earnestly solicit some immediate and effectual naval protection for our harbour and shores, together with such other measures as the National Councils, in their wisdom, may deem expedient, as well for prevention of the renewal of the outrages we have sustained, as for the permanent safety and protection of our commercial and navigating rights and interests.—Charleston, South-Carolina, June, 22, 1805.

COPY.—*Department of State, July* 10, 1805.

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 22d ult. inclosing the Memorial of the Insurance Company of which you are President, and of the Merchants and others, interested in the commerce of Charleston.—Having been before made acquainted, by the Collector of the Customs, with the circumstances of the capture of the Two Friends, I lost no time in stating it to the French Minister, who has replied, that the communication made to him respecting this affair, by the Commissary of his nation at Charleston, had enabled him to anticipate my desires, by requesting the Captains General of the French colonies, to all of whom he had written respecting it, to obtain satisfaction for this violation of the Convention between France and the United States.—The observations contained in the Memorial respecting the local situation, and the protection necessary for the port of Charleston and the adjacent coast, have been weighed by the President, and in connexion with other information, will promote such measures as the nature of his functions, the existing laws and the public good, may be thought to admit and require.——I have the honour to be, &c. JAMES MADISON.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 25.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1805. [PRICE 1OD.

"The statement in the 25th Bulletin of the Grand French Army, of the Russians under General Kutusow, "having offered to capitulate, is an infamous forgery. Such are the base, unmanly, and cowardly acts, to "which Buonaparté has recourse! His operations are now principally directed against Truth. He trusts "less to his talents for Military affairs than to his talents for *Lying*. We may say to him, in the words of "Glenalvon: "*By Heavens! you are all lie!*" We pronounce the capitulation of Wintzingerode to be a "gross and scandalous *forgery*. We pronounce the correspondence between Count De Palfy and Marshal "Davoust to be also a *forgery!*" Courier and Morning Post Ministerial Papers of the 11th instant.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR —*(Continued from p. 943.) Twenty-Seventh Bulletin of the Grand French Army, from the French Official Paper the Moniteur.*

Pohorlitz in Moravia, Nov. 19, 1805. —After the action of Guntersdorff the enemy pursued his retreat in great haste. General Sebastiani followed him with his brigade of dragoons with drawn sabres. The extended plains of Moravia facilitated his pursuit: on the 18th of November he cut off several corps in their flight and made 2000 prisoners.——Prince Murat entered Brunn on the 18th of Nov., in constant pursuit of the enemy, who immediately evacuated the town and the fortress, which is well built and in a state to stand a regular siege. The Emperor has taken up his head-quarters in Pohorlitz. Marshal Soult is stationed with a body of troops at Messeretsch. Marshal Lasnes is on the other side of Pohorlitz.—Moravia is much more fertile than Austria. The Moravians are astonished in the middle of their widely extended plains to see the people of the Ukraine, of Kamschatka, and the Great Tartaries, fight with the Normans, the Gascoynes, the Bretons, and the Burgundians.—We have found at Brunn 60 pieces of cannon, 3000 cwt. of powder, a great quantity of corn and meal, and considerable magazines of clothing.

Twenty-Eighth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Brunn, Nov. 21.—The Emperor arrived at Brunn on the 20th of November, at ten o'clock in the morning. A deputation of the Moravian States, with a bishop at their head, came to meet him. The Emperor took a review of the fortress, and caused the citadel to be taken possession of, in which he found 6000 stand of arms, a great quantity of ammunition, and, among other things, 400,000 pounds of gunpowder.—The Russians had collected all their cavalry, which formed a corps of 6000 men, with a view to defend the point of junction of the roads leading from Brunn and Olmutz. General Walther occupied them the whole day, and forced them at last to abandon their ground. Prince Murat caused General Hautpoult's division of cuirassiers, and four squadrons of the imperial guard to advance. Though our horses were extremely fatigued, the enemy was turned and driven back. He left upon the field of battle more than 200 of his best cuirassiers and dragoons; 100 cavalry remained in our hands. Marshall Vassiers commander of the imperial guard, has executed a brilliant enterprise, at the head of four squadrons of the guards, by which the enemy has been completely routed.

Twenty-Ninth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Head Quarters, Brunn, Nov. 23.—Marshal Ney has proceeded to Brixen, after having made many prisoners, besides a great number of sick and wounded, which he found in the hospitals. On the 17th of Nov. he took Klauzen and Botzen. Marshal Bernadotte has occupied Iglau. Some divisions of his corps have entered Bohemia. General Wrede has taken a company of Austrian artillery, 100 horses, 50 cuirassiers, and many officers, besides a considerable magazine of corn, and many waggons and horses, as also the baggage of several regiments and officers. Adjutant Commandant Malson has made some prisoners upon the road to Iglau, and 200 dragoons of Latour and Hohenloe upon the road to Brunn. He surprised besides, another division of 200 men, and made 150 prisoners. We have reconnoitred as far as Olmutz.—The winter sets in very severe. The French army has made a halt. The avant-guard is protected by the very strong fortress of Brunn, which they have already began to put in a proper state of defence.

OPERATIONS OF THE FRENCH ARMY OF ITALY. —— *(Continued from p. 948.) Eighth Bulletin of the Army of Italy, dated Head Quarters, Gorizia, Nov. 24, 1805.*

The army preserves the position it took on the left of Isonzo. The advanced guard, under the command of General Espagne, has driven the enemy to Gauz, and is seve-

ral vigorous charges has taken about 100 prisoners. All their cavalry have taken the great road. A considerable part of their infantry proceeds through the valley of Idria to gain that of Oberleybach. Five companies of light horse pursue them in that direction, while our advanced posts reconnoitre as far as the intrenchments of Pervald, and direct themselves towards Leybach. On the approach of the division of Seras to Trieste, the Austrians evacuated that place, where they left three hundred wounded. A corps pursued them on the road to Leybach, and took fifty men. Two regiments of dragoons, supported by the infantry, advanced by our left on the Chiusa de Pletz, which was guarded by two regiments of infantry, Strasoldo and Deligne, with some cavalry. All the posts were abandoned on the arrival of our troops. The General of Brigade Lacour, who commanded them, received orders to penetrate to Villach, and to try to open a communication with the grand army, the movements of which had doubtless occasioned the retreat of the enemy, who appeared afraid of being surrounded. A detachment was also sent against Ponteba Veneta, where the enemy, who were in force, did not venture to wait for us. In these different movements we have made about 400 prisoners. The general in chief left towards Padua the corps of troops from Naples. They have joined with the Corsican Legion, and the 2d Italian regiment have joined one of the divisions of the army. Lieutenant General St. Cyr, who commands these united forces, observes Chiozza and Brendolo. These troops are prepared to fall on the Russians and the English, if they dare to attempt the descent with which they threaten the coast of Italy.

Letter from the General of Division Lecchi, to the Minister of War, dated Legnano, Nov. 25.

I hasten to inform your Excellency, that a body of the enemy, under the command of Prince Rohan, was drawn up near Bassano. The General marched from Sira with the reserve of the army, which consisted of a Polish corps under General Peyri, two French regiments under General Regnier, four pieces of artillery, and the 5th Italian regiments. General Regnier marched to Piombino, whereby he prevented the march of the Austrians, who were inclining towards Venice, by the road of Maestie. Yesterday, the 24th, he was attacked by break of day, and although he made the most vigorous defence, he was thrice obliged to leave the field. The Polish Infantry marched from Campo St. Pietro, under the direction of their own General, before day-break, towards Castel Franco. As the General remarked, when half way from Campo St Pietro, that the Division of General Regnier drew back, he commanded General Gravinsky to attack the enemy in the rear. This attack was made with the greatest vigour, and the enemy retreated towards Castel Franco, with the loss of 150 prisoners, and three pieces of cannon. General Regnier now made use of the same manœuvre, and made 2000 prisoners. The rest of the hostile column retired towards Villa Franca, where 3000 Austrians, who were blockaded by the Polish Infantry, laid down their arms to Colonel Gravinsky; a corps of 700 cuirassiers surrendered to Lieutenant-Colonel Klopinslay. Eight thousand prisoners, 700 horses, 12 pieces of cannon, 6 stand of colours, and 10 standards, were the result of the victory. Prince Rohan, three Colonels, three Lieutenant-Colonels, and six Majors, are amongst the prisoners. Out of 600 killed, there are two Colonels, two Lieutenant-Colonels, and four Majors. There are also 600 wounded.

Letter addressed by Marshal Ney to the Estates of the Tyrol, previous to his Departure from Saltzburgh.

You will take a particular charge in the superintendence of the affairs of the mines of Schewetz, and their dependencies at Hall, Brixlegg, Acherain, &c. upon condition that you give an account of the same, when it may be required. You must be careful, that none of the raw or manufactured materials be taken out of the magazines: private property shall be duly restored to the owners. It is of great importance, that the support of between three and four thousand families, which depends upon those establishments, should be secured to them, by a wise and vigilant administration.

Proclamation addressed by General Ney to the Tyrolese, previous to his departure.

Tyroleans,—The French army, acting in conformity with the dispositions of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, is about to leave your country. He has ordered that the posts and the commands in the same should be committed to our allies, the Bavarian troops. I admonish the constituted authorities, and particularly the Clergy, to second the representations made to the people by the Archduke John, viz. that they submit themselves to the laws of the victors; and that they neither bear arms against

us, nor our Allies.—Upon my departure, I shall recommend the strictest discipline to General Siebein, Commandant of the Bavarian troops; I expect the Tyroleans will observe the same conduct towards them as to ourselves, in which I have reason to praise the zeal you have manifested in supplying our troops with provisions. I hope, when I am far distant, I shall hear that you have followed my advice, and that you will turn a deaf ear to the faithless representations of the evil-minded, who spread themselves over the country to preach rebellion: should any disturbances occur, the Bavarian troops will know how to punish the authors of them; and, if necessary, my corps of the army, or that of Marshal Augereau, will be at hand, to restore order, and chastize the guilty. Tyroleans, you must bear the calamities of a war, in which nothing is to be got, with patience. A permanent, and probably, a speedy peace, will restore tranquillity to all nations—Tyroleans, you have witnessed my confidence; I reckon upon your loyalty. (Signed) NEY.

Ninth Bulletin of the Army of Italy, dated Head-quarters at Goritza, Nov. 27.

The general in chief has been informed by several reports, and particularly by a letter from General Vial, the Ambassador of his Imperial Majesty, at Berne, that a corps of the Austrian army, which was cut off in consequence of the manœuvres of the grand army, intended to descend by the Tyrolean mountains of Italy. He calculated that this column would endeavour either to cross the line of the army to unite itself with the troops in the Venetian territory, or to operate, by the way of Feltro and Belluno, a junction with the wreck of Prince Charles's army at Leybach. But whatever direction the enemy might take, the situation of the army at Isonzo was such, that a sufficient force could be detached to intercept them. The advanced guard, however, continued its march towards Leybach. A column, consisting of 7000 infantry, and 1,200 cavalry, commanded by the Prince de Rohan, advanced on the 24th to Bassano, and might easily have taken the detachment of 1,500 men, which formed the garrison. It proceeded to Castel Franco. As soon as Gen. St. Cyr was informed of this, he was convinced that the enemy meant to cross our line, of the force of which they doubtless were ignorant. He therefore made dispositions for giving them a proper reception. The general in chief, who had foreseen every thing, remained on his part perfectly tranquil; but that nothing might be left to the chance of events, he took measures for bringing up, by forced marches on the Piave, the division of grenadiers commanded by General Partouneaux, and other corps. The grenadiers were directed to ascend the Piave by Il Bosco del Mantello, and to turn the position of Bassano. The division of Gardanne, which was directed at the same time on Venzone, was destined to reinforce the detachments sent to the two Pontebas, and to cut off all retreat from the enemy. The general in chief left the rest of the troops on the Isonzo, under the command of General Duhesme, and proceeded himself to the Piave to superintend the movements he had directed.—General St. Cyr manœuvred to reconnoitre the enemy, and to stop him. General Regnier, at Navale, had orders to march on the 25th, at day-break, to Castel Franco. The enemy arrived in the evening, and sensible of the difficulty of his position, anticipated the attack. He fell violently on Regnier's division, which received him with the greatest vigour and soon repulsed him. The enemy, however, returned several times to the charge, but were always received with the same firmness. Meanwhile General St. Cyr made a movement with the Polish regiment, and turned the enemy. The route was then completed all the way to Castel Franco, where our troops arrived as soon as the Austrians. All who were not killed or taken on the field of battle asked to capitulate. 6000 infantry and 100 cavalry remained in our power. This number was greater than we opposed to them in effective combat, but they saw, from the dispositions which were made, that their destruction was inevitable. The Prince de Rohan, several colonels, and a number of officers, are among the prisoners. Six standards, 12 pieces of cannon, and immense baggage, are also the result of this victory. We have only to regret the loss of 100 killed and wounded, and we have recovered the prisoners taken from us at Bassano. A corps of Croats, which it is supposed formed part of the column, is expected to be found in the defiles of the mountains. It is not likely that it can escape us. The advanced guard makes each day new prisoners. The roads from Idra to Leybach are covered with horses, waggons, and thousands of bullets.

Capitulation of the Austrian Corps under Lieutenant General Von Jellachich, done at Dornburen, Nov. 14, 1805.

Mauritius Mathieu, General of a division, Field Officer of the Legion of Honour, Commandant of the second division of the 7th Corps of the Grand Army, duly

empowered by Marshal Augereau, General in Chief of the 7th Corps of the Grand Army, and Major General Von Wolfskehl, in service of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, empowered by General Von Jellachich, Commander in Chief of the Austrian army in Voralberg, have agreed on the following articles:—1. That the corps under Lieutenant-General Von Jellachich are prisoners of war upon parole of honour. They are to file with all honours, and after having laid down their arms, the men are to be escorted by the French to the frontiers of Bohemia. 2. The officers keep their arms, horses and effects. 3. All troop horses, arms, artillery, and magazines of provisions and military stores, and every thing that is not private property, is to be delivered to the French. 4. The French army will take possession of the entire Voralberg, Pludenz, and the entire district to Arlemberg. 5. The three battalions of the regiment, Beaulieu, are included in this capitulation, if they have met the corps of Prince Rohan, on the 23d Brumaire, (Nov. 14), about 7 o'clock at night, or if they should be still near Arlemberg. 6. All officers and the men of the corps under Lieut. General Von Jellachich, give their word of honour not to serve during one year from the date of the capitulation, neither against France nor Italy. 7—10. The Austrian prisoners who remain behind are to be treated liberally. The other prisoners will march for Bohemia in three columns. On the 15th, the French will occupy their arsenals and magazines. 11. The corps will file before the French army on the 10th November, about eight o'clock in the morning, lay down the arms and surrender the horses. (Signed) Augereau. V. Wolfskehl. V. Jellachich.

Prussia.—*Proclamation issued by the King of Prussia relative to Contributions levied by the French Army in Bavaria, dated Berlin, Nov.* 2, 1805.

Whereas the French army in Bavaria has demanded a contribution and forage from several classes of men in Franconia, we find it necessary to give this particular notice to every subject and inhabitant of this District, not to give any forage or contribution, and consequently not to pay any attention to similar orders from the Proprietors of Domains, or any other persons; but, on the contrary, to give immediate intelligence of such proceedings to the respective Justices or Magistrates, who are to acquaint the Magistrate of Anspach of it without delay. This notice is also applicable to those places which are under some peculiar jurisdiction of foreign Sovereigns, beside those of his Prussian Majesty, as those places have the same privileges, and are included in the neutral territories. His Majesty's Special Order.

Hardenberg.

Continental War.——*Narrative of the Events of the Campaign, taken from the Moniteur of the* 18*th of November, and said to be a Letter dated from Vienna, on the* 11*th of November.* (*Concluded from p.* 927.)

Count Giulay, dispatched on the 7th to the Emperor Napoleon, to propose an armistice, received for answer, that his Majesty, being at the head of two hundred thousand men, was not in a situation to treat with a flying army; he, however, gave Count Giulay a letter for the Emperor of Austria, in which, it is hoped, he has made proposals for a peace.—Returning from the head-quarters, near St. Hippolite, Count Giulay met the deputation of the states of Austria, going from Vienna to the Emperor Napoleon, to solicit leave for a capitulation. —This deputation was composed of the Prince Sinzendorf, the Bishop of Seidenstetten, and M. Wohlleben, Burgomaster of the city, with General Bourgeois, of the engineers. They shewed him the articles for which they were to negotiate; their contents struck him with surprise.—He gave them to understand, they were not going to treat as conquerors, but as the conquered; and that they should carefully avoid any thing which might irritate the Emperor of the French. He then made such corrections as he thought necessary, and advised the deputation not to go beyond these conditions.—The deputation then dispatched Prince Sinzendorf to Vienna, to demand a renewal of their full powers, while Count Giulay interposed with the Emperor Napoleon for an armistice of three days, to give them time to make the necessary arrangement; but this could only be granted for forty-eight hours.—General Kienmayer left Vienna, for Olmutz, on the 9th, at night. As he had served under General Meerfeldt, and as it was reported that the latter had marched into Styria, to attack the column detached by Bernadotte to annoy the Archduke Charles, and compel him to retreat, it was thought that General Kienmayer had very important communications to make to the Emperor respecting the Archduke's situation, which could scarcely be supposed to be consoling, notwithstanding all the bravery this prince had displayed.—Prince Amsberg, commandant of the guards at the palace

Discounts.

was appointed commandant of the city of Vienna *ad interim*; and Prince John of Leichtenstein, commandant of the reserve in Austria and Bohemia, then stationed upon the left shore of the Danube; Count Corbua, Vice-President of the Mines and the Mint, was appointed commissary-general, having for adjuncts, the deputies of state, and the aulic counsellors, Count Korinsky and Baron Kullmansegg. The Emperor authorised the magistrates of Vienna to circulate paper to the amount of a million of florins, in bills of 12 and 24 francs, to be called in after the war.——A French squadron has arrived at Ancona. This was announced to the Governor of Fiume by the Austrian Consul; the former hastened to communicate this intelligence to the Hungarian Chancery.—A report was spread, from the house of the Russian ambassador, that, notwithstanding the convention of neutrality, Russian troops had arrived at Naples.—When the Emperor of Austria set out for Olmutz, on the 7th, he caused his departure to be announced to the diplomatic corps, and invited them to follow him, as horses were provided for their journey, and lodgings, as commodious as possible, were to be fitted for their reception at Olmutz.—Upon this occasion, M. Loppel, the Charge d'Affaires of Hesse Cassel, was forgotten; but, on the 9th, to repair the oversight, an official letter was sent him from the Chancery, in his Majesty's name. Count Cobentzel also was charged with a verbal message to him; and, as the Count even pressed his departure, he set out on the same day.—When Count Cobentzel notified the Emperor's departure to the ministers of Baden and Wurtemberg, he informed them, that all official communications having ceased, they might receive their passports whenever they chose to demand them. —The minister of Wurtemberg, not choosing to avail himself of this offer, remains here as an individual, and to act as a guardian to Count Scilern, who is terrified with the thoughts of French or Bavarians.—The minister of Sardinia, impatient of his Majesty's delay in changing his residence, had demanded passports for Hungary on the 6th; but when he received the invitation of his Majesty, by a note, to follow him to Olmutz, he availed himself of the opportunity. ——The general consternation among all ranks, since the battle of Ulm, particularly those who had any influence upon the war, or in the measures of government, has perplexed them to such a degree, that a person, very capable of judging, has assured me, that if one should ask the advice of an infant upon the present crisis, its want of information could not possibly produce worse measures than have already resulted from the conduct recommended to the Emperor by the council of war, after all their deliberations. In this situation, would not a peace of any kind be preferable to the present state of things?—On the 8th, the Emperor granted an extraordinary vacation of three months to the aulic council of the empire; and the chancery of state has been transferred to Olmutz. The Austrian council of state is dissolved, and M. De Stahl is the only member that has followed his Majesty. He travelled with the cabinet minister.

ST. DOMINGO.—*Decrees of the Black General Desalines,* JACQUES I. *Emperor of Hayti, Commander in Chief of the Armies, by the Grace of God, and the Constitutional Law of the State.*

Desirous to dispense, equally and without distinction, the favours of the Government, and to secure to the authorized consignees, (and this without respect to private interests and particular privileges) the benefits resulting from the Imperial decree of Aug. 1, present year: Decrees, as follows, to be executed throughout the whole extent of the Empire:—Art. 1. All authorized commercial houses for receiving consignments shall have and exercise equal and similar rights, agreeably to the favour granted by the above-mentioned law. 2. Consequently, according to the principle of the preceding article, each consignee shall be permitted, in his turn, and following the order of the number affixed to his commission, to sell and have the responsibility of foreign vessels. 3. This distribution shall be calculated so that no authorised consignee, however favoured, or whatever his claims, shall receive a number of vessels exceeding those received by other consignees. 4. According to the preceding article, each merchant, already commissioned, is required to present his patent to the Secretary General of the Government, who will give to it the requisite formality.—Done at the Imperial Palace, Sept. 6.

JACQUES I. *Emperor of Hayti, Commander in Chief of the Army, by the Grace of God, and the Constitutional Law of the State.*

Desirous of restraining the frequent abuses in the receipt of the duties of importation and exportation, as also in the receipt of the tax of one-fourth, levied on the territorial produce: Considering the necessity of restricting the exportation of specie to foreign countries. Considering, moreover,

the necessity of inflicting upon fraudulent speculators and public dilapidators, punishments commensurate with the crimes they commit: Decrees as follows, to be carried into effect throughout the whole extent of the Empire:—Art. 1. Every vessel which shall be discovered trespassing against the laws, either as it relates to the duties of importation or of exportation, shall, together with her cargo, be confiscated for the benefit of the state. 2. When a vessel shall be suspected of fraud, the armed force shall be called upon by the administrator of the place, who, assisted by the Collector of the Custom-house, and in presence of the Comptroller and the Commandant of the place, shall proceed to the unloading and the examination thereof, in the strictest manner; a process verbal of which shall be drawn up, and immediately forwarded to the minister of finances. 3. Every collector of a place in which a vessel shall be seized for fraud, either on account of the duties of importation or of exportation, shall be deprived of his property, and punished with the utmost rigour of the law. 4. Every authorised mercantile house receiving consignments, is bound to make known to the administrator of the place, before the vessel consigned to it be permitted to sail, the amount of the sale of her cargo, in produce; and the surplus of the specie which it has not been able so convert into produce, shall be deposited in the Treasury: a receipt for the amount thereof shall be given by the said Administrator, payable in produce of the place, at the current prices, and to the order of the bearer. 5. The consignees shall be required to produce (in addition to the state of duties made out by the Collector upon the cargo of each vessel) the permits for the sale thereof, which shall be deposited in the Office of the Administrator. 6. Every foreign vessel shall be required, within twenty-four hours after her arrival in any port, to declare her intention of disposing of the cargo there, or of sailing to another port. 7. Every individual who shall be convicted of having purchased goods without receiving a regular permit therewith, shall be imprisoned six months, and his property confiscated. 8. Every holder of a permit to dispose of his goods, is required to deposit it in the Revenue Office *(bureau des domain;)* a quantity of new permits, proportionate to the amount of goods he may have on hand, shall be delivered to him. 9. Every Haytian, of whatever rank, or profession he may be, who shall be convicted of having sold produce before having paid the rent of his farm, the impost of one-fourth, and the proportion receivable by the cultivators, shall be prosecuted criminally. 10. Every one renting or owning a farm, shall be obliged to carry the amount of the one-fourth belonging to the cultivators, to the office of the Justice of the Peace, to be then divided amongst them, in his presence, and in that of the Commandant of the place, who shall both certify the account of sales of the said farmers or proprietors. Done at the Imperial Palace, Gonaives, 23d September, 1805.

—— DESSALINES.

DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.—[The following extraordinary article is copied from the "National Intelligencer" of America, a paper which, on political subjects, is supposed to speak only the sentiments of the Executive:] The contents of every mail we receive, are charged with sentiments of indignation at the unjust treatment of our merchants and seamen by the Belligerent European Powers. Without any pretext whatever, their ships of war are permitted, with lawless violence, to seize the property of the honest trader, insult is frequently added to injury, and the civil authority, in numerous instances, justifies these outrages by a condemnation of the ship and cargo. It is not susprising that a nation, whose rights are thus trampled upon, should demand redress; and such is the force of public opinion, that we believe the period is approaching when this redress will be had, or those, of whom it is fruitlessly claimed, will be made to pay the cost. That governments whose vital interests depend upon a good understanding with us, nations whose colonies are entirely at our mercy, and whose manufactories we can any moment paralyse, should be thus blind to their interest, is matter of supreme astonishment to us. But to them it cannot be surprising, if, in the just promotion of our interests against lawless violence and meditated wrongs, we should aim a fatal blow at theirs.—What would England say to an imposition of heavy duties on all her manufactured fabrics, the want of which we could supply in other markets? What would she say to refusing permission to any of her ships to enter our harbours? What would she say to withholding all supplies from her islands? What would she say to an embargo? What would she say to a prohibition of all intercourse?—These are awful considerations; but we venture to predict that they will occupy the serious deliberations of Congress at their ensuing session. We venture to predict that every representative, from the east to the west, from the north to the south, will come armed with the resentment of his constituents against the invaders of his rights. The next is a

new Congress; its members may therefore be expected unequivocally to speak the language of the people. Pacific as is the disposition of America, it may be that the storm will burst before foreign nations are aware of it. But let them recollect that the thunder has long rolled at a distance; that they were long since warned of the danger of awakening the lion. Let them recollect that at the last session, on the 2d of March, the following resolutions were adopted by the Senate: *(To be continued)*

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

HANOVER.—*Proclamation of the King of England, published at Hanover on the 2d of December*, 1805.

We George III. by the grace of God, &c. &c.—Our warmest wishes for the liberation of our beloved German Estates have at length succeeded; the enemy, in consequence of the efforts of our High Allies, having been compelled to evacuate them. We had indulged a hope, that this would have been effected, some time since, by our own troops; but the execution of the same has been retarded by contrary winds. In the interim, the King of Prussia, while the Russian troops required by his Majesty were advancing, took possession of the city of Hanover, when evacuted by our enemies, under the most friendly assurances.—It is one of the first objects since the restoration of the ancient administration of affairs, thus publicly to make known to the country, our joy upon this happy change; and to testify to our faithful subjects, that the repeated proofs of their unshaken fidelity and attachment, during the oppression they suffered from the enemy, have not been unnoticed by us, but have been observed and acknowledged with increased affection and goodwill. Our next object will now be directed to the healing of the wounds inflicted by the enemy in every possible way; and, as far as in our power lies, to cause the calamities of the past to be forgotten in the prospect of the future. But we confidently expect from our faithful subjects, that each of them will co-operate with us to the extent of his abilities, never losing sight of the reflection, that this country has been by the enemy most unjustly involved in a war; and which still calls for our strongest efforts, to ensure those happy consequences which must be the result of our perseverance.—We are, therefore, convinced, that the country will be gratified in receiving the information, that it is our intention to entrust the direction of the administration of the military affairs of this country to the Duke of Cambridge, as soon as he can conveniently arrive. This notice is, therefore, previously given to all whom it may concern. With respect to civil concerns, we have found it necessary to send our cabinet minister, Count Munster, who, with other charges, will undertake a more minute investigation of the necessities of the country, and will adopt such measures as may be necessary for their alleviation. And we hereby command all and every person, with this view, to afford him all possible aid and assistance.—Given at our Palace of St. James's, on the 4th of November 1805, and in the 46th year of our reign.

GEORGE REX.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, as far as it relates to the expression of opinions upon the subject of the character or conduct of *foreign sovereigns*, is from the decisions which have taken place of late years, become a thing of so precarious a nature, that one hardly knows when and how and with regard to whom we may venture to exercise it. It is, however, desirable to come at something like settled notions upon the subject; and, for the reasons that will presently appear evident enough, this is not an unsuitable time for making attempt towards the attainment of that object.——In page 884 of the present volume was noticed an endeavour, on the part of the ministerial writers to prepare the public mind for witnessing, without much indignation, an attack, through the means of the law, upon all that part of the press not devoted to the ministry, or, at least, upon that part of it which had, in spite of all the threats that had been thrown out, yet the courage to exercise some small portion of that liberty so amply enjoyed in England, for more than a century previous to the administration of Mr. Pitt. Since the publication of the article above referred to, there has appeared, in the Courier newspaper of the 7th instant, a continuation of the same endeavours: "Mr. Windham's Gazette," (meaning the Register, though, as the reader has been fully informed, in p. 553, the insinuation is totally unfounded) "of the 19th "and 26th of October, *advocates* the cause "of *that* TRAITOR *the Elector of Bavaria*, "against the Cabinet of Vienna; and the "Morning Herald of the 2d inst calls the "Sovereigns of Russia and Prussia, perjured "drunken drivellers. Upon every occa- "sion, and in all ways, do the opposition "endeavour to disgust the Continent at this "country; and then they boast of the con- "tempt in which our government is held." "On Wednesday the Morning Chronicle, "with a satisfactory sneer, remarked that "Austria in her declaration relied on Rus-

"sia and Prussia, but took no notice of England, as if it would not have been ridiculous to have talked of English military aid "in Moravia! The opposition have succeeded too far, we fear, in rendering the "English name odious on the Continent, "and what is still worse, we see every reason to apprehend that our *present ministers take no pains to counteract their calumnies.* Nay, it is even reported that "this great and important duty *is betrayed to serve a jobbing purpose;* that the reputation of our government, that the character of the British nation, as far as they "can be affected on the Continent by the "newspaper press, are *sacrificed to provide for a dependant.* From what we can see "of the subject, the report is *well founded,* "and founded, too, to *an extent far exceeding this statement.* Ministers are guilty "of a *gross dereliction of duty we fear on "this point.* The character which the "English people and their government bear "in the newspaper press on the Continent, "is no light matter. The French government and the English opposition know "this well, if the British cabinet do not. "The Weekly Register, the Moniteur, and "the Morning Chronicle, equally exert "themselves to bring England into contempt abroad, and we are sorry to see *that "ministers make no effort to oppose an antidote to their poison.*" —— These are strange insinuations! But, we will, for a few minutes, lay them aside, in order to offer a remark or two upon the charge preferred against the Register in "*advocating,*" as it is quaintly asserted, "the cause of that *traitor,* "the Elector of Bavaria, against the cabinet "of Vienna." The passages of the Register, referred to by this writer, will be found in the present volume, page 583, in which passage, if the reader should think it of importance enough to refer to it, he will find expressed an anxious desire, that the court of Vienna might be able to show (no attempt having *then* been made to show) that its conduct towards Bavaria was justifiable by the laws and usages of war; and, he will find, in the conclusion, a fear expressed, that the *example* of invading Bavaria and seizing upon its treasures, without a declaration of war, would lead to very dangerous consequences, of which consequences, the reader will, probably, agree with me the encouragement to violate, without ceremony, the neutrality of Anspach was one. Since the publication of the remarks here referred to, a paper justificatory, accompanied with documents, has been published by the cabinet of Vienna; and, I should have been very glad to find in those papers a statement of such facts as would have removed the apprehensions expressed by me, previous to the appearance of the papers; but, such facts I did not find: I found nothing in the conduct of the Elector of Bavaria meriting the appellation of "treason:" I found, indeed, that, seeing an army capable of overwhelming him, just ready to enter his states, and, receiving from the commander of that army an intimation that he would not be suffered to remain neutral, but that he would be compelled to put his troops under the command of one or the other of the contending Emperors; thus situated I found him evading an answer as long as possible, and, being able to evade no longer, consenting, in an equivocal manner, to join his troops to those of Austria, and, then, having by such means gained time for the purpose, withdrawing himself and his troops from within the reach of the Austrian force; withdrawing them, indeed, in such a manner as to render it next to impossible that his intention should not be to co-operate with France, but not even by that act forfeiting his right to expect a declaration of war to precede a seizure upon his revenues and an assumption of the government of his territory. "We seldom "know" (said Mr. Francis, in his admirable speech relative to the invasion of the Mahratta territory) "what the Indian Prin-"ces have to say for themselves, in their "own terms. But, be it so. They held "soft and moderate language; they endeavoured to put us off our guard, while they "were preparing to defeat our operations, "and, if possible, to expel us from their "country. Such a policy, for purposes "much less to be justified, is not uncommon in Europe, and never yet was thought "treacherous or criminal, especially on the "side of the weaker party, and that party "not the aggressor. As if injured weakness had no right to any arms but those "which the powerful aggressor thinks fit "to prescribe to it, or, as if there was no "treachery on our side, in endeavouring to "persuade them to receive a foreign army "into their capitals for the sincere and "friendly purpose of securing their independence."——How far this is applicable to the case before us, I shall leave the reader to determine: but, I cannot help expressing my belief, that he will be of opinion, that, since Austria compelled the Elector of Bavaria to take an active part in the war, on one side or the other, he had a right to consult his own interest, especially when, upon the choice that he was about to make depended the existence of himself as a

prince, and of his country as a state even nominally independent; for, there can now, I think, be very little doubt, that, if he had joined his troops to those of Austria, he might, by this time have joined his court to that of Louis XVIII. I shall be told, that, if Austria had not compelled him to take part in the war, France would. This I believe; but, if any man should seriously urge this as a ground of justification of the conduct of Austria, surely he will not urge it as a ground of condemnation of the conduct of the Elector? And, I must beg the reader to observe, that the choice of this latter being in its consequences injurious to us, is not a circumstance that renders it criminal. In fine, though I lament that the Elector of Bavaria did not give his aid to the House of Austria (upon the supposition that it might have been of some avail), I repeat, at the hazard of being again accused of "*advoca-*" *ting* his cause," that it does not appear to me, that any part of his conduct, or that the whole of his conduct put together, warrants the opprobious appellations, by which it has been, in the English prints, so frequently characterized; and, on the other hand, I think, that no one can deny, that there was great impolicy, at least, in invading his territories, seizing his treasures, forcing paper-money upon his subjects in exchange for their goods, assuming the administration of his government, and, in short, treating his country as completely conquered, without a declaration of war.——In returning to the subject of the *Liberty of the Press*, as exercised with regard to foreign sovereigns, the first thing that presents itself, is, the strange manner, in which the writer above-quoted has expressed himself. What does he mean by asserting, that "the present ministers "have *taken no pains* to counteract" what he calls our "calumnies;" that "it is re-"ported that they have betrayed this duty "*to serve a jobbing purpose*, and to *provide* "*for a dependant?*" I, at first, suspected, that this was a hint to the Treasury; a sort of dunning reproach; but, upon a further consideration upon all the circumstances of the case, I concluded, that the object of this writer was, to prepare, under the guise of censure for pretended unwarrantable forbearance, the public mind for an acquiescence in acts of power really unwarrantable. I do not say, nor, indeed, do I think, that those whom this writer dishonours by his support, had such object in view, but that *he* had, and that he regarded his endeavours to accomplish it as being likely to please them, we may, I think, safely conclude.——It has been shewn, that the particular instance which had been cited of libels on foreign sovereigns, namely, the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia, was a mere invention of this writer's own; but, the threat of making use of the law having, upon this occasion, been thrown out, it becomes us to consider a little how we stand in this respect; in *what cases*, and *to what extent*, we may exercise the liberty of the press with regard to the characters and conduct of *foreign sovereigns*.——The proceedings in the case of Mr. Peltier taught us, that we might not meddle with the character or conduct of the ruler of France, he being *at peace* with England, any more than we might with the character or conduct of any one of our own nobles or princes. How this principle, which, by the bye, is sanctioned by no precedent older than the administration of Mr. Pitt is reconcilable to that doctrine which regards a libel as criminal only because it tends to a breach of the King's peace, I shall leave to be explained by its admirers; but, until it be shown me, that the being at open enmity with a private individual is a good ground of justification for libelling him, I shall continue to doubt of the legality of saying and publishing, with respect to a foreign sovereign, while we are at war with him, that which, being at peace with him, it would be unlawful for us to say or to publish.——Not so, however, appear to think the discriminating persons, who conduct, and those who watch over the conducting of, the press in this country; for, we must all remember with what caution, nay, with what deference and respect, the Morning Post, the Courier, the Oracle, the Times and the Sun, spoke of Buonaparté after the peace of Amiens and previous to the commencement of the present war; and, it would be a gross insult to the memory of the public to suppose, that they had already forgotten the sentiments delivered, and the doctrine laid down during the trial of Mr. Peltier. But, the moment the peace was at an end, how did the Cerberuses of the press break forth! and what a full-toned cry have they kept up from that hour to this! Before the rupture, it was, the "Chief Consul," the "Astonishing "Person at the head of the French govern-"ment," the "Wonderful Genius pre-"siding over the affairs of France." Numerous were the commendations bestowed upon him for the salutary change he had produced in that distracted country, the people of which, we were told, had begun again to taste the blessings of regular government. Apologies were made for all the acts attributed to him of a nature the most liable to censure. Compliments were paid to his

wife, and, amongst their base sentiments, I remember that they stated as a circumstance *flattering to this country*, that she, who was said to be fond of the study of botany, had sent *hither* for a large quantity of plants, and that the nursery-man, who had supplied her, and who had been to France, was likely to have the honour of being appointed her botanist. This is one amongst the thousands of instances of their adulation. Buonaparté rode in none but English-built carriages, too, a strong mark of his friendship for us, we were told; and, when he sent a book to the Philosophical Society, one would have thought that the writing race were going mad with joy and gratitude and love and admiration. What a pity it was that Malta stood in the way of all this happiness! That a little island, a mere rock, as Buonaparté called it, should turn this milk of human kindness into gall; nay, into the worse than gall; into the venom of the 'Change and the filth of Billingsgate! What have these writers not called him since the beginning of the war? Liar, Robber, Forger, Apostate, Assassin, Murderer, Poisoner, Cut-throat, Hell-hound, and Devil, are only a very small part of the terms they have applied to him; while their brothers of the pencil have represented him in every character, shape, act, and state of being that the mind can conceive capable of exciting, alternately, contempt, loathing, hatred, and horror; their last effort, that has come under my eye, being to exhibit him as coming into the world by the ministry of the devil and from a mother much uglier than the devil himself! This exhibition is now to be seen in a window near the Sun newspaper office, in the Strand, in which very window, previous to the war, was first seen this same Buonaparté in the act of shaking hands with the King!——Now, I ask, is this *lawful?* Are these not libels? Are we to be punished for satyrizing this man in time of peace; and are these scandalous effusions of hatred and malice against him to be tolerated in time of war? Are we thus to stand convicted before the world of being swayed, in our writings with regard to foreign sovereigns, not by truth, not by any moral or religious principle, but merely by our own selfish passions? Are we to be thus muzzled, and unmuzzled, as political circumstances may dictate? Is *this* the privilege of the much-talked-about British press? It is a privilege that I, for my part, was, from the moment the prosecution against Mr. Peltier was commenced, resolved never to enjoy: I was resolved never to be a literary blood-hound: from that moment I resolved never to use with regard to Buonaparté language which I was not then at liberty to use.——The proprietors of newspapers console themselves, probably, with the reflection that their publications are of so perishable a nature; and, to say, the truth, no small portion of the pamphlet and book-makers have the same ground of consolation; but, if, by accident, any of their *patriotic* and *loyal* effusions should survive the present war, it may not be amiss for them to recollect, that every copy sold constitutes a new publication, and that every new publication is a new offence. It is very easy to foresee, not only that they will hasten to change their tone; to unsay all that they have said, and to unswear all that they have sworn, against Buonaparté; and, methinks, I already see Mr. Gillray and his worthy fellow labourers transforming him from an infernal imp to an angel *of* light; but, if an offer to purchase a print or a book of the present day should be made, it may happen, that, in the contest, to which such an offer would give rise, between avarice and fear, the former might get the better; and, in such case, I should like to hear what would be said to an application, made by the French Ambassador, to prosecute the offender. I should like to hear the answer to such an application. It is very likely I shall hear it, and I really look forward to the time with no small degree of curiosity. Shall we tell him, that, he must not take offence at what was said during war, for that, like women, one of *our* principal weapons is our tongue? And, if he reply, that we ought not still to use this weapon, shall we tell him, that we must be allowed a reasonable time to stop the larum, when it is once set a-going?——Endless are the embarrassments that must, particularly in our approaching state, arise from having admitted foreign sovereigns to come into our courts with complaints against the use of our press. There can be no end to them; and, if the precedents now established, be adhered to, there will be no writing history with truth and with safety; for, let us, for instance, suppose, that the fact related by some of the newspapers, relative to the POTSDAM OATH, be true; will any historian dare to speak of it, will he dare to record it, in the manner that his mind would dictate; at least, will he dare so to do, while we stand in need of the friendship of the parties said to have taken such oath! And, if the character and conduct of foreign sovereigns are thus to be protected, why not those of their ministers, persons, in general, not less alive upon such points than their masters? Indeed, it is unreasonable that they should not meet with the same protec-

tion; and, we may, too, be very well assured, that they will demand it. If the peace with France had continued, we should, by this time, have had no more liberty of the press remaining, as to any matter in which Buonaparté was concerned, than they have at Paris. We should have been permitted to question none of his motives, to censure none of his acts, and, in short, never to speak of him or of his with disapprobation. Other sovereigns would, of course, have demanded similar protection; their ministers and generals would have followed their example; and thus we should have seen the far-famed liberty of the press, "the Palladium of free-men," the boast of all those noisy hirelings, who sell their writings by the line, come to a very decent termination. What, in that case, would have been, may, at no distant day, probably, be; and, indeed, the use at present made of the press seems well calculated to lessen our regret at the prospect of such an event.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——Taking up the events of the war, where we left off in page 919, we must first remark upon the representation, which was made in the ministerial papers, relative to the Capitulation proposed by the Russians and the letter written to Marshal DAVOUST by COUNT PALFY, which documents will be found at the end of the 25th Bulletin of the Grand Army, in pages, 940 and 941. It will be fresh in the mind of the reader, that these documents, though making part of the French official reports (which reports we are, by the overbearing influence of popular indolence, obliged, in defiance of our wishes to preserve the purity of our language, to call *bulletins*); though the documents just mentioned make part of these bulletins, the newspapers, under the influence of the Treasury, declared, one and all, that they had been *forged* by the French: that they were totally false: mere inventions: downright lies: base and infamous forgeries. With a due sense of the danger of contradicting these unqualified assertions; with a just horror of the filth which the tools of power stood ready to cast upon whomsoever should dare to endeavour to obstruct the progress of their delusions; with this full before my eyes, I did, as the reader will remember, venture to give it as my decided opinion, that the documents would both prove to be authentic. That opinion is now proved to have been correct, as will appear from the bulletins inserted in the present sheet; but, I cannot, upon this occasion omit inserting the statement of the ministerial papers as to the "FORGERY." It is very curious in itself; and, as an instance of the lengths to which they will go in order to "keep up the spirits of the people," or, more properly speaking, in deluding, deceiving, and cheating the people, it may, one would hope, ultimately be of considerable use. I beg the reader to go over it with attention. It is one of those things, which will enable the future historian truly to describe, and to account for, the state of the public mind, in England, at this momentous period; that will enable him justly to characterize the partizans of the Pitt ministry; and that, will, it is to be hoped, induce him to do justice to those who have the patience and the perseverance to detect and expose them, and to contribute towards counteracting the effects of their folly and their falsehoods.——I shall quote from the COURIER, observing, however, that its statement differs very little indeed from those which, upon the same subject, and under the same date (11th instant) will be found in the ORACLE, the TIMES, the SUN, the MORNING POST, and all the rest of the papers devoted to the ministry; and requesting the reader not to overlook the circumstance, that their statements are founded upon the *authority of government*.——"We have authority for "knowing it to be the opinion of his Ma- "jesty's Government" [meaning, without doubt, Mr. Pitt, Old Rose, Mr. Canning, Mr. Huskisson, and the rest of them] "that "the statement in the 25th Bulletin of the "Grand French Army, of the Russians "under General Kutusow having offered "to capitulate, is, as we pronounced it to "be yesterday, without knowing then what "the opinion of government was, *an infa-* "*mous forgery*. The assertions of their "having in imitation of the French troops, "committed such enormous excesses in "Germany, is equally false. Government "are in possession of advices from his Ma- "jesty's ambassador to the Emperor of "Russia, dated on the 29th ult. at Olmutz, "which induce them to entertain this con- "fident belief that the whole is a scanda- "lous forgery and falsehood. Such are the "base, unmanly, and cowardly acts to "which Buonaparté has recourse. His "operations are now principally directed "against truth. He expects to achieve "more by the daringness of his forgeries, "and the impudence of his falsehoods, than "by the force of his arms. He *trusts less* "*to his talents for military affairs than to* "*his talent for lying*, and hopes to extirpate "armies not so much by fair and open "fighting as by the boldness of his frauds "and invention." So much contempt for "truth, so much coarseness mixed with so

" much rancour, so total a disregard for
" every thing that is in the slightest degree
" decorous and honest, so much malevo-
" lence and spleen condensed into so small
" a compass as in the five bulletins that ar-
" rived yesterday, was never given before.
" We may say to him in the words of Gle-
" nalvon, " *By heavens ! you are all lie.*"
" There is *scarcely a word of truth* from
" the beginning of his bulletins to the end.
" *We pronounced* yesterday the capitulation
" stated to have been proposed by Baron
" De Wintzingerode, to be a gross and
" scandalous forgery. *We said* the corres-
" pondence between Count De Palfy and
" Marshal Davoust was *also a forgery*. We
" desired no other proofs of their being for-
" geries than the documents themselves.
" The Russian army retreat; beating the
" French whenever they attack them; they
" are reinforced; they take positions, and
" an Austrian officer is immediately sent
" with a flag of truce to ask leave for the
" Russians to separate from them. Why
" an Austrian officer? Was it a service
" which the Austrians would be very wil-
" ling to perform, knowing, as they must
" do, the consequences that would result
" from being deprived of the Russian assist-
" ance. Why not a Russian officer? But
" then Wintzingerode asks leave to capitu-
" late. It would not have been surprising
" that such a step should have been taken,
" if the Russians had been surrounded, and
" had no hope of being reinforced or suc-
" coured. But that was not the case; their
" retreat was open; reinforcements behind
" them, a second Russian army in full
" march to join them. Is it to be credited
" that in such a situation the Russians
" would offer to capitulate? And why does
" the Baron de Wintzingerode propose to
" capitulate? Why not Kutusow, who was
" the general of the army? If the Baron
" was sent by his Sovereign, who was near
" at hand, how comes it that the Emperor
" did not ratify a capitulation which he had
" proposed himself? The Emperor's name
" is never mentioned after the assurance in
" the 25th Bulletin, that Buonaparté would
" consent to the capitulation if the Emperor
" would. But that is not the most extraor-
" dinary part of the transaction; the most
" extraordinary part is, Buonaparté's refusal
" to accede to it. All his fears, all his in-
" dignation, all the horrors he affects, and
" all the hatred he feels, are against the
" Russians; he considers them as scourges
" and savages, and pretends to pity the na-
" tions that are visited by them. Why then
" did he not avail himself of their offer to
" return home? It is evident that Russia
" is the firmest stay of the Austrian mo-
" narchy, and that she keeps it from being
" wholly overrun. Why then did not Buo-
" naparté accede to a proposition that would
" have left Austria at his mercy, and given
" him the undisturbed possession of the
" Austrian empire? But is this all the ad-
" vantage he would have derived? Would
" it not have been an open confession to
" Europe, that the Russian troops were no
" match for the French? would it not have
" covered the Russians with shame and dis-
" grace? But, above all, would it not have
" checked all hostile dispositions and mea-
" sures on the part of Prussia? Buonaparté
" knows the nature of Haugwitz's mission;
" he cannot be ignorant of the sentiments
" of the Prussian cabinet. Would it not
" have been of the highest importance to
" have disarmed Prussia, and what could
" so effectually have done it as the detach-
" ing Russia from the alliance? Would
" not the return of the Russian troops have
" sealed and completed his triumph and
" preponderance, and have left him master
" of the Continent? It were absurd to sup-
" pose that Buonaparté did not see all these
" advantages, and yet, seeing them, we are
" desired to believe he rejected the capitu-
" lation, because it was a species of treaty,
" and because M. de Wintzingerode had
" not full powers; *are we dolts and dri-*
" *vellers?*" [Something very much like it, upon my word!] " We, therefore, pro-
" nounce it *again* to be *an infamous forgery*.
" But, having failed in accomplishing the
" object which Buonaparté proposed to ac-
" complish by the lie, we are glad he has
" had recourse to it so openly, so daringly,
" so unblushingly. It has completely un-
" masked him to all Europe; it has shewn
" to what expedients he will have recourse;
" in future his Bulletin accounts of killed,
" wounded, and taken prisoners, will be
" always doubted, and his word will pass
" for nothing. We have as little hesitation
" in pronouncing the Correspondence be-
" tween Count Palfy and Davoust to be a
" forgery. Buonaparté's object was to
" spread a belief at Vienna, and through
" the other parts of the Austrian states, that
" Hungary was disaffected to the war, and
" that the Archduke Palatine disapproved
" of the conduct of his government. He
" attributes to his Royal Highness senti-
" ments and principles which could only
" belong to the basest traitor. He is made
" to declare, that he is arming, not to op-
" pose the enemy of Austria, but the troops
" and subjects of Austria; that the French

"need be under no apprehensions, for they "will meet with no kind of opposition in "Hungary. Impudent falsehood! Are we "to suppose that the brave Hungarian na"tion has, *on a sudden*, changed its nature; "that the descendants of those who rallied "round Maria Theresa have so degenerated "from their forefathers, as to avow them"selves friendly to a power which is at"tempting to destroy the Austrian mo"narchy, and which has invented and cir"culated the most audacious falsehoods "against the Austrian government. To "carry on this plan of imposing upon the "people at Vienna, and making them think "that Hungary is well affected to the "French, Buonaparté makes Davoust write "an answer, calculated to induce a belief "that Hungary had proposed to withdraw "herself from the war, and to enter into a "treaty of neutrality. Does any thing ap"pear calculated to encourage a belief that "Hungary wished to remain neutral? Not "a single thing. But it is evident, from "Davoust's letter, that he is apprehensive "of the supplies of provisions being stopped "from Hungary. We might extend this "article *the whole length of our paper* with"out having exhausted the subject."——Yes; you could, indeed, have *extended* it with great facility. You have, we must confess, a wonderful gift of extending in this way.——It is, however, melancholy to reflect, that this statement will have met with believers in every part of the kingdom. Men will have been deluded by it for, at least, half a week; and, during that time, and till another falsehood came to supply its place, the partizans of the "heaven-born" minister, will have been, by the aid of it, enabled to keep up their heads against the effects of the calamities, which, under his sway, have been brought upon the nation. This delusion was not very long-lived; for, in their papers of the 17th and 18th instant, the ministerial writers were compelled to acknowledge the *authenticity* of the Russian Capitulation; but, then, they said, that it was, on the part of the Russians, a "*ruse de guerre*," a deception, for the purpose of obtaining an advantage over the enemy. Whether it were a deception or not, or whether such deception, if it was made use of, were warranted, as it was said it was, by the previous conduct of the French, are questions that remain to be determined by facts not yet come before us; but, that the capitulation was *proposed by the Russians*, that it was *signed by a Russian officer*, and in short, that it was an authentic document, and not "an *infamous forgery*," is now established to the entire satisfaction of every one who has not been deluded out of his senses. Is it not, then, shameful; is it not scandalous; is it not a disgrace, a deep and indelible disgrace to the British press, that so large a portion of it should be employed in, should be diverted to, the circulating of such falsehoods? Its *business* seems to be, and is, to deceive; to prevent the people from believing the truth; to obstruct truth on its way to them; to degrade their minds; to brutalize them; to expose them to, and to render them proper objects of, the contempt of the world.——Much as we might be inclined to exculpate "His Majesty's government" (speaking in the pompous cant of their partizans) from having had any share in the promulgation of the statement above quoted, we are restrained from giving way to such inclination relative to the accounts that were published on the 17th and 19th instant, respecting *the battles of Wischau* and of AUSTRELITZ. Here *they themselves published bulletins*, and, for the correctness of the representations therein contained, they are responsible. The bulletins were sent to LLOYD'S (the seat of the PATRIOTIC FUND); they were immediately circulated by messengers in town, by the post-office through the country, and were, in *second editions*, sent out the same evening in the news-papers. The first of these bulletins was as follows: "Government received last night accounts, "dated at Olmutz, the 3d, by which it ap"pears that a general battle took place on "the 2d between the French and the Aus"tro-Russian armies, at Wischau. The "centre of the latter seems to have met "with great resistance, and to have repul"ed, but *the left wing of the enemy were "defeated with considerable loss*, by the "right wing of the Allies, under the com"mand of the Princes Lichtenstein and "Pangration. The Emperor Alexander "commanded his troops in person, and dis"played the utmost bravery. The conflict "seems to have been of the most obstinate "kind, and to have been sustained by the "Allies in the most exemplary manner. "The loss of the French was immense. "The Messenger who brought this intelli"gence left Olmutz twenty-four hours after "the battle, and relates that, at that time, "*the losses of the Enemy were reported to "be much more considerable than those of "the Allies, who still maintained their po"sition at Wischau.*——Accounts have been "this day received at the Admiralty, which "left Hamburgh *two days later* than the "Messenger who arrived from St. Petersburgh

" *These* accounts state, that several skir-
" mishes took place between the allied ar-
" mies and the French from the 29th No-
" vember to the 2d instant, when they came
" to a general action, in which *the French*
" *lost* 27,000 *men and all their artillery.*
" That the French *retreated*; that Buona-
" parté was *wounded*; that he had *proposed*
" *an Armistice*, which was *rejected*. That
" the Prussians, to the amount of 140,000
" men were in motion. That the King of
" Prussia had himself taken the command
" of one army, and the Duke of Bruns-
" wick of another."——The *whole* of this was circulated by those persons, which are called *the government*; and, judging from the internal evidence, who could help concluding, that almost the whole of it was false? It is not, indeed, *said* that *Sir Arthur Paget* states the Allies to have *maintained their position at Wischau.* It is the *Messenger*, who is said to have said that that was said at OLMUTZ, previous to his departure, and subsequent, of course, to the writing of the dispatch, of which he was the bearer. It is not said, that Sir Arthur Paget states what is stated in the accounts received at the Admiralty; but, must one not regard these accounts, thus published by the government, as given to us for *true*? In fact, they were so regarded and so received in the city; and, upon the faith of them, the wiseacres, who deal in paper-money, raised their commodity one per centum.——As to the real state of the case, if the public had been favoured with the *whole* of Sir Arthur Paget's letter, they would, perhaps, have been enabled to form a correct opinion with respect to the important point, whether the Allies did or did not, after the battle, maintain their position at WISCHAU, that is to say, remain masters of the field of battle. For the want of such aid, we were compelled to have recourse to reason, and, if it were true, that the imperial Austrian court, was, at the time Sir Arthur wrote his dispatch, preparing, in great haste, and not without some confusion, to *retreat from Olmutz*, I think, that reason taught us to fear, that the Allies did *not* maintain their position at WISCHAU, and, of course, that the French remained masters of the field of battle, and, possibly, were on their march towards OLMUTZ. Whether it were true, that the court were thus preparing to flee, we had, and yet have, no means of ascertaining. The next bulletins from France would have thrown some light upon the subject; but, since they are become " *ipsissima verba*" *Messieurs les Anglois*; since we are now, in the language of the Treasury prints, to say to Buonaparté, " by heaven! you are *all lie*," we must wait with patience for the sequel of Mr. Paget's dispatch, unless, indeed, we should, in the interval find the sons of delusion admitting, all of a sudden, that the French have *arrived at Olmutz.* The French bulletins being " all lie," we are under great obligations to these gentlemen for having made any of those acknowledgements, by which we have come at information respecting the progress of the armies. We have to thank them for not being led to believe that the grand French army has never yet crossed the Rhine.——The Government bulletin of the 19th was much of the same stamp as the former. All *hearsay*; but that hearsay sublimated into official authenticity by the manner of communicating it to the public.—" Official ad-
" vices from Hamburgh, of the 13th,
" state, that an Estafette passed through
" that town on the 12th from Berlin, bear-
" ing the details of the battle between the
" Allies and the French in Moravia. The
" event was not accurately known to his
" Majesty's Minister at Hamburgh, but he
" learned that though the centre of the Al-
" lies was defeated on the 2d, they had re-
" newed the battle on the 3d, and that it
" lasted during the whole of the 4th, and
" probably into the 5th; and that the tide
" of success turned completely in favour
" of the Russians. Nothing could exceed
" the enthusiasm of joy at Berlin on learn-
" ing that the Emperor Alexander was
" safe, after displaying the most transcen-
" dant heroism. Government have also
" received advices from *a respectable quar-*
" *ter*, detailing many particulars, the sum
" of which seems to be, that on the 2d the
" French attacked the Allies on their
" march—that they directed their whole ef-
" forts against the centre, which not being
" formed when the attack commenced,
" they succeeded in defeating, after a
" bloody conflict of several hours, in which
" the centre lost the whole of its cannon;
" that the Allies retreated from the field to
" Wischau, and did not seem to have been
" followed by the French, so that the Em-
" peror Alexander, who had displayed the
" most determined courage on the 2d, re-
" newed the battle on the 3d and 4th; and
" by his ardent fortitude and example,
" turned the fortune of the contest in fa-
" vour of the Russians. He rode through
" the most tremendous fire, calling out to
" the army, " Victory, or Death!" which
" was returned by exclamations from his
" troops that " they never would forsake
" their Emperor." The Russians, having

" lost their artillery on the 2d, were during " the following days ordered to fight with " the sword and bayonet, and the final re- " sult was, that the Emperor recovered all " his cannon, and the whole ground he had " lost. The French were driven from the " field, beyond Austerlitz, (where the bat- " tle of the 2d commenced) and afterwards " retired behind the Swartz, with their " left at Brunn, and their right at Nichols- " berg. No details have been received of " killed and wounded on either side."—— This, if true, is very pleasing intelligence; and, when so much of detail is given, one would hardly suppose it possible to be false, though coming out of Whitehall, had we not already read the bulletin of the 17th, of the far better part of which this last bulletin contains a contradiction. Who would not have thought from the bulletin of the 17th, that the battle of the 2d had been *fought at Wischau*, and that the allies remained on the field of battle? It now appears, however, that the battle of the 2d was begun at Austerlitz, and that the allies retreated to Wischau, a distance of about ten English miles. The story of the 27,000 French killed, of Buonaparté's being wounded, and of his proposing an armistice is completely contradicted by this second official bulletin; and, it is impossible not to receive even *its* contents with great distrust, when we find it acknowledging that the allies were defeated on the 2d, when the bulletin of the 17th had represented them to have obtained a victory. The battle of the 2d ended in " a victory;" but, it being impossible to keep up the belief of *that* for any length of time, it is, in the next bulletin allowed to have been a *defeat*; but, at the same time, it is asserted, that the allies have *now* got a victory.——So swift do the mails now follow one another, that, in all probability the truth will be known long before this sheet reaches the eye of the public. Nevertheless, I cannot, upon this occasion, refrain from giving my opinion upon the state of affairs in the grand scene of action, especially as it appears to me, that the public are now more likely than ever to be deluded into expectations that may end in great and mischievous disappointment.——As the intelligence dated at *Hamburgh* forms no small part of those materials upon which we reason and form our opinions as to events upon the Continent, it may not, at this critical moment in particular, be amiss to give the public some account of the manner in which that intelligence is permitted to reach them.——No foreign papers are suffered to be received in this kingdom, except *through the General Post Office*. When the Hamburgh papers arrive, they are not sent immediately round to the newspaper offices, but are kept back till the next or a subsequent post delivery, and *a translation* is sent round to each of the newspapers, for which translation *a guinea* is paid by *each* newspaper to the people of the Post-Office. If the intelligence arrives at a time to enable them to let it appear in the morning papers first, they retain a part of it, in order to have wherewith to get their guinea from the evening papers also; and, that they may not have reason to laugh at their brethren, they treat the morning papers in the same way, when the intelligence arrives at a time for the evening papers to publish it first. Thus are all the newspaper proprietors laid under contribution. The *foreign* papers, which, however, each of them is compelled to purchase, on pain of having no intelligence till after it has appeared in the papers of others, are of no use to him; and, he dares not refuse the guineas; for, if he does, he will be in the same backward situation. He will, indeed, duly receive his Hamburgh papers; but, before he receives them, the intelligence will, in the guinea-giving papers, have already arrived at the farthermost corner of England, at least. But, what I wish particularly to point out, is, that the translation, which is thus dealt out to the press, and which may be entirely withheld from any paper that the Post-Office wishes to crush, is not made in England, but *at Hamburgh*. The very translation which we read in the newspapers is prepared for our use at Hamburgh; and that neither the translation nor the selection is made by a person hostile to the ministry of the day, few will entertain a doubt.——This remark may not immediately apply to the intelligence now before us; but, all the intelligence from Hamburgh, as well as that from France, is to be received with great caution. The account of the battles of the 3d and 4th, rest, as far as this intelligence goes, upon the *report of an Estaffette*, who, in all likelihood, knew what would please the person to whom he made his report. But, allowing his report to have been correct, I really cannot see, that much has been gained by the allies, except in reputation. That, indeed, is a great deal. To have *fought* at last: barely to have fought at the end of a retreat, or rather a running away, of five hundred miles across rivers and through fortified places more numerous than are the battalions in the army of their enemy, is a good deal. They have fought, and renewed the fight with stiff wounds: they have, at last, drawn blood of their antag-

nist. This looks well. It is a rational ground for hoping that we shall hear of something more. But, here seems to be the utmost extent of the advantage; for, as to having *beaten* the French, there is, all the intelligence fairly considered, not the least appearance of it, the French army, according to this last bulletin of our government, being posted precisely where it was previous to the battle of the 2d. Not an inch have they retreated; and, I must hear of something much more resembling a victory over them, before I shall expect to hear, that they have made one step towards Vienna. Suppose, however, that Napoleon were to be compelled to retreat? Must we, therefore, conclude, that he is ruined? How would this reasoning suit, if applied to his enemies? *They*, God knows, have retreated far enough in all conscience; and, yet, we are told, that their affairs are in a very promising way. Aye; but, they have been retreating in their own territory. So, then, Napoleon has only to get them to follow him into France, and *through Paris*, in order completely to annihilate them!——Away with all the nonsense about his being *hemmed in* and *cut off!* Who are to hem him in? The "three great armies" we are told; to wit; the Austro-Russian army, the Prussian army, and the army of the Archduke Charles. As to the Prussian army, *if it has really marched*, there is AUGERAU ready to meet it in Suabia or Bavaria, or to follow it into Bohemia if it marches towards Napoleon's position. Augerau has 60,000 men, and his army, from its nearness to France, is easily augmented. The Archduke! Where is he? The last we heard of him was in *Croatia*, more than 200 miles from the scene of action between Napoleon and his antagonists. He was then flying before MASSENA; and, if the Archduke has, as is reported, 90,000 men, *how many must his pursuer have?* "The Archduke will come upon the back of Buonaparté through Vienna!" Through Vienna! They are mad. These writers are mad. Massena, the pursuer of the Archduke, was, when we last heard of him, *between the Archduke and Vienna!* There too was Marmont with his division. "Cut off!" Why Buonaparté had, in the army of Massena and in the divisions of Marmont and Ney, a hundred thousand men within seven days march of the spot where the last battle was fought, and he was complete master, nay, the civil ruler, of all the country between him and them. By what or by whom is he to be cut off? He is only about 50 miles to the north of the Danube, and, to the south of the Danube, westward from Hungary, there is not one inch of territory, upon the Continent of Europe, of which he is not the master. If I were to hear that he had recoiled as far as Vienna I should be very much, and, indeed, very agreeably surprised; but, I should not thence derive much hope of his final failure. He must *stop somewhere:* It is ridiculously unreasonable not to allow him to be victorious until he has hunted the enemy quite out of the world; and, if it would be a disgrace to him to fall back upon Vienna; what, at this time, must be the reputation of his enemies! *They* fell back upon Vienna; and they quitted it much more readily than, I fear, he will. At Vienna he would, indeed, see 500 miles distance between him and France; but, he would, in the whole 500 miles, see not a single hostile fortress or battalion in his way.——The ferocious gentleman of the COURIER must excuse me; for, this is really the light in which I see the situation of Buonaparté. I see him with 300,000 soldiers, real soldiers; not upon paper, like my Lord Castlereagh's army, but in the field; actually fighting or marching; and, I do not see that his enemies, all put together, have so many. We hear *talk* of them before the battles, indeed; but we do not see them in the battles. There were, we were told, three Russian armies actually on their march, amounting altogether to 180,000 men. Two of them have joined and fought Napoleon on the 2d of December; and now, behold, they tell us, that the whole of the allied army, Austrians and Russians together, amounted, at the beginning of the battle, to no more than 70,000 men! This is a most striking instance of the means by which the people have been deluded. Buonaparté, however roguish he may be in other respects, is no cheat upon matters of this sort. He gives the full number: his battalions are no skeletons: he tells us out a good honest thirteen to the dozen; and all whole ones too.—He *may* be driven back, without having taken another slice from the dominions of the House of Austria, especially as it now appears, that there is *a treaty formed* between the *three* other great powers for the purpose of checking his ambition; this *may* be the result; many persons, and those not ill-informed, think it will; and I am sorry to say, that I cannot see any grounds whereon to adopt their opinion.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mure, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 26.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1805. [PRICE 1OD.

"And thus, polluting honour in its source,
"Gives wealth to sway the mind with double force."—GOLDSMITH.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LLOYD'S FUND. (continued from page 909).——When I dismissed this subject, in the page here referred to, though I was not vain enough to expect that any endeavours of mine would put a stop to the daring encroachments, making by the underwriters and jobbers in the city, upon the powers of the crown, I was not without some hope of awakening the sensible and *truly* patriotic part of the people to a sense of the danger naturally to be apprehended, as the final, and no very distant, consequences of those encroachments; and, if my observation, together with the information I have received, are not very deceiving, I may flatter myself, that this hope was not entirely groundless. Many persons, who had not before bestowed a thought upon the matter, now appear to think it worthy of serious attention; many, who, without due reflection, had contributed towards the fund, now seem fully aware of their indiscretion; and, I am particularly glad to perceive, that, amongst those who will have the power of checking the progress of this daring innovation, there exists a strong inclination to do their duty. In this state of the public mind, or, at least, of the mind of the thinking part of the public, I am encouraged to offer some few further remarks upon the subject, first giving a more particular account than I hitherto have done of the rise and progress of the institution at Lloyd's.——But, previously to entering upon this part of the subject, it is necessary to add some facts to those already recorded in page 904 and the following ones, in illustration of the sort of *freedom*, which people have, upon the recent occasion, been left to exercise. In answer to every complaint against thus raising money upon the people for the purpose of giving power to the fund-dealers, we are always told, that it is a perfectly *voluntary act*. We are told, that it is money, not forced from the people, but freely given by them; and, that, therefore, no one has any right to complain. It has been shown, that, supposing the premises to be true, the conclusion would not be legitimate; for, that, however freely the people may give their money, the receivers of it may be guilty of an unlawful act in the receipt; but, I deny the premises; I contend, that, for the far greater part, the money has been, in fact, extorted from the people, who have acted under a feeling of intimidation, and who, had they been left entirely to the *influence* of their own wishes, would not have given their money. If the invitation to give had been conveyed merely through an advertisement in the newspapers, or in hand-bills, and if no lists of the subscribers had been published, there might have been some reason for contending that the act of subscribing was voluntary; but, instead of proceeding in this way, the fund-dealers at Lloyd's, well aware that their appeal would be nearly fruitless, unless it were made to the vanity, the fear, or some other of the despicable passions, intimated, at a very early period of their proceedings, that lists should be published of all the separate donations, together with the donors' names and places of abode, by which intimation they obtained sums of money from all those contemptible mortals, who could feel a gratification from seeing, and from showing to their neighbours, their own dear names in *printed characters*. Hence the frequent recurrence of the name of the father, the mother, and a long tribe of children, recorded upon the list of patriots, while, very likely, they were sitting at home in mid-day darkness for the sake of diminishing their window-tax, and while, as likely, the father was drinking smuggled brandy and the mother smuggled tea. In this part of the scheme there was, too, a trap for the fears as well as the vanity of the people, particularly of *dependent* people; for, as the lists were to be published finally (as they have been) in alphabetical order, it was evident, that any one would be able to see not only who, amongst his neighbours, had subscribed, but also who had *not subscribed*, and, in case of a subscription, he would be able to ascertain the amount, and to compare it with the means of the subscribers as well as with the amount of the subscriptions of others.——The intimation that the lists would be published, and the real publication of them which soon began to make its appearance, were, however,

found to be insufficient for the purpose of rendering the contribution very extensive. It was, therefore, resolved on to address letters to the magistrates, the clergy, and the parish officers, requesting them to use "*all* "*their influence*" in furthering the views of the Committee at Lloyd's; and, that that request might, at reaching these persons, wear an imposing aspect, the circular letters were conveyed *under the frank of the Secretary to the General Post Office;* and, I think, the reader will agree with me, that nine-tenths of the persons receiving these letters, would, from this circumstance, conclude that the request was made to them with the express approbation, if not by the order, of the ministry, especially as the names of many of the then ministers stood very forward upon the subscription list. I shall not stop here to inquire what *authority* Mr. Freeling had to frank these letters, his power of franking having been given him solely for the purposes connected with *the duties of his office*; but, if he had due power thus to act, in this case, I see no right that he has to refuse his signature to cover circular letters for any other self-created society, or club, who may wish to obtain money by similar means.—When the magistrates and clergy and parish officers came to employ (as in many cases they did) *all their influence*, in order to induce the people living under them to give their money to the fund-dealers at Lloyd's, it was not surprising to see the *publicans*, the *smugglers*, the . . . . . and so forth, drawing forth their dirty shillings. There was *no force:* oh, no! Not for the world! Nor is a man, though led to church in a halter, *forced* to marry; and, we may be assured, that the subscribing of all the dependents upon government and the dependents upon the magistrates, was an act full as voluntary.——Rowland Hill, at his famous round-house at the foot of Black Friar's Bridge, told his audience to recollect, that if any of them happened not to have any money about them, they would find, in the vestry, pen, ink, and paper for the purpose of drawing drafts upon their bankers! This was *doing business* in a plain way; and was highly laudable in comparison with the sneaking hypocrisy of those petty traders of the pulpit, who affected to trust to the force of their ghostly exhortations and to leave conscience to work its way. Rowland knew his audience, and knowing them, he warned them against budging an inch, until they had deposited a *pledge* of their patriotism. He called upon his flock, we are told, to "open freely their bags; to let flow, with-"out restraint, the milk of human kind-"ness; that the good shepherds" [at Lloyd's] "might have wherewithal to "suckle the dam-less lambs of the fold." Accordingly, the congregation proved, it appears, a good milch animal, for Rowland's subscription surpassed even that of St. Paul's Cathedral, though the Mayor of London was present, and though, as we were very fully informed, he gave 50 pounds to the Fund. The churches in general hide their heads, when brought face to face with the round-house of Rowland. He has beaten them all; and, it must be allowed, that, as some of the newspapers have not failed to observe, the dissenting congregations have shown a much greater degree of "*patriotism*," or their preachers a much greater degree of power in their eloquence, than has been shown in the established church. The church has long been, in various ways, working for its own degradation and destruction; and, this last effort is not amongst those that are the least likely to be efficacious.——The Magdalen Hospital chapel, which has, with regard to the Sunday evening's audiences, been regarded as the rival of Rowland's house, seems, in the first instance, to have declined all rivalship upon this occasion. It is, indeed, said to have been determined not to make any collection at the Magdalen chapel in behalf of Lloyd's Fund; but, a little reflection appears to have brought the governors of that place to their senses; for, the day after the Thanksgiving, they gave *out of their own pockets*, to the fund at Lloyd's, the full amount of the subscription which they on that day made for the Magdalens; and, what is worthy of remark, as bearing directly upon the point before us, they thought it necessary to advertise in the newspapers that they had done so, stating, as the reason by which they had been actuated, "*the fear of being thought to have less patriotism than their neighbours.*" And yet, all is *voluntary!* But, the subscription of "R. N.?" of R. N. who gave, the other day, 1,075 pounds, keeping his name a secret? Was not that voluntary? Was not that "doing "good by stealth?" I doubt it. I fear very much, that R. N.'s name, at full length, will, one of these days, be, through the means of some *treacherous* friend, communicated to the public, as will also that of the widow, who gave her mite at Rowland's. I, however, thus put in, before hand, my protest against all treachery of this sort. To betray such generous, such piously, such evangelically charitable persons; to make them, after all the pains they have taken to disguise their virtue, "blush to find it fame," would be cruel to the last degree. Let us

hope, therefore, that they have taken effectual means to prevent their names from reaching the public; for, if they have not, they must expect to be treated as the most finished hypocrites even of this canting generation. Fore-warned fore-armed: let them take care, or prepare themselves for the consequences; for, as far as I am able to prevent it, I never will see the world thus tricked out of its applause.——There are two particular instances more of the freedom, with which people have been suffered to act upon this occasion, that are worthy of being recorded. The first is exhibited in a *regimental order*, issued by COL. ROBERTSON, who is an inspector of recruits for the regular army, and also Colonel, I believe, of a volunteer corps. The document of which I am speaking is in the following letters and words: "R. W. R. V. Friday, Dec. 6, 1805. "R. O." [which two last letters stand for *Regimental Orders*] "Colonel Robertson "takes leave to offer his sincere thanks to "the *members* of the regiment, who attended divine service at Westminster Abby, for their liberal contribution to the "patriotic fund at Lloyd's, and, being willing that those who were absent may have "it in their power to add to what has been "already received, the officers and serjeants "will oblige the commanding officer, by "delivering the *orders* themselves to such "members only. They are requested to do "this as soon as possible that the absent "members may be applied to, and their "collection made on or before Thursday "next the 12th inst. when all the officers "and serjeants (including those who were "out on the 5th) are desired to meet Col. "Robertson, at the armoury, at seven "o'clock, on that evening, *to make their* "*report*, and *pay the money to the secretary*, "who will likewise receive the subscriptions "of *those members who have not had an op-* "*portunity of seeing the officers* belonging "to their respective companies."——This order of Colonel Robertson is a pretty good specimen of what has been practised amongst the greater part of the volunteer corps in and about London. It is also quite characteristic of the whole of the means that have been employed to get money out of the pockets of the people. The "*members* of "the regiment" [not the *men*, observe, nor the soldiers, but the *members*; just in the style of the clubs] are not positively commanded to deliver; but, the *commanding* officer strongly presses them to do so; and, it must be confessed, that he gives them an abundance of opportunities for acting agreeably to his wishes. First he leads them to church to have their hearts opened by the eloquence of the pulpit; but, a number of the members having, from unavoidable causes, no doubt, been absent, and having, apparently, forgotten to send their subscriptions, the Colonel detaches his officers and serjeants to make to each of them a *domiciliary* visit; and, lest some of them should happen to be from home, he *desires* the whole corps to meet him some days afterwards, when the reports of the officers and serjeants are to be received, and when the members, who have missed all the former opportunities, are to see that the box is still open to receive their donations. Yet, it is all *voluntary!* No member is *forced* to give his money; but, if he does not give it, what follows? Certainly not the approbation of the commanding officer, who has already given his *thanks* to those who *have* given their money. But, is it not useless to dwell upon this? Must it not be evident to every person of common discernment, that there is nothing voluntary here any more than there was in the "*Dons patriotiques*" at Paris?——The other instance that I have to record is of a nature much more objectionable, especially when we consider the situation in life of the person who makes the principle figure in it. I here allude to a printed hand bill, published at Croydon in Surrey, and signed by the VICAR of that parish, the REV DOCTOR IRELAND. It is dated at Croydon, on the 5th of December, 1805. "NATIONAL GRATITUDE. "This "day, being the day of general thanksgiv-"ing to Almighty God" [I beg to be understood as merely transcribing the words of others] "for the late signal and important "naval victories, the benevolent plan, re-"commended to the country at large by the "Committee of the Patriotic Fund in Lon-"don has been acted upon in this place. A "collection (158l.) has been made at the "church for the relief of the families of the "brave men who have fallen in the late ac-"tions, and for the support and comfort of "the wounded; and it is announced with "satisfaction, that the amount is such as to "do honour to the feelings of those who "attended divine service. But many must "have been unavoidably absent, or may "*not have had the opportunity of sending* "*their offerings*; and there can be *no doubt* "that ALL TRUE LOVERS OF THEIR "COUNTRY AND ITS CAUSE, will "desire to contribute to this great national "object. In order therefore to *accommo-* "*date the benevolent wishes* of the parishi-"oners, subscription books will remain open "during *one month* from the present date,

" and donations from those who have not " already contributed will be thankfully re- " ceived by the following persons." [Here follow the names and places of abode of the VICAR and his CURATE, two Church-wardens, and four Overseers.] " At the end " of the time prescribed, the whole amount " will be conveyed to the General Fund in " London, and entered on the books, as " the patriotic offering of the parish of " Croydon."——The particular passage of this hand-bill to which I am desirous of directing the reader's attention, as being most strikingly illustrative of that perfect *freedom*, with which people have, upon this occasion, been left to act, is that wherein is clearly implied the charge, against all non-contributors, of *not being lovers of their country and its cause*; and, it is material to observe, that the words, above distinguished by capitals, were so distinguished in the hand-bill. I have before expressed my indignation against those who have thrown out insinuations of this sort, in which I am happy to perceive that I am joined by a great majority of the nation. But, DR. IRELAND has done more than insinuate. He has asserted that there can be "*no doubt*" that " all true lovers of " their country and its cause will desire to " contribute." There can, therefore, be, in his opinion, no doubt, that all those who do not desire to contribute are not true lovers of their country and its cause; or, in other words, that they are enemies of their country and its cause. If one had an opportunity of putting it closely to this gentleman *what* is the *cause* of the country, it would appear, likely enough, that he has no very distinct idea of what he was talking about. We should find, perhaps, swimming in his brain, some vague notion, which, when methodically analysed by a skilful hand, would present us nothing more than the innocent desire of perpetuating the power of his patron, Lord Hawkesbury, and the securing to himself some further preferment in the church; and, if he had explained himself to this effect, neither I nor any one, I believe, that knows how to estimate the merits of *such a cause*, could have objected to having been represented as its decided enemies; but, without this explanation, all of us who object to contributing to the LLOYD'S FUND, have a right to resent the charge which Dr. Ireland has thus publicly preferred against us; and we have a full right to inquire into the proofs which Dr. Ireland himself has given of superior *patriotism*.——At the close of the article, referred to at the beginning of this present one, I was led, by way of illustration, to notice the "*loyalty*" of *Lord Melville*, as exemplified in his subscription to the " Loyalty Loan;" and, I am happy, since that article was written, to have seen a proof of his lordship's " patriotism" in his subscription of 50 guineas to the Lloyd's Fund, in which I find him to have a most zealous imitator in *Mr. Mark Sprott!* I also find upon the list of generous patriots, *Mr. John Sargent*, who was lately a Secretary of the Treasury, and who, last year only, did us the favour to take a pension of 600 pounds a year for his wife (as mentioned in p. 112 of the present volume) with reversion to himself, in case she should chance to die before him. It is honourable to our age and nation to record instances of such patriotism, and, therefore, I will add one more in the conduct of the *Rev. Herbert Marsh*, whom I find a subscriber for 50 pounds, and whom, as the reader will not have forgotten, I had very lately to record as a person who, last year, honoured us by accepting of a pension of 514 pounds a year for life. I would, with very little pains, make this list, including loan-jobbers, contractors, and the like, nearly half as long as that published by the Committee at Lloyd's. Thus, as I have, over and over again, observed, they take our hundreds and our thousands of pounds, and, when they throw us back the odd farthings, we are so thoughtless, so silly, so brutally stupid, as to applaud their generosity and benevolence! But, " what is all this to DR. " IRELAND?" It is this; that we see, that a man may *take* as well as give; and that, if he takes as much as he gives, and a thousand times more, we are not, supposing him to give it to *us*, very much obliged to him, and not very loudly called upon to applaud his generosity. It does, however, apply *personally* to DR. IRELAND, who, as I am now about to show, can *take*, when occasion offers, as well as his neighbours. Honestly, no doubt; and so does Mr. Sargent and the Rev. Herbert Marsh; but, he can take, and in a way, too, that some of us, who refuse to contribute to Lloyd's Fund, would not think of taking. What I am now about to relate, I have in substance, related once before; and, whatever there may be irksome in the repetition, I trust the reader will have the justice to blame Dr. Ireland for, and not me. Very soon after the convention with the court of St. Petersburgh was concluded, in 1801, a pamphlet was prepared in defence of it. This pamphlet was entitled: "A vindication of the convention lately " concluded between Great Britain and " Russia, in six letters addressed to ——— " ———." It was published before the

meeting of parliament in November of that year, and was obviously intended to prepossess the public mind against any objection that should be urged against the compact which it was intended to vindicate. So far, perhaps, there was little to find fault with. But, this pamphlet, which contained a deliberate, high-wrought eulogium on Lord Hawkesbury, representing him as *his country's best hope*, and as possessing all *the talents and statesman-like virtues of his noble sire*, was written *under the dictation of that sire himself!* A person, however, was, in such a case, wanted *to pass* for the author of the pamphlet; and the person selected (a very convenient one) was the Rev. gentleman before us. He carried it to the bookseller; under his auspices it came forth to the public; the *government* was the principal *purchaser*, and, of course, the people, were the principal *payers*; and, out of the profits, thus derived, Dr. (then Mr.) Ireland received *a considerable sum of money*. Whether it was for this, or for some other great public service; whether for this or some other act of disinterested patriotism and loyalty; whether it was for his politics or his piety, I know not, but Mr. Ireland soon after became a *prebendary of Westminster*, in addition to his lucrative living at Croydon, and to those, if I mistake not, has since been added another living of no inconsiderable value. Upon this last point I speak from distant recollection, and on it I will not, therefore, be positive; but, whether he has a third living or not, certain I am, that he is in the enjoyment of quite enough of the revenues of the church, one half of whose ministers are starving, to induce him to speak with modesty respecting the motives of those who are unwilling to give away their money.——But, laying his own disinterestedness out of the question; supposing there to be nothing in his own conduct to check his presumptuous imputations against the patriotism of others; what can he find to justify those imputations, and whereunto must they tend? If all those who do not contribute to Lloyd's Fund are not lovers of their country and her cause, *how few* of such lovers are there? The list of the subscribers is long; but, woe be unto England, if those who are not upon it are her enemies! Not more, thank God, than a *thirtieth* part of the nobility and gentry are upon the list, and, in point of property and consequence, not a *hundredth* part. No a *hundredth* part of the clergy are upon it. In not a *thirtieth* part of the churches, thanks to the wisdom of the clergy, have collections been made; and, what is 26 thousand pounds to be collected amongst *eleven thousand* parishes? And, it is with facts like these before him, that this man has the presumption to declare all those, who do not contribute, to be enemies of their country and her cause? This was the language of Lord Hawkesbury, in his famous ear-advertisement from the Thatched House, in 1803 (see Vol. VI. p. 444). It was the duty of "every *loyal* subject" to subscribe horses, carriages, and harness for the purpose of carrying soldiers in cars. Books were opened all over the town to take subscriptions; and Sir Brooke was holding his meetings of horse-masters and coach-masters, to consult upon the means of national defence. The cars are now ridiculed, even by those who were the most noisy in praise of the project, it having been proved by experience that they would be much worse than useless. The presumption of the advertisers at the Thatched House is, however, forgotten; and so will that of Dr. Ireland, perhaps, when it shall be found necessary, as it very soon will, to put a stop to the proceedings at Lloyd's. To accuse men of being enemies to their country, if they refuse to be bullied or cajoled into the support of such schemes, is, however, a trick that will always be repeated; but, by men of sense, and of only a common share of political courage, it will always be heartily despised; and, therefore, though I think it is evident, that nine-tenths of those who have subscribed to the Lloyd's Fund have acted under the operation of vanity or fear; though I am persuaded that no epithet could be so ill-suited to their contributions as that of *voluntary*, I do not pity them, but, on the contrary, wish they may be fund-ridden, till experience teaches them to do justice to the motives of those who decline to follow their example. Nothing can be more detestable, or more mischievous than this dividing the people into friends and enemies of their country; and, one cannot help giving way to an extraordinary degree of indignation, when this division is made by the fund-dealers, the loan-jobbers, the contractors, and the place-hunters, who have the impudence to assume to themselves an exclusive claim to the virtue of patriotism, to the exclusion of all those, on whom they prey and are seeking to prey. Many are the causes, by which a people may be disgusted with their state of being; but, than the one here described, than the insolent pretensions, than the goading taunts, than the calumnious accusations of the cormorant class here spoken of, I know of none better calculated to prove efficacious. ——Having been longer detained than

I expected upon the foregoing part of the subject, I shall, for the present, at least, be obliged to content myself with a brief sketch of the history of the Lloyd's Fund. ——There was money raised, by advertisement from Lloyd's, after some of the victories during the last war; but, it was not until the commencement of the present war, in the summer of 1803, that a regular and permanent plan was settled upon, or, at least, that such a plan was promulgated. A set of underwriters and the like, being subscribers to the Coffee-House called Lloyd's Coffee-House, near the Alley of Stock-Jobbers, met at the said Coffee House on the 20th of July, 1803, for the purpose, as they, in their advertisements declared, "of setting "on foot a general subscription, on an extended scale, for the encouragement and "relief of those who *might* be engaged in "the defence of the country, and who "*might* suffer in the common cause; and "of those who *might* signalize themselves "during the present most awful contest." Here was, in the very outset, something quite *new*. The money that had, upon former occasions, been raised was for a particular and specific object, and, *after* the battle, the merits and sufferings arising out of which were to be rewarded. But, here, there was no specific object; the purpose was to relieve and reward all those who might, at any future time, merit reward or stand in need of relief, in consequence of their having served in the army or navy. ——After some further preface the meeting came to certain resolutions, which were, in substance, as follows: That, at a moment, when we were placed "as the last barrier "against the total subjugation of Europe by "the overbearing influence of France, it "behoved us to meet our situation as men, "as free-men, but, above all, as Britons; "for that, on this alone, with the divine "aid" [pious to the last?] "it depended, "whether we should remain the example "and admiration of the world, or whether "we should become a plundered and enslaved department of France.—2. That, in "order *to give more effect and energy to the "measures adopted by the government* for "the defence of our liberties, our lives and "property, it behoved us to hold out encouragements to the soldiers and sailors "who might be instrumental in repelling, "or annoying our implacable foe. —3. "That in order to animate our defenders, "it was expedient to raise, by the *patriotism* of the community at large, a suitable "fund for their comfort and relief, as well "as for the purpose of granting *pecuniary "rewards*, or *honourable badges of distinction*, for successful exertions of valour or merit. 4. That a general subscription should be immediately opened, "and, that with a view of setting an example to other public bodies throughout the "kingdom and its dependencies, and to "their fellow subjects of every denomination, 20,000*l.* in the three per cent. funds, "being part of the property of the Society "at Lloyd's, should be appropriated to that "purpose.——5. That another meeting, "should take place on the 29th of the same "month of July, for the purpose of appointing a committee of managers, and "that, in the mean while, the committee of "the House should be requested to take "upon them the management of the concerns of the Fund.——6. That such "part of the fund as should not be used for "the purposes then intended, should be "*returned in proportion to the sums subscribed.*——7. That the resolutions should "be inserted in the public papers."——On the 29th of July, another meeting was held, and, after passing a resolution, that a committee of managers should be formed from the first fifty subscribers of 100*l.* and upwards, such a committee was chosen, consisting of John Julius Angerstein, Sir Francis Baring, Benjamin Goldsmid, Robert Thornton, and others of the same stamp. This committee admitted to the honour of sharing in their powers, Thomas Birch, Earl Spencer, and about 20 bankers and heads of commercial companies. Lord Spencer was placed within three of the lowest upon the list, and directly below Mr. Thomas Birch! The Committee of Managers, of which any *nine* was to be a quorum for the transacting of business, and which committee has since been called The Committee at Lloyd's, met again on the 21 of August; and having chosen Sir Francis Baring for their chairman, they appointed a committee of treasury and also trustees for the purchase and sale of stock, it having been previously resolved to vest in the funds the money that should be collected, or rather, to add it to the £.20,000. In neither of these committees was there any one who was not a fund-dealer, and, I believe, that the whole of them were loan-contractors. It should also be remarked, here, that the £.20,000 said to have been subscribed by the Society at Lloyd's, was, by this measure of *finding* the collections, kept, as it still is kept, in the hands of the members of that Society.——On the 24th of August, very large sums having, in the mean time been collected, the Committee began their ope-

rations in their official character of patrons of the army and the navy, by granting sums of money to a warrant officer and five seamen wounded in the boats of His Majesty's ship the Loire.——Lieut. Henry Rowed of the armed cutter, Sheerness, was, it appears, the first officer of the king's navy that availed himself of the proffered honour of making a report to the Committee at Lloyd's; and, in consequence of his report, the Committee, on the 18th of October, granted a badge of distinction to John Marks, boatswain of the said cutter. As this was the first step on that progress which has already reached the granting of *Heir Looms* as adjuncts to titles of nobility granted by the King, it may be worth the reader's while to peruse the terms of the grant. "Resolved, that a silver call "and chain be granted to Mr. John "Marks, and that the following inscription "be engraven on it. FROM THE PATRIOTIC "FUND AT LLOYD'S COFFEE-HOUSE IN "LONDON, *to John Marks, boatswain of* "*H. M's. hired armed cutter, Sheerness,* "*lieutenant Henry Rowed, commander, for* "*exemplary bravery in protecting a Chasse* "*Maree, boarded and taken by a boat from* "*the said cutter, near the Bec du Rez, on the* "*9th of September,* 1803. The words "HIS MAJESTY'S are, you will observe, represented by their initials; but, not so the words describing this new source of honour. A sword, or its value in money, was offered to Lieutenant Rowed himself, and he had the noble spirit, it appears, to prefer the former from the hands of this committee of money-lenders. The example of this gentleman, in making reports to Lloyd's, was soon followed by others; and, since the time here referred to, reports have been made to them, from Captain Hardinge of the bomb-vessel, Terror; from Col. Canning of the London volunteers; one Stonard commanding some London volunteers; Capt. J. Atholl Wood, of the Acasta frigate; Adm. Bligh *(through Mr. Marsden Sec. to the Admiralty!)*; from Major Gen. Milner as the channel from Brigadier Gen. Sherbrooke; Capt. E. O'Bryen of the sea-fencibles; *Mr. Marsden,* covering a letter from Capt. Oughton of the sea-fencibles: Capt. Bentinck of the sea-fencibles; the Hon. Capt. Bouverie of the Mercury; Major Rowley of the Royal Engineers; Capt. Dickson of the Inconstant; Sir Sidney Smith; Capt. Edge of the sea-fencibles; Capt. Brenton of the Merlin; Capt. Ferris of the Blenheim; Sir Sidney Smith *again* with a list of killed and wounded; Admiral Thornborough, with a detailed report; Capt. Hancock of the Cruiser; Lord Hobart, Sec. of State for the department of war, covering a letter from Colonel Fraser; Colonel Bright, of the Royal Marines; Capt. Fitzroy of the Eolus; Admiral Thornborough, with another detailed report; General Prevost; Capt. Campbell, of the Amethyst; Col. Johnstone, 58th Reg.; Capt. Mason, of the Rattler; Capt. Griffiths, of the Constance; Capt. Pipon of the Kite; Capt. Hillyar of the Niger; Sir Sidney Smith a *third* time; Capt. Carpenter of the Viper; Capt. Bolton of the Amiable; *Mr. Marsden* a third time, but now with a list of the killed and wounded of five of the kings ships; Mr. Dods, Surgeon of Haslar Hospital; Capt. Shippard of the Hornet; Capt. Gifford of the Speedy; Mr. Miller, Surgeon of Greenwich Hospital; Major Gen. Elliot of the Royal Marines; Capt. Durham of the Defiance; Sir Alex. Ball, Governor of the Island of Malta; Capt. Shepherd of the Thisbe; the Bishop of Durham, reporting the conduct of the master of a Collier; Capt. Maxwell of the Cayne; Commodore Hood; Capt. Dod of the Galgo; Capt. Honeyman of the Leda; Brigade Major Grant; Sir Sidney Smith a *fourth* time; Capt. Owen of the Immortalité; Admiral Duckworth; Capt. Bligh of the Theseus; Lieut. Gen. Barclay, commanding the division of marines at Chatham; Capt. Mackenzie of the Magicienne; Capt. Maxwell of the Centaur; the Directors of the Chest at Greenwich: Col. Leland of the 64th regiment, Capt. Baker of the Lively; Sir Sidney Smith a *fifth* time; Capt. Elliot of the Maidstone; Capt. Sutton of the Amphion; Capt. Maitland of the Loire; Capt. Donnelly of the Narcissus; Governor Yeo of Haslar Hospital; Capt. Dickson of the Inconstant; Capt. Hotham of the Raisonable; Capt. Maxwell of the Arab; Commodore Hood again; Sir Sidney Smith a sixth time; *Mr. Marsden* a fourth time, and with another report of killed and wounded; Capt. Hammond of the Lively; Commodore Hood again; Capt Mason of the Folkestone; the Directors of Greenwich Hospital again.—The account of the proceedings of the Committee, from which account this has been collected, comes down no later than the 20th of July last: what officers have done themselves the honour to report to them since that time I know not, of course. In this list I have omitted military and naval officers of inferior rank, together with several magistrates and clergymen, and a whole croud of officers and volunteers, representing the *gallant feats* and the *sufferings* of men under their command!—That the Secretary to the Admiralty should report to this Committee! Yet, why not? Now,

especially, that the Admiralty reports to Lloyd's regularly upon all the important movements of the fleets?——In the course of the two years, ending of the 25th of July last, the Committee had, it appears, granted 3 vases, 61 swords, 2 silver tankards, 1 silver call and chain; and 7 pieces of plate. The total amount of the expenditure in money, swords and other honorary rewards, and in *contingent expences* (one article of which expences has been most efficacious in muzzling the press), up to the 20th of July, was 19,000 l. exclusive of 400 l. granted in *annuities* for life, and estimated at 6,000 l. The sum subscribed by the Lloyd's Men themselves was 20,000 l. the sums raised upon the people amounted to 158,000 l. and the interest received from the public funds (that is to say out of the taxes) 13,000 l. Thus, there remained *in hand*, on the 20th of July last, more than 170,000 l. to which must now be added about 50,000 l. raised upon individuals and upon the religious congregations since the battle of Trafalgar together with the interest of 170,000 l. from July to the present time. It is probable, that the Committee may grant away 50,000 l. of this; but, I think, it is very improbable, that they should, unless the law compels them, ever suffer their *stock* of 170,000 l. to diminish; for, if they had not determined to keep that up, what need was there for their again calling upon the people, while, out of 191,000 l. received in two years, they had expended only about 25,000 pounds? No; their intention evidently is, to *go on accumulating*, 'till they can make their grants out of the interest; and thus, always hold in their hands a great bait to the army and the navy, and, at the same time, a powerful instrument for the influencing of any ministry; for, if this mode of distributing honours and reward exist much longer, what ministry will be able to act contrary to the views of the Committee at Lloyd's, well knowing, that, at any moment that Committee can tell the army and the navy, that, while such or such men are in power, or that while such and such measures are pursued, they shall lock up the outlets of the Fund?——That the *officers* should make reports and applications to this self-erected board of honours and rewards is dangerous enough; but we find the *men themselves* making such applications, and we see, too, that grants are actually made thereupon. They are "*patriots*," observe. To give them your money is the test of patriotism; and if they are such excellent judges upon the subject, why should their decision be doubted, if they should happen to resolve that the measures of a ministry are unwise, unpatriotic, and ought not to be supported? The swords, pieces of plate, and the money which they have granted, will not fail to be talked of in the army and the navy. LLOYD'S will soon be a favorite toast in the mess-room and the cabin, and in the guard-house and the forecastle too. The King will be somewhat in the situation of a master, whose hard-working apprentices meet with a compassionate and generous neighbour. And, as to the parliament, their praise must, when it comes, cut a pretty figure, when compared with the solid pudding of Lloyd's.——But, the *annuities*. The Committee have, by this time, perhaps, granted not less than 50 or 60 annuities for the lives of the parties respectively! They have already their *pension list*; and, the soldiers and sailors will not fail to compare the Lloyd's pensions with the pensions of Greenwich and Chelsea. In the course of a very few years, if a stop be not put to these proceedings, the pension list of Lloyd's, if only the interest of the money be applied to its augmentation, will very far surpass in amount the pension list of Greenwich and Chelsea; and, as if for the purposes of comparison with those institutions, the pensions from Lloyd's are always to be paid *a year in advance!* And, is it possible that there can be a man of sense in the kingdom, who does not perceive some, at least, of the numerous mischiefs, whereunto this audacious innovation must lead? And ought I to believe my eyes, when I, now *again*, read the name of EARL SPENCER in the list of the subscribers?—— The Committee have not lost sight of *the press*, the newspaper press. They have, in one of their letters, lately stated that *large sums* have been expended for advertising in the news-papers. I should suppose, that, to each daily paper, the clear profits for the Committee's advertisements cannot, up to this time, have been less than 200l. A decent sop! No wonder that we hear, through that channel, not a word against their daring encroachments, or against the indecent insinuations contained in their posted hand-bills. Nay, one of these papers, the ORACLE, has recommended, that the Committee be, by act of parliament, rendered *a corporation*; and it will, with me, be matter of great surprise, if some attempt be not made to carry that design into effect. To say the truth, if the Fund at Lloyd's be a proper thing, and ought to be encouraged, there can be no reason for refusing to establish it by law, and to render all its proceedings valid. Its annuities, for instance, may possibly fail to be paid, unless secured by law. Acts of parliament are not such rare

things that one should be refused for the purpose of extending the utility of this great exertion of patriotism. If such an act were proposed, I should like to hear the reasons upon which such a subscriber as EARL SPENCER would oppose it; and yet, from the moment of passing such an act, the Lloyd's Committee would, in fact, become the masters of the army and the navy. They have taken all the steps preparatory to a great and most dangerous assumption of power; they have been corresponding with officers of the army and the navy, with Directors and Governors of hospitals, with Lords Lieutenant of counties, and with the Governors and Commanders of His Majesty's foreign islands and provinces, from several of which possessions they have received large contributions. Their means will increase daily; with their means their partisans will increase; and they only want the forms of law to put them, in a very short time, beyond the controul of any power in the state; for, again I ask, if their grants continue much longer to be made, where is the ministry, or where that power, executive or legislative, that will venture to attempt to put a stop to them? Will any man say, that he thinks that the Fund ought to become permanent; that the Committee at Lloyd's ought to be regarded, and in fact to be, an established department of the government of the country? If he answers in the negative, I ask him, *where* he thinks it *can* stop, if it be permitted much longer to exist, and to proceed in the manner, in which it is now proceeding? Already its proceedings are, as was before observed, well known in the army and the navy. Soldiers and sailors have nothing else to think of. The navy more especially have tasted of the honey of Lloyd's; and, can there be any one so infatuated as not to perceive to what the putting of a stop to the grants of the Fund might lead, and that, too, at a time, when our fate might be determined by a single day of inaction? Every thing by the way of largess to either soldiers or sailors is injurious; it is sure to be destructive of discipline. They should have *all* their pay, and in due time; when they are worn out or wounded, they should be well and decently and honourably provided for; and, they should be suffered to enjoy the prizes and the plunder of war. But, all, with respect to them, should be done by rule and line. *Command* and *Duty* are the only words they should hear. No coaxing, no wheedling; for, they instantly begin to feel their power and to think of exercising their judgment; whatever they receive as a gift to-day, they claim as a right to-morrow; in case of refusal, their feelings are just what they would be, were their claim founded in law; and the Lloyd's men may be assured, that, whenever the occasion serves, they will see those feelings break out into action.——The reader will, I hope, excuse my having dwelt so long upon this subject. It is one, upon which, from the outset, I have felt the greatest possible degree of anxiety, knowing well that all tampering is dangerous; that it is always a symptom of unsoundness; and that, of all the tampering that wickedness or imbecillity ever had recourse to, tampering with a military force is by far the most ominous. I was, too, from the beginning, of opinion (an opinion which I scorn to disguise), that the establishing of a great fund for the purpose of making gifts to soldiers and sailors, and vesting that fund in a way that would render its existence obviously dependent upon the supporting of the value of the funded property of the nation, might render it dangerous to reduce the value, by a measure of government, though the preservation of the monarchy and of our liberties should demand such a measure. Such a measure *may* not be necessary. Some persons laugh at my apprehensions. There are, however, *some* who think with me; some who think that our great danger, is, that we shall push our attachment to the funds so far as to deprive ourselves of the means of saving the country; and these persons must, surely, perceive, that this danger cannot but be greatly augmented by creating, amongst the officers and men of the army and the navy, a numerous party strongly prepossessed in favor of the funds.

Mr. HUSKISSON.——The following paragraph of the MORNING CHRONICLE of the 25th instant, together with the answer of the COURIER, will I trust, form some apology for my having made a person like this the subject of an article here. Mr. Huskisson is one of the *Secretaries of the Treasury*: what he is besides we shall see by-and-by, after having read the paragraphs above spoken of. "The public," says the Morning Chronicle, "must have observed "with disgust, the effrontery, with which "the partizans of the Treasury have from "day to day, attempted to impute to the "Opposition, a traitorous correspondence "with M. Bourienne; and that he has "found in this country fit instruments for "the publication of his Bulletins. A new "species of Newspaper warfare has been "adopted, and every man who does not "implicitly believe that every thing which "Ministers chuse to tell us is true, and "that one side only of every story ought

"to be told, is a Frenchman in his heart. "Certain other practices with respect to "the periodical press, have been resorted "to, by which it is to be new-modelled "after the cast of Paris. All this has ta-"ken place since Mr. Pitt, in his wisdom "and virtue, has delegated the administra-"tion of affairs to *Mr. Huskisson*. It took "its date from his appointment. No one "certainly knows better the character of "M. Bourienne than Mr. Huskisson. They "were Citizens together, and, from the "same Club, they have risen to the same "station; but we can assure the enlighten-"ed Secretary of the Treasury, that we "did not receive the communication from his "old friend, and that we have no corre-"spondence with any one of the characters "from whom he received his political edu-"cation. We disdain, therefore, to vin-"dicate ourselves against the base and inde-"cent outrages of the prints which he de-"grades by such invective; and we assure "the Public, that no Clerk in Office shall "put an Imprimatur on the English Press "while the Morning Chronicle is in exis-"tence."——Whether Mr. Huskisson does actually superintend the ministerial press I know not; nor can I exactly say what it is that the Morning Chronicle here alludes to, when it speaks of certain practices for new-modelling the press after the cast of Paris. I have, indeed, heard of an *intention* of *putting down* that print, upon the foul and most infamously false charge of its using *factious and* DISPIRITING *language*; but, my belief is, that, whatever measures of this sort the underlings may have talked of, the minister is much too cunning to be persuaded into an adoption of them. Of one instance of unjustifiable partiality, operating against the prints that yet dare to censure certain acts of the ministry, I possess some information, and that I shall now communicate to the public.——The receipt of foreign papers, in this country, shall, the *law says*, be only through the channel of the General Post-Office. While the direct communication with France was open, as was the case during the last years of the last war, the earliest continental news reached us through Dover, where the postmaster, upon the receipt of each parcel of French papers, sent them off express to the daily news-paper offices in London, and a charge was made, to each paper, of about *sixty pounds a year*. Now that the direct communication with France is not open, and that it remains open with Holland, the earliest continental intelligence, and indeed, the files of French papers, are received from that country, through Gravesend, from which latter place they are sent to London by an agent of the Alien-Office, who constantly resides there, and who *alone* is permitted to receive and send forward such papers, contrary, I believe, to a positive law. Hereby the General Post-Office has been, as far as relates to the transmission of French papers, entirely superceded by the Alien-Office; but, it is quite proper to observe, that, hereby, the people of the Post-Office have not been deprived of their profits, as they continue to exact, from each daily print, the same, or nearly the same, sum annually, on account of French papers, as they used to receive when they supplied those papers; and this upon pain of preventing any one, refusing compliance, from receiving French papers through the Agent at Gravesend! But, the great evil, the great shame, the glaring injustice, attendant upon this new regulation, is, that it puts the supply of French papers entirely into the hands of the ministry, who can give what orders they please to the Alien-Agent at Gravesend; and who thereby can block up, and have blocked up, the channel between France and the daily papers of which they disapprove; while they leave it open to those of their partizans In the doing of this Mr. Huskisson is said to have been chiefly instrumental; and, it is even said, that, upon a representation made by the proprietor of the Morning Chronicle in particular, to Lord Hawkesbury, as first commissioner for the superintendance of Aliens, Mr. Huskisson used every exertion in his power to prevent his lordship from putting an end to this scandalous partiality. With what degree *of success* these exertions were attended, I cannot positively say; but, I really shall find myself much deceived if Lord Hawkesbury, and Mr. King who is the second commissioner, and Mr. Reeves who is the third commissioner and the immediate acting superintendant, have become the tools of Mr. Huskisson in giving their countenance and support to so odious a distinction.—Without being more in the secret, the reader will, I think, see, in what has been stated, quite sufficient grounds for the proprietors of the Morning Chronicle to complain of the conduct of Mr. Huskissson; and, when they were, through the prints which he had patronised to their injury, and to the injury of free discussion and true information, accused of traiterously corresponding with Mr. BOURIENNE, merely because they had obtained from Hamburgh the earliest intelligence of a proclamation transmitted to that minister, was it not perfectly natural in them to remind the public, that this Mr. BOU-

RIVANE was one of the fellow-*citizens* and fellow-*clubbist* of Mr. Huskisson?——Let us now hear the COURIER, and then inquire a little further into the political conduct and the progress of this Mr. Huskisson, who is now, by the favour of Mr. Pitt, become so important a personage in affairs relative to the press of this country.——"Mr. Huskisson's name," says the Courier of the 25th instant, "is brought in merely to gratify "a little, petty, paltry opposition malignity, and to inform the public, that he "was *formerly acquainted* with Mr. Bourrienne; that they were citizens together; and members of the same Club. "But, whence comes this sudden indignation against French citizenship and clubs? We are mistaken if Mr. Fox has "not been honoured with the citizenship "of France; and if intimacy with Frenchmen be a crime, Mr. Fox has been intimate with Bonaparte, with Talleyrand, "and with others of the most distinguished "criminals and citizens of France. With "respect to clubs too, Mr. Fox is, at this "moment, a member of a club nicknamed "the National Institute; of course he is "associated with Mr. Bourienne, Barrere, "Sieyes, and several of the most furious "and bloody of the revolutionary regicides "of France."——The pertness, the petulance, the meanness, and the cowardly anxiety of this attempt at retaliation betray the hand from which it comes. With respect to the title of *citizen of France*, it might, in the mad days of Brissot and his fellow-labourers, have been bestowed upon Mr. Fox without his being able to prevent it any more than he was able to prevent the adoption of those measures which led to the present military despotism. "He has been *intimate* with Buonaparte." Granted, for argument's sake, though a notorious falsehood; but, did not this intimacy take place at a time when we had made a treaty of *amity* with Buonaparté; when the picture-shops of London represented that ruler of France in the act of shaking hands with the King; and when this very Courier was daily declaiming against me for endeavouring to weaken those bonds of friendship? As to an acquaintance between Mr. Fox and Mr. Talleyrand and others; who, amongst our travellers to France, was not acquainted with them? And is not Sir Joseph Banks, a member of "the club, nick-named the National Institute?" Yes, and with the additional circumstance of having received the honour of nomination with a declaration of its being, of this "club's" being, the *first Society in the World*, he being, at the same time, the president of the Royal Society of England. And, is he not still the president of that Society? Are his levees and his *dinners* not as much crowded as ever? Has his Sovereign received him, though, according to the above description, associated with bloody regicides, with smiles less gracious than before? And has any one ever thought of disapproving of any part of his conduct, except of that which related to his extravagant joy at his nomination, and his no less extravagant compliments to his French fellow-philosophers?——So much for Mr. Fox: and now for Mr. Huskisson; one of the "Young Friends," one of the favourites, of Mr. Pitt; one of those, upon whom that minister has heaped the public money, in pensions as in well as offices.—Mr. Huskisson was not, as he would now give to be understood, a mere *acquaintance* of the French revolutionists, or a mere *nominal* member of a club. He was a *co-operator* with the revolutionists, a real and *active* member of a club, and of that club, too, which finally produced the destruction of the monarchy of France; and, as to his principles, let the reader compare them, from the following extract from one of his speeches, not with any principles ever professed by Mr. Fox, but with any that ever were professed by PAINE, by BARLOW, or by any of the avowed and most reprobated enemies of monarchy and aristocracy. The speech, to which I am about to make an appeal, I find in a pamphlet, in the French language, printed at Paris, "De l'Imprimerie de DEVAUX, rue des Boucheries Saint Honoré, No. 7." I shall give it in French and in English, that the reader may be enabled to correct any errors that I may make in the translation.——The speech was made, it will be observed, upon the subject of a proposed emission of assignats; and, I cannot refrain from noticing here, that, in the course of the speech, Mr. Huskisson made the following remark: "A "paper money will never command a sufficient degree of confidence, unless it consist of bills, payable to the bearer, and "*can be converted into specie at any moment* "*that the bearer pleases*;" a remark to which I perfectly agree, and upon which I leave "the first financier in the world" to ruminate.——With respect to the emission of assignats, Mr. Mirabeau had supported the project, as a means of making the holders of them cling to the revolution; because, they would perceive, that, if the ancient order of things should be restored, the assignats would become waste paper in their hands! This roused the generous soul of Mr. Huskisson:——

Discours prononcé par Monsieur Huskisson, *Anglois et Membre de la Société de* 1789, *à la Séance de cette Société, le* 29 *Août*, 1790.—Or: A Speech made by Mr. Huskisson, an Englishman, and Member of the Society of 1789, at the Sitting of that Society, on the 29th of August, 1790.

On a cru que cette grande émission d'assignats attacheroit à la révolution beaucoup de personnes mécontentes, ou qui la voient avec indifférence. On a fait valoir cet argument comme s'il étoit de la plus grande importance; c'est avec un sentiment de douleur que je me suis dit, en lisant cette partie du discours de M. Mirabeau; eh quoi! une révolution qui a tiré 24 millions d'hommes de l'esclavage, pour leur rendre les droits sacrés de la nature, auroit-elle besoin d'un appui aussi dangereux? Non, je ne puis le croire; voulez-vous d'ailleurs diminuer le nombre de ces égoïstes agioteurs? voulez-vous en faire des patriotes? faites-en des propriétaires: au lieu de tant de droits féodaux, de dîmes et d'impôts vexatoires, au lieu de ces priviléges, de ces exemptions accordées au hazard par cet amas de sous-despotes, qui ne protegeoient les uns que pour peser plus durement sur les autres, les nouveaux propriétaires n'auront plus à payer qu'un impôt juste, égal et modique, dont la perception et l'emploi seront surveillés par eux: que de motifs pour aimer la révolution, pour la défendre comme le plus grand des bienfaits, que de motifs pour s'attacher à la constitution, comme à l'unique appui de cette égalité dont ils jouissent, et à l'unique sauve-garde de leurs propriétés nouvelles.

It has been believed that this great emission of assignats will attach to the revolution many persons now discontented with it, or, who view it with indifference. This argument has been dwelt upon as one of the greatest importance. It was with a sentiment of grief that I said to myself, in reading this part of the speech of Mr. Mirabeau: What! a revolution which has extricated 24 millions of men from slavery, in order to restore to them the sacred rights of nature; can such a revolution stand in need of a means of support so dangerous? No; I cannot believe it. Would you diminish the number of the *selfish and base stock-jobbers and money-lenders?* Would you make them love their country? Make them proprietors of the soil. Instead of so many *feudal rights, tithes*, and *vexatious imposts*: instead of those privileges, those exemptions granted at hazard by a *swarm of petty despots*, who protected some men only *for the sake of squeezing others with a hand more cruel and remorseless*, the new proprietors will have nothing to pay but a just, equal, and moderate tax, of which they themselves would watch over both the collection and the expenditure. How many motives are here for loving the revolution, for defending it as the choicest of blessings! How many motives for attaching men to the constitution, as the sole guarantee of that equality which they enjoy, and as the only safe-guard of their newly-acquired property!

Upon this speech, in the sentiments of some parts of which, if detached from the context, I should perfectly agree, it is unnecessary to offer a word by way of comment, seeing that the application will so readily present itself to the several parties concerned. The sentiment relating to *tithes* I leave to the Pittite clergymen: the wiseacre Pittites, who happen to be lords of manors, will easily comprehend the hint relative to *feudal rights*, and so will the Dean and Chapter of Winchester, and other bodies of that description; the character of stock-jobbers and money-lenders I refer to the Committee at Lloyd's; all that is said about *vexatious imposts* and about that swarm of petty despots, who protected some men in order to have their aid in squeezing others the more cruelly, I humbly submit to the consideration of our Great Man; and, if there had been any thing about placemen and pensioners, I should have submitted that to Mr. Huskisson himself.——With a promise speedily to return to this latter topic, I shall for the present now leave Mr. Huskisson to the Editor of the Courier.

Addresses to the King; upon this subject, which, in my opinion, is one of great importance, it was my intention to have offered some additional remarks, had not the necessity of so doing been superceded by a letter, from a correspondent, which will be found in another part of this Number, and in the sentiments of which I most heartily concur.

Continental War.—In the absence of all authentic information, it is useless to bewilder ourselves in conjecture upon the truth or falsehood of contradictory reports. It does, however, seem as if the proclamation sent to Mr. Bourienne was authentic; and, *in that case*, I think there is little

room to hope, that the accounts of a subsequent date are true. The allies having at last *fought*, does, nevertheless, afford some ground for hope for the future.

ADDRESSES TO THE KING.

SIR,—I am happy that this subject has not escaped your attention. All men must be fully satisfied of the fact by the declaration of the sheriff of Berkshire, (as related in the last number of your Register) in answer to a very pointed and well-timed question, put to him by Dr. Mitford at the late county meeting: Whether the last address upon the subject of the Tenth Report had been presented to his Majesty? viz. that "he had "used his utmost endeavours to comply "with the request of the meeting at which "it was voted, having had many inter- "views with Lord Hawkesbury upon the "business, but that he had at last been "obliged to leave the address at the office." —It is, at least, fair to allow the public declaration of the Berkshire sheriff as an excuse, until contradicted; but, Sir, what shall be said of the conduct of the present sheriffs of London and Middlesex? By an advertisement from the late sheriffs (Scholey and Domville), for which I beg leave to refer to your Register, present vol. page 845, it appears, that they had had "*no opportunity*" of presenting the address, voted at the county meeting, held at Hackney, on Thursday the *2d of May last*; and, that they had, in consequence, delivered it over to *their successors*, together with a copy of the several resolutions passed at the meeting. I am willing to acquit *them* of all "neglect" or of "coldness in the cause of their country;" for, as no public levee had been held, or audience given them, from the time the address was agreed to till the term when their office expired, in the latter end of September, it could not of course, have been presented by them. The *present* sheriffs, however, stand in a situation very different from that of their predecessors; for, on the 21st November last, they actually *obtained an audience*, and presented the address of the City of London to his Majesty on the victory of the late Lord Nelson over the fleets of France and Spain off Cape Trafalgar on the 21st of the preceding month of October. But, the address relative to the discoveries made in the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, voted, as I have before said, on the *2d May* last, and delivered over to them by the late sheriffs in September, has been totally forgotten, or withheld, for some reason or other at present unknown to the public. Could it not have been presented at the same time? Can it be thought, for a moment, that, whilst his Majesty graciously received the congratulations of one class of his subjects upon the *defeat of the French navy*, he would with a less degree of satisfaction have accepted those of another, and equally numerous, body of his people, upon the bringing to light of peculations and corrupt practices of men who have been for years *sapping the very foundations of the existence of his* own *Navy*? The sheriffs, I think, would not have dared to exercise their own discretion or wishes upon such an occasion, and it would not be amiss perhaps to give them (indeed they ought to have) an opportunity of exculpating themselves from this apparent neglect of duty. I cannot believe them guilty of any thing more than a want of firmness; for I have no doubt, but that they have had equal difficulties with the sheriff of Berkshire although they may not be inclined to *court*, as he did, a question of so delicate a nature. Yet, in my humble opinion, they ought not to have presented *either*, if they could not have delivered *both*. It was not for them to judge of the fitness of the one or of the other.—I cannot help here noticing a mean insinuation evidently levelled at the regular members for Middlesex and Westminster (3 by the way out of 4) conveyed through the medium of the Morning Herald of the 11th and copied by the Oracle of the 12th instant, remarking, as "*somewhat singular* that neither the Free- "holders of Middlesex nor the Electors of "Westminster had yet been convened to "consider of an address upon our late *tri-* "*umphant* victory by sea!" (I quote the paragraph *literally*). What? vote a *second* address, when a *first cannot be presented*? I would ask these gentlemen editors, whether, provided their papers were never read or purchased, they would be at all to blame were they to cease to edit them? Surely not. Then can it be wondered at, that the Freeholders and Inhabitants of Middlesex and Westminster have not called meetings to address his Majesty, in congratulations upon a victory obtained over the combined fleet by Lord Nelson, over a public and open enemy whom we have been long accustomed at sea to fight and to vanquish; when, after having gained the most signal victory over peculation and corruption (enemies ten thousand times more dangerous to us than the fleets of France and Spain), their unanimous and heart-felt addresses could not make their way to the throne? In my mind, Sir, the fact stated in the impudent insinuations of the Herald and the Oracle

do honour to the Freeholders and Inhabitants: it shews that *their* addresses contain the sentiments of their hearts; that they intended when they voted them that they should be presented to his Majesty, without which they are nothing worth, and let us hope that the next public meeting in the metropoltian county, will be to take into consideration the cause of delay in the presentation of the address of the 2d of May last.——BRITANNICUS.—*20th Dec.* 1805.

LLOYDS' FUND.

SIR,——Though I know a mind conscious of its own integrity, is indifferent as to the opinion of others, yet I cannot forbear transmitting you my thanks, for becoming the champion of the British constitution against popular prejudice, and for pointing out the consequences that may result from the Committee at Lloyd's. This committee have crowded the streets with placards, requiring a collection to be made at all places of worship throughout England, which concludes with (what I consider to be a menace in case of disobedience.) "England expects every "man to do his duty."—Mindful, however, of my oath of allegiance, I will honour and obey the King, and *all who are put in authority under* HIM; and, I consider the same oath to forbid, by strong implication, any obedience to self-constituted authorities.—This committee have written to the commanders of the navy, requiring them to communicate certain resolutions to their crews. Our own history can afford an experimental lesson on this subject. The Commons House of Parliament corresponded with the commanders of the army and navy about one hundred and sixty years ago, and the commanders returned answers to them, instead of sending these irregular communications to the King's minister; and, in less than ten years, the throne was occupied by an usurper; not, indeed, one of the correspondents, but one who had seized it in consequence of the corresponders having taught the army to look to a source of honour and promotion distinct from the King; and yet even the corresponders of 1642 did not vote vases, &c. to descend as heir looms to posterity.—Since the restoration, neither the privy council, nor the great council of the nation, have corresponded with naval commanders but through the medium of the Admiralty, except the speakers of the Houses of Parliament, to communicate votes of thanks, but have (conformably to the constitution) addressed the King to bestow rewards and honours, which addresses have been universally complied with. Surely it would be time enough for the people to distribute honours and rewards themselves, when the prince on the throne refuses to attend to the recommendation of their representatives in parliament.—If Mr. Angerstein; Sir Francis Baring, and the rest of the Lloyd's men are the true friends to the British constitution, which they pretend to be, they will carry the contributions which they have received to the King, and lay them at the feet of the throne with some such declaration as the following;—"Sire, your dutiful subjects "prostrate themselves before you with "downcast looks and self-reproaching con-"sciences. We have by influence and "artifice, obtained these sums of money "from our well disposed fellow subjects, "for purposes derogatory to your crown "and dignity, we are however, now sensi-"ble of our error, and desirous of repairing "it as far as in our power; and we rely on "your royal clemency, to extend your for-"giveness to our mistaken, but well inten-"tioned zeal. We lay at your feet the "amount of the contributions of your sub-"jects, and most humbly implore your "Majesty, to communicate the same to "your faithful parliament, and to request "them to join with you, in an act enabling "you to distribute it among your sailors "and soldiers, in such proportion, as you "shall judge them deserving of your royal "favour, and paternal protection. And "we urge this request with the greater "earnestness, lest our successors in the "committee at Lloyd's coffee house should "abuse the benevolence of your loyal sub-"jects, and employ so large a sum of "money to the embarrassing your Majesty's "government, and subverting your right-"ful authority."——This appears to me to be the only step remaining for the Lloyd's men to remedy the evils they have (I believe unknowingly) committed; and to support that throne, from which they so anxiously solicit peerages and honours.——I ought, Sir, to make many apologies for taking up your time in reading this letter, but it is a relief to my mind, to communicate my sentiments to you.——I am, Sir, your most obedient servant.——R. L.——*Inner Temple, 23d, Dec.* 1805.

WEST INDIA PLANTERS.

SIR,——I understand that the ruinous diminution in the price, and stagnation in the sale of rum, has at last driven our impoverished and oppressed, but patient fellow subjects interested in the West Indies, to solicit from administration some alleviation of this branch of their sufferings. I therefore, take

up my pen to address you concerning one practice of gratuitous cruelty connected with it, the reasons of which, as a measure of government, are to me utterly undiscoverable. I mean the mode of making contracts for spirits at the Victualling Office. For these contracts proposals are sent in, specifying respectively the terms on which each proposer will supply either West Indian rum (the produce and manufacture of ourselves) or foreign brandies (the produce and manufacture of our bitter enemy, and peculiarly the enemy of our colonial and commercial prosperity.) An English planter is compelled to purchase all the implements necessary for carrying on the works of his plantation, and a considerable portion of even the food of his labourers at the high price of the English markets, and to transport them between four and five thousand miles across the Atlantic. And after his spirit is manufactured, he is again compelled to transport that through the same distance, incurring in each case the charges of a long and hazardous voyage, besides the necessary losses by leakage and other inevitable incidents. Hence it is self-evident, and it is universally admitted, that he cannot afford to sell his rum in an English port, for the same net sum which would be an ample price to a French manufacturer of brandy, who has at hand, and at the lowest prices all the articles required for his simple and easy distillation; and, who, when his process is completed, transports his spirits across the Channel by a safe, expeditious, and cheap voyage of a few hours.—In consideration of these facts, in consideration too that the English West Indian is compelled to purchase all the articles which he has occasion to buy, and to dispose of all those which he wants to sell in the English market, (to say nothing of the natural instinctive disposition in governments to favour their own subjects rather than foreigners,) it does seem reasonable that the duties imposed in England on English West Indian rum, should be less than those imposed on foreign spirits by a difference more than equal to the excess of expense attending the manufacture and transportation of the former, over that attending the manufacture and transportation of the latter. A difference of above two shillings per gallon, I believe, (by no means a sufficient difference as might be satisfactorily demonstrated) is accordingly made in these duties. This is a plain indication of the sentiments of the legislature, that the English West Indian producer of rum is not in that situation in which he ought to stand relatively to the French producer of brandy, unless the price received by the former for his produce in the English market, exceed that received by the latter for his, to the same extent. The spirits supplied to the Victualling Office are exempted from duty. It is therefore, evident that they do injustice to the English producer of rum, according to the principle recognized and acted upon by the legislature, if they purchase French brandies in preference to English West Indian rum, except when the price of the latter exceeds that of the former by more than the difference of the duties. But so far from proceeding on this principle or on any thing like it, I am well informed, the Victualling Office will, and actually does give the preference to brandy, if tendered at the smallest fraction less than rum, thereby not only depriving the English West Indian of the preference to which it is admitted that he is entitled; but, moreover, diverting a large sum of money, which should be paid to our own subjects for an article of our own growth, into the pockets of our enemy, that enemy whose efforts are directed with the most indefatigable activity, and most persevering industry, in every way against our colonial and our commercial prosperity. On a late occasion, when the Victualling Office advertised for tenders of rums and brandies, offers of both were made the latter at one penny per gallon less than the former, and the latter was preferred. I have shewn that such a preference is grossly unjust. That it is highly impolitic cannot for a moment be doubted, since it not only encourages the produce of our enemies, instead of that of our own subjects, but also encourages the shipping of other nations who are the carriers from France to us, instead of the shipping of our own traders, in whose vessels all our colonial produce is brought to this country. The only pretence upon which such a practice can be palliated is, that of the pecuniary saving. Before I inquire into the amount of this saving, I must observe, that be its magnitude what it may, it never can be any excuse for injustice. The mother country has the exclusive supply of all the articles which her colonial subjects require, and likewise compels them to bring the whole of their produce to her market; in return for which, she professes to give those subjects—not indeed the correspondent exclusive supply of her market, as should be reasonably expected; but a decisive preference in it. In pursuance of this was the difference of the duties between rums and brandies established. And in evading that difference, the Victualling Office does by taking duty free from duties, without substituting any

other indication of preference, the producer of rum is grossly defrauded. And what is the saving effected by this system of impolicy and injustice? In the case which I have before stated, the saving was one penny per gallon. Let us suppose the annual consumption of the Victualling Office to be 500,000 gallons. The total apparent saving at the above rate would be somewhat less than £2,100. Let us however, suppose, that the difference were twice as great, the apparent annual saving then (I say *apparent*, for, I believe, that in fact, every single farthing of it would be returned into the Exchequer in the shape of taxes on the increased incomes and expenditures of colonial proprietors, ship owners, factors, and others, who would be benefited by this encouragement of our own productions) would be somewhat more than £4,100. A worthy object to be attained by such gross impolicy and injustice! In the former part of this letter, I have stated that the reasons of this practice as a measure of government, are to me utterly undiscoverable. I suspect they will be equally so to you. *As a measure of government*, I say. As a measure of the *Victualling Office*, I have indeed heard reasons, of which, as I cannot take upon myself to vouch for their authenticity, I shall not say any thing. X. X.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Austrian Official Account of the Battle of Caldiero, on the 30th of October*, 1805.

As very imperfect and inaccurate accounts of the battle of the 30th of October, and subsequent actions near Caldiero, have been given in various journals, the following circumstantial and authentic narrative of those events has been made public.—The Imperial Army, exclusive of the corps detached into the southern Tyrol, was stationed in this manner:—The right wing, under the command of the general of cavalry Count Bellegarde, consisting of 42 battalions and 24 squadrons, was partly engaged in the occupation and defence of the fortified position near Caldiero, partly in advanced guards on the Adige, and partly in securing the chain of the Lisenian mountains, and in maintaining a communication with the corps in the southern Tyrol.—The centre, commanded by Field-marshal Lieutenant Count Argenteau, was encamped with 22 battalions of grenadiers, 16 of fusileers, together with 24 squadrons, at St. Gregorio; behind it, at St. Steffano, were the head-quarters of his Royal Highness, the commander in chief.—The left wing, under the command of Field-marshal Lieutenant Baron Davidovich, composed of 11 battalions and 6 squadrons, was encamped at Bevilaqua, and in conjunction with 6 battalions of frontier troops, and 10 squadrons, maintained a cordon along the lower Adige to Chiozza.—Massena, the commander in chief of the enemy, had taken post with the seven divisions of Verdier, Gardanne, Duhesme, Serras, Molitor, Espagne and Ruska, on the right bank of the Adige, had erected new works at Castel Vecchio and Legnano, and had stationed the main body of his army behind Verona.—Early in the morning of the 29th of October, the enemy defiled over his bridge at Castel Vecchio, crossing the river at the same time in six large vessels, and gained the heights of St. Leonardo, while Field-marshal Lieutenant the Prince of Rosenberg, who commanded the extreme portion of the right wing, retreated, conformably to his instructions, fighting, and, after an obstinate resistance, to the heights of Morzano.—Meanwhile the battle became general with the advanced troops stationed near Verona. General Frimont, who commanded the advanced guard at St. Michael, sustained the attacks of the enemy for several hours, with the utmost obstinacy; but finding himself compelled to yield to the superior force of the enemy, he retreated, fighting incessantly, as he had been directed, to the position of Caldiero.—No sooner was his Royal Highness apprised of these circumstances, than he ordered the centre of the army to march, and himself repaired to St. Bonifacio. The enemy, in the mean time, advanced with great difficulty, and the sacrifice of a considerable number of his men, to the plains of Caldiero.—Here, at four in the afternoon, a new attack was made on all the advanced troops: Vago, Cadel Ara, and Stra, were several times taken and lost, till, at length, at dusk, a renewed attempt secured to the enemy the possession of Stra and Caldiero, through which he pushed forward with uncommon boldness to the very entrenchments of the position behind the last-mentioned place, and nothing but the heavy fire of the artillery and musketry could arrest his progress. On this occasion the regiment of Lindenau particularly distinguished itself by its firmness.—Night put an end to the conflict; and though the enemy afterwards evacuated Caldiero, yet it could not be doubted, that

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

Massena was determined to engage with his whole force on the following day. His Royal Highness, therefore, in the night between the 29th and 30th, projected the most suitable precautions, and had them carried into execution the same night.—A thick fog delayed the hour of attack; and as the enemy had made no movement at eleven o'clock, the remainder of the day appeared to be almost too short to begin a decisive engagement.—A fire was, however, opened on our right wing. General Nordman rushed, at Sabionara, upon the enemy, who advanced in the most determined manner to meet him, but was twice repulsed. On this, Field-marshal Lieutenant Prince Reuss, pushed forward to Gambion, and obliged the enemy to retire; but he threw himself on the Prince's right flank, and took possession of some houses, from which it was found necessary to drive him by the bayonet. A new reinforcement of the enemy suddenly advanced, with drums beating, towards our artillery: they were received with a brisk fire; but, nevertheless, penetrated to the cannon, till Captain O'Brien, with a division of Hulans, attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that he killed a great number, and rescued the artillery.—Upon this, Prince Reuss again advanced to Gambion, where night terminated the battle.—When his Royal Highness observed the firing on our right wing, he determined to attack the road of Stra. The general of cavalry, Count Bellegarde, led on eight battalions, with a division of cavalry, towards Stra; the place was soon evacuated; but behind it a most obstinate fire of infantry began, and soon extended along the whole line. This fire was kept up several hours, with incessant vivacity, by fresh reinforcements of the enemy, that were continally arriving. At length, the enemy succeeded in throwing several battalions, under favour of the broken ground, on the right flank of the troops, who were fatigued with the long conflict, and had partly expended their ammunition: they were obliged to retire, though several divisions of the Emperor's light horse, and of Kienmayer's and Stipsitz's hussars, advanced where the ground permitted, and made some prisoners. At this moment, his Royal Higness ordered Field-Marshal Lieutenant Vogalsang, with a brigade of grenadiers, and colonel Count Weissenwolf with Esterhazy's infantry, to advance, with drums beating, and with an entire front: of this charge, these troops acquitted themselves, under the eyes of his Royal Highness, with the most laudable resolution. The enemy desisted from the pursuit, but collected his force against Esterhazy, and a violent firing again commenced: the brigade of grenadiers remained drawn up *en fronte* to support Count Weissenwolf. This was the juncture at which Massena exerted his utmost force to secure the victory, and to make himself master of our position. While he commanded a fresh attack upon our centre, he himself conducted the division of Molitor to the foot of the heights of Colognola, with the intention of storming the works of our right wing. His Royal Highness was engaged in renewing the battle in the centre when he received intelligence of this enterprise, on which he hastily dispatched a battalion of grenadiers to the support of the right wing, and directed the general of cavalry, Bellegarde, to repair thither likewise, and to repulse the enemy, cost what it would. The judicious dispositions of the Field-Marshal Lieut. Baron Simscheu, who commanded there, and the extraordinary intrepidity of the troops, had, however, in part, accomplished this design. The enemy had stormed the hill near Colognola, with two regiments; but the gallant resistance that was opposed to this furious attack, and the charging of the two battalions of Charles Schroder and Spleny, with fixed bayonets, not only prevented the storming of the works, but the two regiments employed in the attempt, and particularly the 3d, were, for the most part, cut to pieces or taken prison-

DIRECTIONS TO THE BOOK-BINDER.

It is to be observed, that this sheet, which is the last of Volume VIII, should *not be cut open* by the Reader, but should be left to the Book-binder, who will perceive, that the first half sheet, of which this page makes a part, comes at the *end*, and that the other half sheet containing the Title Page, Advertisement, and Table of Contents, is to be cut off, and placed at the *beginning* of the Volume.

ers. At this spot alone, the enemy lost 500 men in killed, as many were made prisoners, and three standards were taken.—While the infantry was thus signalising itself, Colonel Kerecsk, with his division of Kienmayer's hussars, attacked the enemy's cavalry, which had penetrated as far as Cologuola Bassa, with such success, that he drove it back to Cadel Ara, with the loss of many killed, and 42 prisoners.—At the same time that this unsuccessful attack was made near Cologuola, another column of the enemy stormed the redoubt No. 10, an had already mounted the breast-work of the ditch, when it was repulsed with considerable loss, by the courage and firmness of the regiment of Hohenlohe-Bartenstein. Captain Nowak, of that regiment, particularly distinguished himself on this occasion; he rushed on the enemy, of his own accord, at the head of his company with fixed bayonets, and in this manner cleared the ditch. At this place, likewise, the battle continued till late in the night, which favoured the retreat of the enemy.—In the confident expectation that this bold attack on our right wing would not fail of success, Massena endeavoured, with renewed exertion, to break through the centre; the troops though they sold every step dearly, were, however, obliged to yield a little to the superiority of force. General Lippa was wounded on this occasion. It was already dark, when the fire from the artillery of the position became almost general, and the troops that defended the trenches, likewise received the enemy with a brisk fire of musketry. Prince Hohenlohe-Bartenstein advanced with his brigade of grenadiers in reserve, with drums beating, and gallantly cheering his grenadiers. His Royal Highness the Archduke Maximilian collected, in person, the returning battalions, placed himself at their head, and again led them, with drums beating, against the enemy. The latter had not expected such a degree of resolution, and abandoned the field of battle to us; and as his left wing was likewise beaten, and Stipsitz's hussars had also made a successful attack, he hastily retreated. Our troops pursued him to Ara, where the darkness of the night, at length entirely put an end to this memorable engagement.—At the dawn of the following day, we discovered a great number of killed who, in many places, lay in heaps upon each other; the murderous effect of our artillery, and the great loss which it had occasioned the preceding day among the hostile ranks.—Several detachments had, meanwhile, gone to the opposite shore of the Adige, made themselves masters of all the vessels, and broken down the bridge at Bonavigo. General Vincent afterwards crossed the river with two battalions, and several divisions of frontier troops and hussars, took several prisoners, and filled the enemy with the strongest apprehensions for the safety of his rear.—Still Massena resolved to venture on another attempt on our left wing at Chiavicca del Christo, and, at ten in the morning of the 31st of October, he directed Verdier's division to make an attack in two columns, on General Nordmann. According to the report of the prisoners, they were ordered to take the fort, let the enterprise cost what it would. General Nordmann, however, was as firmly resolved to defend it to the last extremity.—The enemy attacked the fort, in front and in flank, with the utmost impetuosity; and, as several battalions at the same time crossed to this side of the river, at Zevio, and advanced against the left flank, they poured in such a destructive fire, that nothing but the example of their leader could have induced the troops to maintain their position. General Nordmann, while thus nobly engaged, was wounded on the platform; most of the cannoneers were killed at their guns, and two officers of the staff were wounded. For the determined resolution of General Count Colloredo, on whom the command devolved; and of Lieutenant-Colonel Count Nugent, who, animated with equal zeal, taught the troops to despise the danger; it was reserved to defeat this last, but oft-reiterated attempt of a superior and infuriate enemy. Prince Reuss contributed all that lay in his power to the deliverance of the menaced position: he directed Colonel Brusch to advance briskly between the enemy and Gambion, and to attack the enemy in flank, with some battalions; and this movement, which Colonel Brusch executed with the greatest intrepedity, accelerated the retreat of the enemy, and considerably augmented his loss.—This last unavailing attack, gave to the Imperial arms, the most complete victory, which crowned with glory the first actions of the Italian army: for, on the 1st of November, it was discovered, that the enemy, having masked his retreat by a chain of light troops, had already reached the heights of St. Giacomo, in front of Verona, with his main body, and had relinquished to us the field of battle. Our advanced guards pursued him; Caldiero, Stra, Vago, and Cadel Ara, were again taken possession of, and our victory was decisive. Events of a foreign nature called off the victorious army, after a conflict of three days, sustained with the most resolute intrepidity, and prevented it from fully reaping

the fruits of its conquest.—The loss of the enemy on these three bloody days cannot possibly be estimated at less than 8000 men, of whom upwards of 2000 were taken prisoners. According to the regimental lists, our loss in killed, wounded, and missing amounts to 5672 men, including 120 officers.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*(Continued from p. 970.) Proclamation issued from the Head Quarters of the Grand French Army; dated Brunn, Nov* 27, 1805.

The Emperor hears with displeasure of the disorders which have taken place in the rear of the army, and which have risen to such a degree as to demand his Majesty's serious attention. Some worthless men, who seek to dishonour the army, and who, instead of repairing to their standards, and facing the enemy, lag behind for the perpetration of crimes. His Majesty orders that five moveable columns shall be formed, each of which shall be under the command of an adjutant, or captain, a chef d'escadron, a captain of infantry, an officer of the gens d'armerie, and a civil magistrate, who shall each have the duty of giving in regular reports respecting the districts in which their respective columns keep the peace. All followers of the army, who under pretence of weariness shall remain behind their corps, for the sake of marauding, shall be arrested, and, if guilty, immediately subjected to the judgment of a military commission. Stragglers, not content with quitting their colours, dishonour themselves by the most scandalous excesses; it is time to put an end to them. The Emperor orders the French commandant at Stutgard to cause frequent patroles to be executed by the troops of the Electors of Baden and Wirtemberg; to take up and send before the military commissions all those who take part in these dishonourable acts. It is moreover enjoined to him to have always a dozen of patroles which shall continually do duty in the country between the Tyrol, the Danube, and the Mindel, as far as Mindelheim. The commandant of Augsbourg must establish fifteen patroles between the Lech, the Danube, and the Mindel, on one side, and Augsbourg and Ingolstadt on the other. The Bavarian magistrates must arrest all the straggling soldiers who conduct themselves improperly, and send them to the French generals at Passau, Brannau, and Ingolstadt. It is particularly enjoined to the commandant of Brannau to send numerous detachments of troops into the country dependent upon Brannau. The road from Spires to Donawerth, and from thence by Augsbourg, Landshut, Brannau, Lambach, and Lintz, is the only one which all persons belonging to the army must follow. All who may be convicted of carrying off horses, and particularly post horses, shall be taken up. The posts are again placed by the Emperor under the safeguard of the whole army. All the post-horses already stolen, must be sent back as soon as possible. Different agents of the administration follow the columns in coaches, though it is enjoined them to use none but saddle-horses. The Emperor has seen women follow the army in coaches; he orders them to be sent back behind the army. All public functionaries in the different states who may have complaints against individuals belonging to the army, are to apply to the commandants at Stutgard, Augsbourg, Ingolstadt, Munich, and Lintz. (Signed) A. BERTHIER.

Proclamation issued at Vienna, on the 17th of November, by the Court Commissary.

Whereas, to-day, the relieving of some French outposts was mistaken for the arrival of some Russian troops, and a report was spread that a battle had taken place near the bridges of the Danube between the two Imperial armies, in consequence of which there immediately rose in the city and the suburbs a general tumult and agitation; I find it my duty to warn the inhabitants, that, in case of a similar agitation being again observed, they must expect that a great additional number of French troops will be brought from the country into Vienna. I therefore warn the inhabitants to beware of spreading such reports, but to behave with peace and composure. (Signed) Rodolph Count Wrna, Court Commissary.

TABLE

Table of the Number of *Christenings* and *Burials* within the Bills of Mortality, from June to November, 1805, inclusive.

Epochs.	Christened.		Buried.													
	Male.	Female	Under 2 Years.	2 to 5.	5 to 10.	10 to 20.	20 to 30.	30 to 40.	40 to 50.	50 to 60.	60 to 70.	70 to 80.	80 to 90.	90 to 100, &c.	Total Buried Males.	Total Buried Female
June	874	812	323	133	44	38	86	129	133	104	78	49	23	1	594	547
July	833	730	341	161	61	41	103	132	126	96	90	52	30	6	615	624
August.....	865	833	358	181	60	38	86	129	130	111	91	54	25	7	646	624
September....	772	727	316	160	59	41	79	101	106	103	70	45	24	3	609	598
October.....	945	895	601	254	100	57	114	160	164	23	185	50	27	4	886	861
November....	914	766	565	247	98	45	107	147	155	111	92	61	29	7	848	816
	5203	4763	2504	1136	422	260	575	797	814	548	606	311	158	28	4198	4070

Total Christenings . 9969 Total Burials.. 8268

Table of the Prices of the *Quartern Loaf*, in London, from June to November, 1805, inclusive.

June		July		Aug.		Sept.		Oct.		Nov.	
Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.
	s. d.		s. d.		s. d.				s. d.		s. d.
6	1. 2	4	1. 2	1	1. 3½	5	1. 1½	3	1. 1	7	1. 0½
13	1. 2	11	1. 2	8	1. 4½	12	1. 0½	10	1. 1½	14	1. 0½
20	1. 2	18	1. 2	15	1. 3½	19	1. 0½	17	1. 0½	21	1. 0½
27	1. 2	25	1. 3¼	22	1. 4	26	1. 0½	24	1. 0½	28	11¾

Table of the Prices of *Meat, Sugar, Salt*, and *Coals*, in London, from June to November, 1805, inclusive.

	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	per Stone of 8lb. to sink the Offal.
Beef ..	5 6	5 0	4 6	5 0	4 4	4 8	
Mutton	5 4	5 0	4 6	5 0	4 4	4 10	
Pork ..	5 8	4 8	4 8	6 0	5 4	5 4	
Sugar	49 7	52 10	51 9¼	52 8	49 1	47 5½	Cwt.
Salt ..	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	Bushel
Coals..	61 6	60 0	60 0	60 0	60 0	55 6	Chald.

Table of the Prices of the English *Three per Cent. Consols*, from June to Nov. 1805, inclusive.

Day.	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.
1	59⅜	59¾	58½	—	58⅜	59⅝
2	—	59¾	58½	—	58⅜	59⅝
3	—	59⅝	58⅝	58⅛	58⅛	—
4	—	59⅞	—	58⅞	58¼	59
5	59½	60⅛	58⅛	58⅛	—	59⅛
6	59½	59⅜	57¼	58⅛	58½	59¼
7	59⅜	60⅛	58	—	58⅜	59⅜
8	59⅝	—	58¼	58	58½	59⅜
9	—	60¾	58	58	58½	—
10	59⅞	60⅜	—	58⅛	58½	—
11	—	61	58⅜	58	58⅞	59⅝
12	59⅜	60⅝	58⅜	58	58¾	59½
13	59⅛	61	58¼	58	—	59⅜
14	59½	—	57⅞	58	58⅜	59½
15	59⅝	60¾	58⅛	—	58⅝	59¾
16	—	60¾	—	58	58¾	59¾
17	59¾	60⅜	—	58⅛	58⅝	—
18	59¾	60⅜	57⅛	58¼	—	60¼
19	60⅛	60⅛	58⅜	—	58¼	60⅛
20	59¾	60¼	58¼	—	58⅝	59⅞
21	60	—	—	—	58⅝	—
22	59¾	60⅝	—	58¾	58⅝	60⅛
23	—	59¾	57⅞	58¾	—	60⅛
24	—	59⅝	58⅛	58½	59¼	—
25	59¾	58¾	—	58¾	59¼	60⅛
26	59¾	58½	57¾	58½	—	60⅛
27	59¾	58¾	57¾	—	—	59⅝
28	59¾	—	57⅞	58¾	—	60
29	—	59¼	58	58¾	59⅛	60
30	—	58½	58¼	58⅝	59⅛	—
31	—	58½	58¼	—	59¼	—

Table of the Prices of the French *Five per Cent. Consolidés*, from June to November, 1805, inclusive.

Day.	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.
1	60.70	62. 0	62.10	—	56.50	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	—	62. 0	—	—	56.58	58.10
4	—	—	—	—	—	—
5	60.50	—	—	57.50	—	—
6	—	—	62. 0	57.50	—	58.50
7	—	—	—	—	56.75	—
8	61.0	—	62. 0	—	—	—
9	—	72.25	62. 0	—	—	59. 0
10	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	—	—	—	57. 0	56.90	60.50
12	61.10	—	—	—	—	—
13	61.20	62.30	—	—	—	—
14	—	—	—	—	—	—
15	—	—	61.75	—	—	60.25
16	—	62.20	—	53.70	56.90	—
17	—	—	—	—	—	—
18	—	62.10	—	—	—	—
19	61.50	—	61.50	—	—	—
20	—	—	—	—	—	60.10
21	61.50	—	—	—	—	—
22	61.75	—	—	—	—	—
23	—	62.25	61. 0	52.50	—	—
24	—	—	—	—	—	60. 0
25	—	—	61. 0	—	57. 0	59.25
26	61.75	62.10	—	—	—	—
27	61.90	—	61.0	56.	57. 0	—
28	—	62.10	56 0.	56.	—	—
29	—	—	—	—r	—	—
30	61.90	62. 0	—	56.10	57.10	—
31	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table of the Number of *Bankruptcies* in England, from June to November, 1805, inclusive

June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.
72	46	62	65	55	72

INDEX.

A.

A. B; on the troops in the West-Indies, 279
A. B.'s Answer to a Letter justifying the Conduct of Lord Melville, 449.
Address of the City of London, on the Naval Victory off Trafalgar, 838. His Majesty's Answer, 839.
Addresses to the King on the late Naval Victory and the delinquency of Lord Melville; on the presentation of the, 845.
Agriculture, Board of; Seytheu's First Letter, on the, 86.
Alfred, on Merchants' Parliamentary Privilege, 26.
America, Dispute with; Correspondence of Mr. King, the American Minister, with Lord Hawkesbury, relative to, 729, 754.
——— on the Dispute with, 660.
——— Observations on the Dispute with, from the National Intelligencer, 972.
American Ships; Memorial of certain American Merchants to Mr. Madison, relative to the Conduct of the French Cruizers, with regard to, 957.
Antigua Fleet; on the capture of, 812.
Army; State of the, 17.
A. T.; on West-India Convoys, 670.
Athol Claim; on the, 49, 65.

B.

Bank of Paris; M. Perregaux's Report to the Proprietors of Bank Stock, relative to the State of, 680.
——— on the Stoppage of payment in specie at the Board of Agriculture; Seytheu's First Letter on the, 86.
Bankruptcies; table of the number of, from June to November, 1805, inclusive, 1029.
Boulogne Expedition, on the, 859.
Boxing; on, 193, 371, 417, 493.
Bradsley, Doctor; extracts from his Thoughts, "On the Use and Abuse of Popular Sports and Exercises," 372, 442, 459.
Bread; table of the Price of, from June to November, 1805, inclusive, 1029.
Britannicus; on the Conduct of Admiral Duckworth, 45.
British Observer, the; his Third Letter on the Catholic Claims, 635.
——— his Fourth Letter on the Catholic Claims, 803.
Bull Baiting; on, 442, 459.
Bulletin; First official, of the Grand French Army, 627; Second, 629; Third, 630; Fourth, 677; Fifth, 678; Sixth, 717; Seventh, 721; Eighth, 722; Ninth, 723; Tenth, 726; Eleventh, 794; Twelfth, 761; Thirteenth, 792; Fourteenth, 793; Fifteenth, 793; Sixteenth, 887; Seventeenth, 888; Eighteenth, 889; Nineteenth, 927; Twentieth, 890; Twenty-First, 928; Twenty Second, 932; Twenty Third, 934; Twenty Fourth, 936; Twenty Fifth, 938; Twenty Sixth, 942; Twenty Seventh, 961; Twenty Eighth, 961; Twenty Ninth, 962.
Bulletin; First official, of the French Army of Italy, 728; Second, 796; Third, 797; Fourth, 796; Fifth, 946; Sixth, 946; Seventh, 948; Eighth, 962.
Burton General; Major General Thornton, on the Court Martial of, 184.

C.

Camillus; on the Fall of the French Monarchy, 225, 257.
Capitulation between General Solignac and Brigadier General Hilleuger, 798.
——— proposed by the Russian Army, 940
——— of the Austrian Corps under Lieutenant General Jellachich, 966.
Car-Project; on the, 321.
Catholic Claims; the British Observer's Third Letter on the, 635.
——— the British Observer's Fourth Letter on the, 803.
Catholics, Roman; Views of, 11.
Catholic; A Churchman's Letter on the Views of the, 23.
Choice of Commander; on the, 714.
Churchman, A; his Letter on the Views of the Catholics, 23.
Commanders; on the Choice of, 714.
Christenings and Burials; table of the number of, from June to November, 1805, inclusive 1029.
Continent; State of the, 12.
Continental Coalition; on a, 241, 298, 299, 334, 348, 353, 487.
——— Connections; on, 118.
——— War; French official Accounts relative to the operations of the, 605, 627, 677, 683, 716, 761, 791, 885, 920, 927, 961, 981
——— Austrian Official Accounts relative to the operations of the, 786, 944. Action at Wertingen, 786: Action at Guntzburgh, 787; Action near Ulm, 788.
——— on the, 428, 560, 582, 670, 691, 705, 818, 864, 981.
——— Narrative of the Events of the, from the Moniteur, 920, 968.
Convoys; A. T.'s Letter on West-India, 670.
——— West-India, 586.
Correspondence between the English and French Governments relative to Prisoners of War, 895.

D.

D'Arley, Sir William; on his Pension, 202, Letter from, relative to, 208.
Diamond Rock; Narrative of the Capture of, 1314.
Domestic Official Papers, 91, 191, 329, 440, 544, 628, 632, 763.

Domingo. St.; Decrees of the Black General Desalines, 970.
Downshire Election; on the, 289.
Duckworth, Admiral; on the Conduct of, 21, 59.
——— Britannicus, on the Conduct of, 45.

F.

Family Quarrel; on the. 161, 256, 325, 425.
Financial Abuses; Verax's Eighth Letter on the Reform of, 42.
——— Verax's Ninth Letter on the Reform of, 82.
——— Verax's Tenth Letter on the Reform of, 208.
Finance Resolutions; on Mr. Johnstone's, 69.
Fleets; on the Combined, 52, 71, 180, 281, 345.
Foreign Official Papers, 28, 135, 220, 303, 349, 377, 414, 437, 538, 562, 594, 680, 799, 887, 95 ,
French Monarchy; Camillus on the Fall of the, 225, 257.
Fund at Lloyds, see Lloyds' Fund.

G.

Gibraltar; Proclamation issued at, 93.
Gloucester, Duke of; death of the, 416.

H.

Hanover; Proclamation of the King of England, published at, 973.
——— Proclamation addressed to the Inhabitants of the Electorate of, by Lieutenant-General Don, 952.
Hesse Cassel; abstract of the Diplomatic Correspondence which took place last summer, relative to the English Minister at the Court of, 774.

I.

Impeachment, Articles of; exhibited against Lord Melville, 148.
Impeachment; X. X.'s Letter on, 33.
India; on the War in, 296
Invasion; on the threatened, 254, 287, 396.
Irish Minister; who is the? 28.
Irish Ministers; Vigil, on the Six, 44.
Italy, French Army of; First Official Bulletin of the Operations of, 728; Second, 796; Third, 797; Fourth, 798; Fifth, 946; Sixth, 946; Seventh, 948; Eighth, 962; Ninth, 965.
Jamaica Complaints, 133, 632.
Johnstone, Mr. Cockrane; case of, 18, 56.
J. W. G.; on the Sheriffs' Jurisdiction and Power, 212.

K.

King's Visits; Letter from Lord Hawkesbury to the Mayor of Bristol, relative to, 93

L.

Letter from a Churchman; on the Views of the Catholics, 23
——— from Alfred; on Merchants' Parliamentary Privilege, 26
——— from M. M.; who is the Irish Minister? 28
——— from X. X.; on Impeachments, 33
——— from Verax; on the Reform of Financial Abuses; Letter 8, 42
——— from Vigil; on the Six Irish Ministers, 44
——— from Britannicus; on the Conduct of Admiral Duckworth, 45
——— from Verax; on the Reform of Financial Abuses, Letter the Ninth, 82
——— from Scytheus; on the Board of Agriculture, 86
——— from Major General Thornton, on General Burton's Court Martial, 184
——— from Sir William D'Arley; on his Pension, 208
——— from Verax; on the Reform of Financial Abuses; Letter the Tenth, 208
——— from J. W. G.; on the Sheriffs' Jurisdiction and Power, 212
——— from Camillus; on the Fall of the French Monarchy, 225, 257
——— from A. B.; on the Troops in the West Indies, 279
——— from A Norfolk Baronet; on the Sinking Fund, 246
——— from A. B.; in answer to a Letter justifying the Conduct of Lord Melville. 439
——— from the British Observer; on the Catholic Claims, Letter the Third, 635
——— from A. T.; on West India Convoys, 670
——— from O.; on the Statements of the Abbé de la Marre, 674
——— from S. N.; on the Sheriff's Office, 676
——— from Count Stahremberg to the Editor of the Morning Post, relative to the march of the Russians, 791
——— from the British Observer, on the Catholic Claims. Letter the Fourth, 803
Liberty of the Press; on the; 974
Lloyd's Fund; strictures on, 850, 897, 993
Lord Mayor, the; and Mr. Pitt, 815

M.

Marre, Abbe de la; on the narrative of the, 494
———; O.'s Letter on the Statements of the, 670
Meat, Sugar, Salt, and Coals; table of the prices of, from June to November, 1805, inclusive
Melville, Lord; proceedings against, 72
———; on the conduct of him and his supporters, 473, 513, 545, 577
———; Articles of Impeachment against, 148
———; Petition against him from the County of Kent, 91
———; A. B.'s answer to a Letter justifying the Conduct of, 449
Memmingen; Capitulation of the Garrison of, 763
Memorial of certain American Merchants to Mr. Madison, relative to the Conduct of the French Cruizers with regard to, 957
Merchants' Parliamentary Privilege; Alfred's Letter on, 26
Minister; the heaven-born, 97

N.

Naples; Treaty between the Emperor of France and the King of, 949
Narrative of the Events of the Campaign, from the Moniteur, 920
Naval Victory; on the, 184, 204
———; Address of the City of London on the, 838. His Majesty's answer, 839
Naval Victory and Death of Lord Nelson; Narrative of, 730, 763, 801, 833, 891
Naval Victories; on the, 737, 839, 909
Neutral Ships; order of Council relative to, 92

O.

O; on the statements of the Abbé de la Marre, 674

P.

Palfy, Count; correspondence between him, and Marshal Davoust, 941
Papal Allocution, 139
Parliament; prorogation of, 60
Parish Army; strictures on Mr. Pitts', 555, 668
Party Virulence, 882
Patties; state of, 61, 74, 430, 650
Patriotic Fund; *See* Lloyd's Fund
Pensions granted by the Crown, in the year 1804, 1805
Petition against Lord Melville, from the County of Kent, 91
"Pious to the last!" 912
Pitt, Mr.; his case, 1
———; strictures on his Parish Army, 555, 668
———. and the Lord Mayor, 815
Press; on the Liberty of the, 974
Prisoners of War; correspondence between the English and French Governments relative to, 894
Proclamation of the King of England, published at Hanover, 973
Public Papers, 47, 94, 127, 188, 213, 302, 432, 495, 530, 592, 609, 677, 716, 754, 769, 927, 961

Q.

Quarrel, Family; on the, 161, 256, 325, 345

R.

Red Flag; restoration of the, 766

S.

Scytheus' first Letter; on the Board of Agriculture, 86
Sheriffs' Jurisdiction and Power; J. W. G.'s letter on the, 212
Sheriffs' Office; S. N.'s letter on the, 676
Sinking Fund; A Norfolk Baronets' letter on the, 346
S. N.; on the Sheriffs' Office, 676
Stahremberg, Count; his letter to the Editor of the Morning Post, relative to the march of the Russians, 791
Stocks, English and French; tables of the prices of, from June to December, 1805, inclusive,
Summary of Politics, 11, 49, 65, 97, 161, 193, 241, 281, 321, 353, 385, 417, 473, 513, 545, 577, 630, 691, 705, 737, 812, 839, 865, 897, 974
Surinam; official report relative to the late insurrection in, 895

T.

Table of the number of christenings and burials within the bills of mortality from June to Nov., 1805
Table of the prices of the quartern loaf in London, from June to Nov. 1805
Table of the prices of meat, sugar, salt, and coals in London, from June to Nov. 1805
Table of the prices of the English three per cent. consols, from June to Nov. 1805
Table of the prices of the French five per cent. consolidés from June to Nov. 1805
Table of the Number of Bankruptcies from June to Nov. 1805
"Times of Difficulty;" observations on the phrase, 385
Trafalgar; narrative of the battle of, 730, 763, 801, 833, 891
———; Spanish official account of the battle of, 953
Treaty between the Emperor of France and the King of Naples, 949

U.

Ulm; capitulation of, 720, 722

V.

Verax's Eighth Letter; on the Reform of Financial Abuses, 42
Verax's Ninth Letter; on the Reform of Financial Abuses, 82
Verax's Tenth Letter; on the Reform of Financial Abuses, 208
Vigil; on the Six Irish Ministers, 44
Vote of Credit; on the, 147

W.

War, Continental; *See* Continental War
Wellesley, Marquis; on the conquests of, 14
West Indies; A. B. on the troops in the, 279
West India Convoys; 586
———; A. F.'s letter on, 670
Who is the Irish Minister? 28
Wright, Captain; papers relative to the capture and detention of, 399

X.

X. X.; on impeachments, 33

INDEX OF PERSONS.

A.
Atholl, 49, 65
Augereau, 949
B.
Bacher, 496, 593, 623
Barham, 843, 911
Belgrave, 391
Bernadotte, 127
Berthier, 543
Best, 26
Bond, 134, 257
Botham, 849
Boyer, 314
Bradsley, 371
Bragge, 176
Burdett, 209
Burke, 248, 395
Burton, 184
C.
Calder, 183, 190, 204, 281, 306
Canning, 357, 476
Castlereagh, 298
Chalmers, 872
Champagny, 541
Collingwood, 432, 730, 801, 833
Craufurd, 18, 558, 818
D.
D'Arley, 202, 207
D'Ivernois, 395
Don, 952
Duckworth, 21, 45, 59
F.
Foster, 182
Fox, 147, 208, 390, 878
G.
Giusti, 134
Gloucester, 416
Gravina, 379
H.
Hardenberg, 47, 432, 759, 967
Hardinge, 477
Harrowby, 6, 70, 876
Hawkesbury, 93, 353, 558
Heriot, 529
J.
Johnstone, 18, 55, 69
L.
Laa, 349
Long, 102
Louis 18th, 302
M.
Mack, 699, 818, 876
Madison, 957
Markham, 22
Marré, 494, 674
Massena, 626, 780
Melville, 72, 91, 116, 148, 449, 473, 513, 545, 577
Menou, 781
Mulgrave, 50
N.
Napoleon, 119, 542, 570, 594, 605, 724, 726, 727 867
Nelson, 180, 183, 715, 736, 909
Ney, 964
Novosiltzoff, 183, 241
Nugent, 440
O.
Orde, 844, 909
P.
Palfy, 919, 941, 981
Paull, 14
Peltier, 978
Perregaux, 688
Parry, 910
Pitt, 1, 74, 97, 147, 161, 242, 245, 297, 325, 385, 425, 430, 488, 555, 656, 815, 867
Popham, 909
R.
Rose, 490, 550
Rowley, 526
S.
Sargent, 113
Schimmelpenninck, 2 133, 414
Shaw, 815, 897
Sidmouth, 75, 161, 25 235, 426
Smith, 859
Solignac, 798
Stahremberg, 712
Strachan, 737, 763
T.
Talleyrand, 502, 596
Turton, 848
V.
Verheuil, 221, 381, 413
Villeneuve, 136, 138, 30 377
W.
Wellesley, 14, 246
Windham, 517, 524, 55 554, 657
Wintzingerode, 776, 94
Wright, 399

INDEX OF PLACES.

A.
Alexandria, 781
America, 660, 729, 754, 957, 972
Antigua, 812
Augsburg, 678, 726
Austria, 118, 242, 334, 430, 487, 500, 502, 533, 560, 562, 592, 596, 67 684, 691, 705, 756, 769, 784, 786, 827, 865, 920, 950
B.
Barbadoes, 220
Bavaria, 582, 609, 626, 627, 756, 758, 769
Berlin, 509
Boulogne, 607, 859
Bristol, 93
Brannau, 793, 794
Brunn, 944, 950, 961
D.
Domingo, St., 309, 970
E.
Elchingen, 721, 722
F.
France, 188, 213, 243, 434, 502, 509, 562, 592 596, 627, 684, 759, 778
G.
Genoa, 134, 616
Gibraltar, 93
Guntzburgh, 677, 787
H.
Halifax, 71
Hanover, 127, 952, 973
Hesse Cassel, 774
Holland, 28, 94, 127, 414, 594
Hungary, 492, 799
I.
India, 14, 296
Ireland, 44
Italy, 29, 119, 605, 625, 728, 780, 796, 946, 962
J.
Jamaica, 133, 440, 632
L.
Lintz, 888, 927
M.
Martinico, 15
Memmingen, 753
Moelk, 928
N.
Naples, 949
P.
Padua, 606
Paris, 680
Prussia, 47, 70, 243, 302, 432, 623, 672, 706, 707, 759, 775, 823, 967
R.
Ratisbon, 496, 593
Rheid, 887
Rome, 139
Russia, 187, 213, 242, 430, 434, 509, 530, 560, 778, 791, 940
S.
Spain, 378, 432
Surinam, 895
Sweden, 47, 70, 302
T.
Trafalgar, 730, 833, 83 953
U.
Ulm, 678, 718, 720, 72 723, 788
V.
Vienna, 308, 439, 53 533, 599, 788, 800, 8 933, 934, 944
W.
West Indies, 72, 1 181, 192, 220, 279, 5 673
Wirtemburgh, 776
Wirtengen, 631, 671, 7
Z.
Zuaim, 940

Cox and Baylis, Printers, Great Queen Street.